

# AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

in Roman Transliteration by Sumitra M. Katre

University of Texas Press, Austin



Texas Linguistics Series

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# Abbreviations

|           |                                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| ab.       | above                                 |
| abl.      | ablative                              |
| acc.      | accusative                            |
| adj.      | adjective                             |
| adv.      | adverb                                |
| aor.      | aorist                                |
| bel.      | below                                 |
| caus.     | causative                             |
| cf.       | compare                               |
| compd.    | compound                              |
| comp.     | comparative                           |
| dat.      | dative                                |
| denom.    | denominative                          |
| desid.    | desiderative                          |
| du.       | dual                                  |
| f.        | feminine                              |
| gen.      | genitive                              |
| ib.       | <i>ibidem</i> , in the same work      |
| id.       | <i>idem</i> , having the same meaning |
| imper.    | imperative                            |
| impers.   | impersonal                            |
| ind.      | indicative                            |
| inf.      | infinitive                            |
| inst.     | instrumental                          |
| interj.   | interjection                          |
| interr.   | interrogative                         |
| intr.     | intransitive                          |
| ipf.      | imperfect                             |
| loc.      | locative                              |
| m.        | masculine                             |
| n.        | neuter                                |
| nom.      | nominative                            |
| n.pr.     | <i>nomen proprium</i> , proper name   |
| num.      | numeral                               |
| opt.      | optative                              |
| part.     | participle                            |
| pass.     | passive                               |
| perf.     | perfect                               |
| pl./plur. | plural                                |
| pluperf.  | pluperfect                            |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| pp.        | past participle (passive)                   |
| pron.      | pronoun                                     |
| pronom.    | pronominal                                  |
| q.v.       | <i>quod vide</i> , which see                |
| redup.     | reduplicative                               |
| sb./subst. | substantive                                 |
| sg./sing.  | singular                                    |
| st.        | stem  |
| superl.    | superlative                                 |
| s.v.       | <i>sub verbo</i> , under the word as quoted |
| tr.        | transitive                                  |
| t.t(t).    | technical term(s)                           |
| vb.        | verb  |

## Referenced Texts

|      |                               |
|------|-------------------------------|
| Aṣṭ. | Aṣṭādhyāyī                    |
| AV   | Atharvaveda                   |
| Kāś. | Kāśikā                        |
| MBh. | Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali       |
| Mbh. | Mahābhārata                   |
| RV   | Ṛgveda                        |
| SK   | Siddhānta-Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji |
|      | Dīkṣita                       |
| SV   | Sāmaveda                      |
| TS   | Taittirīya-Saṃhitā            |
| Un.  | Uṇādi                         |
| VS   | Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā            |

## References Within Aṣṭādhyāyī

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| DhP   | Dhātu-pāṭha            |
| GP    | Gaṇa-pāṭha             |
| MS    | Māheśvara-sū-tra-s     |
| PS    | Praty-ā-hār-a-sū-tra-s |
| ŚS    | Śiva-sū-tra-s          |
| vārt. | vārttika               |

# A Note on the System of Transliteration

and typographical conventions used in the text

## System of Transliteration

*Vowels:*            a     ā     i     ī     u     ū     ṛ     ṝ     ḷ     ḹ<sup>3</sup>

                     e     ai     o     au     ṁ     ḥ     Xk     Xp

*Consonants:*    k<sup>1</sup>    kh    g     gh    ṇ     c     ch    j     jh    ñ

                     ṭ     ṭh    ḍ     ḍh    ṇ     t     th    d     dh    n

                     p     ph    b     bh    m

*Semi-Vowels:*   y     r     l     v

*Spirants:*       ś     ṣ     s     h

*Vedic:*            ḷ     ḷh    kṣ    jñ

## Typographical Conventions

### Accentuation

Un-marked vowels represent anudātta vowels. The acute accent marks the udātta and the grave accent marks the svarita vowel. Capital letters indicate the IT markers. Vowels underlined by a single line indicate that they are used for pronunciation of morphemes of which they are *not* integral parts, e.g., nuM stands for an infixed nasal /n/ only. An expression in small capitals indicates that it is an artificial technical term.

---

<sup>1</sup>Syllabics of the Nāgarī script omitted in the transliteration, e.g., k (for syllabic kṛ).

## Compounds

Division of compound expressions into their component units is generally indicated by a hyphen, separating them when no saṁdhi operation is involved, but by the double hyphen otherwise.

## Cross references

When three Arabic numerals are given, they stand respectively for adhy-āy-a, pād-a and sū-tra numbers in that order, e.g., 3.1.1. When two alone are given they stand for the pād-a and sū-tra numbers within the adhy-āy-a which is referred to in the immediately preceding three-figure reference. Similarly, the single number refers to the sū-tra within the pād-a, and adhy-āy-a referred to in the previous two-figure reference.

## Markers

The so-called 'IT-markers' are indicated by capital letters. The exceptions are [ch], [jh], [th] and [ḍh] which (though forming part of the IT-class when they occur at the head of affixes) have not been indicated by capital letters since they are not subject to 1.3.9 (being replaced not by ∅ as in all other instances but by special morphemes by 7.1.2-7 and 7.3.50-51). Otherwise, by definition they are definitely IT-markers.

## Foreword

Besides the capable editing and formatting by Douglas Fix, I would like to acknowledge the work of the following in producing the print-ready copy of the book: Jonathan Carson, Alan Grimes, Nedra McCloud, Earl Roy, Gail Roy, and Becky Woodruff. Funding was provided by a grant from Dr. E. Douglas Mitchell for Indo-European studies, and by the University Work-Study program. We are grateful to the office of the Executive Vice President and Provost, Gerhard J. Fonken, for computer time.

Winfred P. Lehmann



## Preface

Although there have been three renderings of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī in modern European languages, they have been particularly addressed to those whose primary interest is in Sanskrit language and literature. The first of these was in German, published during 1839-40 under the title *Pāṇini's acht Bücher grammatischer Regeln* in two volumes by Otto Böhtlingk, consisting of sūtra-s and scholia, German comments on the sūtra-s and various indexes. A new edition in 1887 entitled *Pāṇini's Grammatik* with a German translation and various indexes became the standard reference work on Pāṇini, and was reissued in 1964. Two English translations appeared in 1882, *Pāṇini's Eight Books of Grammatical Sutra-s* by W. Goonatileke and *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, edited and translated into English by Srisa Chandra Vasu in 1891. Louis Renou's *La grammaire de Pāṇini traduite du sanskrit avec des extraits des commentaires indigènes* in French appeared in three fascicles during 1948-54 from Paris, and a revised edition in two volumes, with the Sanskrit text of the sūtras, appeared in 1966. In all these translations, the sūtra-text is given in Devanāgarī characters. Renou used Roman transliteration for the illustrative examples in his French commentary. The need for an edition which gives the text of the sūtras as well as illustrative material in transliteration appears necessary in the interest of those who are not primarily interested in Sanskrit language and literature, but mainly concerned with it in relation to their work in linguistics.

It was the discovery of Sanskrit grammar in the last quarter of the 18th century and the pronouncement of Sir William Jones, at the inauguration of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, positing a relationship between Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe, that led in the early 19th century to the development of Comparative Philology and its ultimate transformation into modern Linguistics. The influence of Pāṇini and the Indian schools of grammarians can be gained from the number of scholars who have expressed their appreciation as well as criticism of this tradition, a selection of whose contributions have been presented by J.F. Staal in *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* (MIT Press, 1972). Recently a great number of studies on this subject have appeared both in India and abroad in the shape of monographs,

research papers and doctoral dissertations. A very comprehensive survey of research on Pāṇini has been published by George Cardona (Mouton: 1976). In view of the importance which Pāṇini's work has for the development of modern Comparative Philology and Linguistics a new edition using Roman Transliteration both for the sūtra-s and the examples used in illustrating them is not out of place. Indeed it has the further advantage that the roman typography with its several faces and upper and lower case letters representing individual phonemes obviates the cumbrous use of Devanāgarī writing which is syllabic. Moreover, the metalinguistic features of Pāṇini's rule-formation can be clearly perceived visually by metalinguistic use of roman, italic, small capitals and capitals and even indicate the use of vowels which Pāṇini sometimes uses for ease of enunciation in presenting morphemes where those vowels are not integral parts of the morphemes themselves.

While no attempt has been made in this presentation at giving a critical edition of the accompanying Dhātupāṭha and Gaṇapāṭha, care has been taken to compare the items as included in several editions and contributory studies. A comparative study of Dhātupāṭha-s as well as Gaṇapāṭha-s formed themes for doctoral dissertations presented to the Poona University, the first having been published by that University in 1957. The text of Aṣṭ. itself has come down with very few alterations since Patañjali's time, and while Kāśikā presents a slightly inflated text, Siddhānta-kaumudī in general preserves the text as given in Mahābhāṣya. The oral transmission of the text from time immemorial has preserved much of the original Vedic and post-Vedic literature, particularly the sūtra-literature. Patañjali indicates in his work that during his time people learned the Vedic texts without prior study of grammar (MBh. I 5, 8-10) and considered the study of grammar as not purposeful, which probably led to the gradual loss of much of Mahābhāṣya itself which was later subsumed by the efforts of savants like Bhartṛhari. We have on the other hand such significant remarks in the Kāśikā [*ā kumāra-m yaśaḥ pāṇine-ḥ* 'Pāṇini's fame has reached the young'] which are supported by the observations of the Chinese pilgrim I Tsing (691-92) such as: "Children begin to learn the Sū-tra when they are eight years old, and can repeat it in eight months' time" (Staal, p. 12), while "Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary (i.e., Vṛt-ti-sūtra or Kāśikā) and understand it after five years" (ibid., p. 14) and with reference to MBh (referred to as Cūrṇi of Patañjali) "Advanced scholars learn this in three years" (ibid., p. 15). Probably the lost tradition which Patañjali mentions was revived after Bhartṛhari's restoration of the MBh.

The advantages of presenting the Sanskrit text in roman transliteration are obvious. Instead of the syllabic orthography we have the single phoneme character of the individual roman alphabet (except for the aspirate consonants kh, ch, ṭh, th and ph) and the process of deriving the surface forms from underlying deep structures appears more elegant. Secondly for those not interested in pursuing special studies in Sanskrit literature, it has the advantage of a universal script which is commonly used in all modern linguistic studies.

Many of the metalinguistic features of Aṣṭ. have found their place in modern linguistics, such as the concept of Ø, the markers with specific functions, etc. The influence of Pāṇini can also be seen in the founding of several systems of grammar following Aṣṭ. in India, and similar systems developed for Pāli, fully influenced by Pāṇini's model, such as Kaccāyana-vy-ā-kar-aṇa and those of Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa. For other Middle Indo-Aryan languages there are similar treatises composed in Sanskrit. The chief feature of these works is the tacit assumption that Sanskrit is the basis from which the Prakrit languages have sprung, and taking Māhārāṣṭrī as the most favored Prakrit, since it was the medium of poetic compositions, a set of correspondences has been set up to explain the phonology and morphology of these MIA dialects. Indeed, long before comparative philology developed during the 19th century, the concept of a family of languages, derived from a common parent, apparently formed the bedrock on which these grammars were based, though no reconstructions appear to have been attempted. Indeed the tradition of Aṣṭ. was so strong that even grammars of some of the Dravidian languages were composed on its pattern, such as Tolkappiam for Tamil, Līlātilakam for Malayalam, Āndhra-śabda-cintāmaṇi for Telugu and Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa and Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa for Kannaḍa. The latest work in this tradition is the Keraḷa-Pāṇinīyam of Rajarajavarman (1863-1918) in the recent past.

This work was undertaken while I was Director of Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona as part of Pāṇinian Studies, included in its Building Centenary Series. However, the actual work was carried out during my stay in Austin at the University of Texas where I had been invited first as a Visiting Professor in 1966 in the Department of Linguistics and then in 1970 at the recently created Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures. My thanks are due to Professors W.P. Lehmann and Edgar C. Polomé for inviting me to Austin, and for their constant encouragement. The present work has

been made possible by a grant-in-aid by the American Council of Learned Societies for the year 1978-79 (ACLS NEH GIA '79) while I was serving as a Distinguished Visiting Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at California State University, Fullerton. My thanks are also due to Professor V.I. Subramoniam, Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University, Tanjore, and the guiding spirit of the Dravidian Linguistic Association in Trivandrum, for inviting me to visit India under their joint auspices during 1982 to enable me to revise this work and make it ready for publication. I must also express my thanks to Professors M.B. Emeneau and George Cardona for sponsoring my work to ACLS for a grant. In conclusion, I also express my grateful thanks to Douglas L. Fix and the staff of the Linguistics Research Center for formatting the complicated text so carefully and to the University of Texas Press for including this work in its Linguistic Series.

S.M. Katre  
September 6, 1985

# Introduction

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini is the earliest extant descriptive grammar of Sanskrit as currently spoken during his time (c. 6th cent. B.C.) and occasionally referred to by him as [Bhāṣā], in the north-west region of India (now Pakistan). His extraordinary perception of linguistic facts covered, however, a wider region, since he not only refers to the earlier stage of the language as occurring in Vedic literature, but also spreads over the northern and eastern parts of India whose regional variants he also notices in his majestic sweep. However, it is certainly not the first grammar composed about Sanskrit. Pāṇini mentions ten predecessors [Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarmaṇa, Bharadvāja, Śakaṭāyana, Śākalya, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana], none of whose works have survived to our days. Of these earlier grammarians two are specifically referred to in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Āpiśali is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his vārttika 2 on 4.1.14 [*pūrva-sūtra-nir-deśo=vā=āpiśala-m adh-ī-te* 'studies the grammar of Āpiśali'] while Patañjali refers to grammars promulgated by Pāṇini, Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna [*pāṇini-nā pr-o-k-ta-m = pāṇin-īya-m, āpiśalā-m kāśakṛtsnā-m* MBh. I 12,5-6] and cites a verse line [*nāma ca dhā-tu-ja-m āh-a nir-uk-t-e vy-ā-kar-aṇ-e śakaṭa-sya ca toka-m* MBh. II 138,14-16] in which Śakaṭāyana is mentioned as holding the view that all nominal stems are derived from verbal stems. It is thus probable that during the times of both Kātyāyana and Patañjali their grammars were still available for study and were not overwhelmed by Pāṇini's own work. A few traces of their work are to be found in commentarial literature on the systems of Sanskrit grammar.

The title of Pāṇini's grammar as Aṣṭādhyāyī occurs initially in the Mahābhāṣya (e.g., on 6.3.109). It is derived from the underlying string *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ sam-ā-hṛ-t-āḥ/aṣṭā-nām adhy-āy-ā-n-ām sam-ā-har-a-ḥ = aṣṭan+adhy-āy-a+NīP* (2.1.52; 4.1.21) = *aṣṭa∅+adhy-āy-∅+ī* (8.2.7; 6.4.148) and denotes 'a collection of eight chapters'. By Pāṇini's rule 5.1.58 (*saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ* <sup>1</sup>*saṁ-jñā*-<sup>2</sup>*saṁ-gha*-<sup>3</sup>*sūtra*=<sup>4</sup>*adhy-āy-ane-ṣu*) the expression *āṣṭa-ka-m* (= *aṣṭ-au adhy-āy-āḥ pari-mā-ṇa-m a-sya = aṣṭan+kaN = āṣṭa∅-ka-m*) also denotes, among other things, a work consisting of eight chapters. Pāṇini evidently refers here to already existing

works of that nature, but commentators have cited *áṣṭa-ka-m pāṇin-īya-m* as an illustration of this rule, and consequently it is also known alternatively by this title. It is possible that Pāṇini might have Āpiśali's grammar in view when formulating this rule, since according to later tradition Āpiśali is said to have composed his grammar also in eight chapters.

The name Pāṇini itself is a patronymic derived from Pāṇin-a (6.4.165; 4.1.95: *pāṇina-sya apatya-m = pāṇina+iN = pāṇinØ+i*) indicating a son of Pāṇin-a. However, Kāśikā has both *pāṇiny-upa-jña-m* (2.4.21)/*pāṇin-o-pa-jña-m* (6.2.114) *a-kāl-ak-aṇ vy-ā-kar-aṇa-m*. If both names apply to Pāṇini, then Pāṇin-a as applied to him indicates a yuvan (4.1.163-4) descendant of Paṇ-in. This makes him a grandson of Paṇ-in, but he has sometimes been called Paṇi-put-ra also. Among other synonyms we have Dākṣī-put-rá and Śālāturīya which latter name presupposes that Śālātura was his ancestral abode (4.3.94).

The text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is preceded by a repertory or catalogue of phonemes divided into 14 strings or sūtra-s, commonly designated Praty-ā-hār-a-sūt-ra- (PS), Śiva-sūt-ra (ŚS) or Māheśvara-sūt-ra (MS) and followed by two lexicons enumerating the verbal stems (Dhā-tu-pāṭh-a) and groups of nominal stems which undergo particular grammatical operations (Gaṇa-pāṭh-a). While the text of Aṣṭ. has remained almost unchanged since Patañjali's time, the same cannot be said of the Dhātupāṭha or Gaṇapāṭha.

In view of the sū-tra style of the work, which, within a little less than 4000 algebraic statements, gives a complete description of the language, the work became the central piece of exegetical works, and in the history of linguistic texts, it occupies the premier position in that nearly a thousand treatises have been produced during the two millennia since it was composed by Pāṇini. The earliest are the vārtt-ika-s, chiefly of Kātyāyana (c. 4th c. B.C.) who supplements the rules of Pāṇini, often criticizing them. His vārtt-ika-s have been further commented upon, along with the sū-tra-s by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya 'Great Commentary' with great finesse. These three sages, forming a formidable triumvirate, represent the high mark of Pāṇinian tradition. Unfortunately neither of these two works covers the whole text of Aṣṭ. Almost a thousand years later we have the full text commented upon in the Kāśi-kā of Vāmana and Jayāditya (c. 7th cent. A.D.) with ample illustrations under each rule and a full citation of the gaṇa-s under particular rules dealing with them. Kāśikā itself became the focal point of two

other early commentaries by Jinendrabiddhi (Nyāsa or Kāśikā-vi-varaṇa-pañj-ik-ā) and Haradatta (Padamañjar-ī). Since the Aṣṭ. was meant to be transmitted verbally, the sū-tra style imposed severe restrictions on the structure of the work, where even the saving of a mora was considered meritorious. In order to preserve the mathematic structure of aphoristic rules topical arrangement had to be sacrificed to effect economy, resulting in a very recondite work, necessitating a lot of exegesis and running from section to section to generate the surface forms from the strings of underlying deep structure. So in course of time a rearrangement was effected by such works as Pra-kri-yā-kau-mud-ī and Siddh-ānta-Kau-mud-ī which later became extremely popular at the expense of Kāśikā as a standard text in both traditional and university schools.

The eight chapters of Aṣṭ. are subdivided into quarter chapters (pāda-s) each of which contains a certain number of sū-tra-s. The first sūtra of the first quarter of the first chapter begins with the definition of the technical term *vy'd-dhi* [*vy'd-dhi-r āT=aiC*] wherein the technical term precedes the definition against the general pattern seen in the following sūtra [*aT=eÑ guṇa-h*] and Patañjali explains this as Pāṇini's wish for auspiciousness that he uses this word first. According to tradition, indicated by Patañjali, such auspicious expressions should be used at the beginning, middle and end of a work so that those studying the text may be successful in their endeavors. Here Pāṇini uses this auspicious word at the beginning of his text. This is just another proof that the repertory of phonemes in ŚS is not an integral part of Pāṇini's text, but is based on it, since all the sigla he uses for explaining the grammatical operations are based on it. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya begins with *atha śabda=anu=śās-ana-m* which he tries to explain himself. According to Kaiyaṭa this expression is Patañjali's own which he comments on. Most original sūtra works generally begin with the word *atha* followed by a word which describes the text which ensues. The word therefore cannot have been the title of Pāṇini's own work.

Pāṇini's description of Sanskrit as it was spoken during his time is based on three fundamental units: (1) nominal stems (*prāti-pad-ika-*), (2) verbal stems (*dhā-tu-*) and (3) affixes (*praty-ay-a-*) introduced after the first two to generate additional stems as well as finished words [*pada-s*], with a set of rules to generate the surface forms from their deep structures, and a set of rules on government to generate sentences as units of communication. The Dhātu-pāṭh-a catalogues all available verbal stems

divided into ten specific classes, while the Gaṇa-pāṭh-a records groups of nominal stems which undergo specific grammatical operations given in the rules. There is, thus, no lexicon of nominal stems, since their number is without any limit and depends upon actual usage. Since the object of grammar, according to the statements of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, is specified as explaining the usage current among the speakers of the language and is not prescriptive, such a listing of nominal stems appears to be incapable of completion. Patañjali cites here the case of the divine Brhas-pati and Indra, who, through continuous recitation of individual lexemes, could not come to an end, even in a thousand divine years! To achieve, therefore, a possible manner in which one can attempt a description which can cover the whole range of the language, Pāṇini has attempted to arrange his sūtra-s under two major headings: [ut-sarg-a-] a general rule which encompasses the largest number of linguistic items, and [apa-vād-a-] an exception which covers a smaller group not subject to the general rule.

In order to effect economy of expressions in the sū-tra style Pāṇini has devised a special metalinguistic language. In the first place, on the basis of the Praty-ā-hār-a Sū-tra-s a number of sigla have been used to denote the group of phonemes which are subject to a specific grammatical operation. The model provided by these introductory sū-tra-s has been followed in the Aṣṭ. by having a number of markers with specific indications. These markers are either phonemes occurring at the end or beginning of a morpheme or accent markers [udātta, anudātta or svarita] or a nasalized vowel (anu-nās-ika). Next in order come the technical terms which are two-fold: current words, but with technical definitions, as in the case of *vr̥d-dhi*, *guṇa*, or artificial ones like TI, GHU, BHA.

In the formulation of rules special use is made of three declensional groups of affixes: ablative for indicating the right context, locative for the left context and genitive for the substituendum. Special use of the locative is made to indicate (a) the subordinate word [upa-pada-] in a compound expression derived from a verbal stem and (b) also to indicate the meaning of an expression, particularly with reference to those of verbal stems. This is followed regularly in the meanings assigned to verbal stems in the Dhātu-pāṭha which, as originally compiled, did not contain the meanings.

Since the structure of Aṣṭ. is primarily intended to be a text which is to be transmitted orally, the maximum brevity has been aimed at in for-



mulating the sū-tra-s. No verbal finite forms are employed. The interpretation of the sū-tra by a proper sentence demands the filling of ellipsis in the sū-tra. So a process of *anu-vṛt-ti* is required to fill in these gaps and the rules are arranged in such a way that this becomes possible from preceding rules. A consequence of this is that topical arrangement has been sacrificed to ensure maximum economy. A collection of rules which are governed by a single rule is indicated by the forming of these governing rules with a svarita accent. Their extent depends upon particular contexts. For instance the governing rule in 3.1.1 covers the whole of chapters 3 to 5. Within such extended governing rules there could be other smaller governing rules. Individual expressions from one rule which should be carried on the following rule or rules are also expected to be enunciated with this accent. This was proper as long as the texts were transmitted orally from teacher to pupil in an unbroken line of descent. But this seems to have been broken at some time, since by the time Kāśikā came to be composed, this accentual system was no longer current. Hence the general maxim *prati-jñā-svar-it-āḥ pāṇin-īty-āḥ* whereby the commentaries alone are our source of where this accent would have been in the original text. Patañjali has already indicated in his MBh. that when there is doubt about the interpretation of a sū-tra, recourse has to be had to an explication: *vy-ā-khyā-na-to vi-śeṣ-a-prati-pat-ti-ḥ, na hi saṁ-deh-āt=a-lakṣ-aṇa-m*. This is particularly necessary in distinguishing between the ablative and genitive singular forms ending in °-as [*ṆasI/Ṇas*] when the context does not indicate which is intended. Thus to a large extent the interpretation of each sū-tra depends largely on the great commentaries beginning with MBh.

Pāṇini has the largest section dealing with all classes of affixes in the three chapters 3-5. They may be classified as follows: (1) Those which generate verbal stems from simplicia (3.1.5-30). (2) Those which generate verbal themes: class-markers (3.1.67ff.) and markers of the Future (Sigmatic and non-Sigmatic), Aorist, Perfect. With reference to the class markers, the verbal system is divided into two major groups: *sārva-dhātu-ka-* (Present System) where the theme is generated with these markers before the l-substitutes, and *ārdha-dhātu-ka* where the theme is generated without the class-markers. The l-substitutes are introduced after verbal themes (3.4.78). (3) Declensional affixes which are introduced after nominal stems (4.1.2), masculine, feminine or neuter. (4) Feminine affixes generating feminine nominal stems from other

nominal stems (4.1.3-81). (5) Primary nominal affixes [*kṛt* 3.1.93-3.4.117] and secondary nominal affixes [*taddhita* 4.1.76-5.4.160]. Since a nominal stem includes not only one which is not subject to derivation but also those ending in primary and secondary nominal stems as well as the class of compounds generated by a combination of the preceding, there is a section which deals with such composition (2.1.3-3.38). Governing rules in the generation of sentences are contained in 1.4.23-55, while the use of the declensional affixes in this connection is covered in 2.3.1-71.

Since a sentence is generated by the three sets of primary units enumerated by Pāṇini as nominal stems, verbal stems and a system of affixes which interact at the deep structure level, the morpho-phonemic rules which bring out the surface forms are dealt with under the general governing rule (*saṁ-hi-tā-y-ām* 6.1.72-157; 3.114-139) and consonantal *saṁdhi* is dealt with in chapter 8. These changes involve (1) the replacement of the first phoneme before another phoneme, (2) the replacement of both phonemes by either the first or the second one or of the second phoneme after the first. In some cases there is replacement by zero in the pada-final position. Several morphemic changes which occur in either nominal or verbal stems before affixes involve either a zero-replacement of a phoneme in the original stem or the addition of a phoneme. This addition may be at the stem-final or stem-initial position or may take place prior to the last syllable beginning with a vowel. Pāṇini uses the markers Ṭ for initial augment, K of final augment and M for an augment which is inserted before the final syllable beginning with a vowel. For zero-replacement he has four technical terms: *lopa* as a general term and *luK*, *Ślu* and *luP* for such replacement of an affix.

The metalinguistic use of accents has particular relevance to the indication of the voice of a verbal stem. In the Dhātupāṭha they are given with one of these accents to indicate the voice associated with each stem: the [*anudātta*] accent indicates the Ātmanepada or middle voice, while the [*svarita*] accent indicates both voices, the Ātmanepada being used when the result of the action is intended for the subject; similarly the marker Ṇ indicates Ātmanepada while ṅ indicates both voices as in the case of the svarita accent. Pāṇini's language is characterized by accents which are suprasegmental phonemes. In later days this seems to have been lost, even at the time of Patañjali. Later grammatical systems have little to say about accents. Pāṇini's rule 6.1.158 definitely shows that each pada or finished word had its own accent which he tries to describe in chapter 6. In the illustrations given in this work due care has been

taken to show the pada accent even when sentences are given as illustrations, and sentence accent is indicated only in the section which deals with sentences specifically in the *Aṣṭ*.

The general rule for accentuation of affixes is stated under 3.1.3; however, in many polysyllabic affixes it may fall on the penultimate syllable, and this is indicated by the marker R (6.1.217); if it falls on the final syllable of the affix, marker C is employed (6.1.163). On the other hand, if the affix generates an accent on the syllable preceding it, marker L is used (6.1.193). Similarly, if the affix does not bear any accent, marker P is used (3.1.4). In the case of secondary nominal forms ending in an affix marked with  $\tilde{N}$  or  $\tilde{N}$  the accent falls on the initial syllable of the secondary nominal stem, while it falls on the final syllable if the affix contains marker K (6.1.197,165).

Morpho-phonemic changes in the surface forms of stems generated by secondary affixes are indicated by use of markers  $\tilde{N}$  or  $\tilde{N}$ , to indicate that the initial syllable of the surface nominal form is replaced by a *vr̥ddhi* vowel (7.2.117-8). By a general rule the *guṇa* replacement of stem-final vowels *iK* (= *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*) is ruled in for verbal stems before *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* affixes (7.3.84) or stems ending in the final increment *puK* or having a penultimate light vowel (7.3.86) with modifications mentioned in 1.1.5 and 1.2.1-26. So by such metalinguistic usage Pāṇini generates the surface forms with a minimum use of state-ments.

Pāṇini's methodology may be illustrated by his generalization of the declensional and verbal inflexional affixes. By 4.1.2 he has the following archetypal affixes for the nominal declension:

| Nominative   | 1    | 2     | 3     |
|--------------|------|-------|-------|
| Vocative     | sU   | au    | Jas   |
| Accusative   | am   | auṬ   | Śas   |
| Instrumental | Ṭā   | bhyām | bhis  |
| Dative       | Ne   | bhyām | bhyas |
| Ablative     | ṆasI | bhyām | bhyas |
| Genitive     | Ṇas  | os    | ām    |
| Locative     | Ṇi   | os    | suP   |

These are introduced without any change after all nominal stems ending in consonants for masculine and feminine classes. When neuter stems are involved he has three rules indicating that nom.-acc. singular forms replace both sU and am by [Ø/am] while nom.-acc. dual affixes are replaced by [Śi] and the plural affixes Jas and Śas are replaced by [Śi]. These three allomorphs then cover the whole range of neuter stems. Ex-

cept for normal saṁdhi rules there is no change in the basic nominal stem forms. Next in order come both masc., fem. and neut. stems ending in semi-vowels. In the case of masc. forms, the stem undergoes a guṇa replacement of its final vowel before the affix *Jas* and those with marker  $\check{N}$  (except  $\check{N}i$ ), while the instr. sing.  $[T\bar{a}]$  is replaced by  $[n\bar{a}]$ . In the case of neut. stems an infixed increment  $[n]$  is inserted in the stems before affixes with initial vowels. Similarly in the case of neut. stems ending in  $[a]$  the infixed element is inserted before strong affixes beginning with a vowel  $[\acute{S}i]$ . For all stems, masc., fem., and neut. the genitive plural  $[\bar{a}m]$  gets an initial increment  $[n\bar{u}T]$  before which the preceding vowel is replaced by the long one. Thus there is an allomorph for the stem as well as the affix.

These archetypical affixes are introduced without any change after nominal stems ending in consonants, whether masculine or feminine. In the case of neuter stems allomorphs of some affixes are introduced:  $[\acute{S}i]$  for nom.-acc. dual and  $[\acute{S}i]$  for nom.-acc. plural. The only changes are due to normal saṁdhi rules:  $kṛ-t-$  m./n. 'doer',  $mṛd-$  f. 'earth': m.  $kṛt+sU = kṛt+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $kṛ-t$ ;  $mṛd+sU = mṛd+\emptyset = mṛd$ ;  $kṛ-t+bhyas = kṛ=d+bhyas$  (8.4.53);  $mṛd+sUP = mṛt-sU$  (8.4.55); n.  $kṛ-t+au = kṛ-t+\acute{S}i = kṛ-t-\bar{i}$ ;  $kṛ-t+\acute{S}i$ ,  $kṛ-n-t+i$  (7.1.72) where both the nominal stem as well as the affix have alloforms. Elsewhere, in all cases, whether stems end in vowels or consonants, neuters follow the same pattern as the masculines. Thus  $kṛ-t-\bar{a}$ ,  $kṛ-t-e$ ,  $mṛd-\bar{a}$ ,  $mṛd-e$  from instrumental onwards for masc., fem. as well as neut. stems.

A more complicated situation occurs in the case of nominal stems ending in short  $[i, u]$  which form a special class designated by Pāṇini with the technical term GHI (1.4.7). Changes occur both in the stem as well as the affix in specific cases: for the masc. and fem. stems, guṇa replacement of final vowel takes place before nom. plural affix and those affixes with marker  $\check{N}$  (except  $\check{N}i$ ) [cf. 7.3.108; 7.3.111]:  $hari+Jas = hare+as = haray-aḥ$  (6.1.78);  $hari+\check{N}e = hare+e = haray-e$  (6.1.78),  $hare+\check{N}as(I) = har-e+as = har-e-s$  (6.1.110);  $dhenu+Jas = dhen\acute{o}+as = dhenav-aḥ$ ;  $dhenu+\check{N}e/\check{N}as(I) = dhen\acute{o}+e/\check{N}as(I) = dhenav-e, dhen-o-s$ . Before  $[\check{N}i]$  of the loc. sing. the stem-final is replaced by short  $[a]$  (7.3.119) and  $[\check{N}i]$  is replaced by  $[auT]$  7.3.118]:  $hari+\check{N}i = har-a+au = har-au$  (6.1.88),  $dhenu+\check{N}i = dhen-a+au = dhen-au$ . In the case of stems ending in short sonant vowel  $[r]$ , there is first a replacement of the stem-final by  $[ana\check{N}]$  7.1.94] before the nominative sing. affix  $[sU]$ , and by guṇa before the loc. sing. affix  $[\check{N}i]$  and before strong affixes (7.3.110):

$kar-tṛ+sU = kar-tan+sU = kar-tan+∅$  (6.1.68) =  $kar-ta∅$  (8.2.7) =  $kar-tā$ ,  $kar-tṛ+au(T) = kar+tar+au(T) = kar-tār-au$  (6.4.11),  $kar-tār-as$ ,  $kar=tār-am$ ,  $kar-tṛ+Ñi = kar-tar-i$ . In all these three types the following allomorphs of affixes are introduced: for [ṭā] the allomorph [nā] and for gen. plural [ām] an initial increment [nṽṭ = nām], before which the short vowel final is replaced by the corresponding long one (6.4.3). In the case of neuter nouns ending in vowels the substitute morpheme  $\acute{S}\check{i}$  generates an infixed increment in the stem and also before affixes beginning with a vowel (7.1.73):  $vāri+\acute{S}\check{i} = vāri+nuM+i = vārī-ṇ-i$  (6.4.8);  $vāri+ṭā = vari+ṇā$  (7.3.120),  $vāri+Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi = vari-ṇ-e/as/i$ ,  $vāri+ām = vārī+ṇ-ām = vārī+ṇ-ām$ . The nom.-acc. sing. affixes sU and am are both replaced by  $∅$  (7.1.23):  $vāri+sU/am = vāri+∅ = vāri$ .

Next in order are feminine stems ending in long [ī, ū] for which Pāṇini has the technical term [strī 1.4.3] in which class feminine stems ending in short [i, u] are also included when affixes with marker  $\acute{N}$  are introduced after them (1.4.6). In the case of stems ending in long [ā] the nominative and accusative dual affixes are replaced by [ $\acute{S}\check{i}$  7.1.18]:  $ramā+au(T) = ramā+\acute{S}\check{i} = ramā+ī = ram-e$  (6.1.87). Stem-final [ā] is replaced by [e] before affixes [ṭā, os 7.3.105]:  $ramā+ṭā = rame+ā = ram-ay-ā$ ;  $ramā+os = ram-e+os = ram-ay-oḥ$ . This same phoneme also replaces stem-final [ā] before the vocative singular affix sU:  $ramā+sU(voc.) = rame+∅$  (6.1.69) where  $∅$  replaces the voc. sing. affix. This operates also on stems ending in short vowels [a, i, and u]:  $hari+sU = hare+∅$ ;  $dhenu+sU = dheno+∅$ ;  $deva+sU = deva+∅$ . Affixes marked with  $\acute{N}$  as IT receive an initial increment [yāṭ] after such stems (7.3.113):  $mālā+Ñe/Ñas(I) = mālā+yā-e/mālā+yā-as = mālā-yai$  (6.1.88)/  $mālā-yās$  (6.1.101). The affix [Ñi] is replaced by [ām]:  $mālā+yā-Ñi = mālā+yā-am = mālā-yām$ .

In the case of stems ending in long [ī, ū], by 7.3.107 the vocative sing. affix operates a replacement of the long by the short vowel:  $nadī+sU = nadi+∅$  (6.1.68) =  $nadi$ ;  $vadhū+sU = vadhū+∅ = vadhū$ . Affixes with marker  $\acute{N}$  acquire an initial increment [āṭ] after these stems:  $nadī+Ñe = nadī+āṭ-e = nadī+ai$  (6.1.89-90) =  $nady-ai$ ;  $nadī+Ñas(I) = nadī+ā-as = nady-ās$ ;  $nadī+Ñi = nadī+ā+ām$  (7.3.116). Since before these affixes feminine stems ending in short [i, u] are also designated by the technical term [nadi], we have the alternative surface forms:  $dhenu+Ñe = dhenav-e/dhenv-ai$ ;  $dhenu+Ñas(I) = dhen-o-s/dhenv-ās$ ;  $dhenu+Ñi = dhen-au/dhenv-ām$ ;  $matay-e/maty-ai$ ;  $mates/maty-ās$ ;  $mat-au/maty-ām$ .

Among the most complicated system, involving the maximum number of allomorphic changes come nominal stems ending in short [a], despite the fact that this class constitutes the largest number of lexemes in the Sanskrit language, and most studies start with the declension of this class, even in the rearranged works like Prakriyā-kaumudī and Siddhānta-kaumudī. Allomorphs of the stem as well as of the affixes are more in evidence here. These nominal stems comprise substantives and adjectives as one class and pronominal stems as another class. In the case of nominal stems we have, first, a replacement of stem-final vowel by [e] before plural affixes beginning with non-nasal consonants (7.3.103): *deva+bhyas* = *deve-bhyas*; *deva+sUP* = *deve-ṣu* (8.3.79); second, a replacement by the long vowel [ā] before affixes beginning with [yañ: y, bh 7.3.102]: *deva+Ñe* = *deva+ya* (7.1.13) = *devā-ya*; *deva+bhyām* = *devā-bhyām*; thirdly, replacement by [e] before affix [os]: *deva+os* = *deve+os* = *devay-os*. The allomorphs for affixes are: [ina] for [Ṭā], [āt] for [ÑasI], [sya] for [Ñas] by 7.1.12: *deva+Ṭā* = *deva+ina* = *dev-e-na*; *deva+ÑasI* = *deva+āt* = *dev-ā-t*; *deva+Ñas* = *deva-sya*. Like other stems ending in short vowels, [a] is also replaced by the long vowel before the affix [°-n-ām]: *deva+ām* = *deva+nuṬ-ām* (7.1.14) = *devā-nām*. The allomorph for the instr. plur. affix [bhis] is [ais]: *deva+bhis* = *deva+ais* = *dev-ai-s*.

Pronominal stems ending in [a] differ to some extent from the above. The nominative plural affix [Jas] is replaced by [Śī 7.1.17]: *sarva+Jas* = *sarva+ī* = *sarv-e*; with the preceding class of nominal stems ending in short vowels, the final phoneme of [Śas], after the stem-final and affix initial are replaced by the long vowel corresponding to the first (6.1.102-3), is replaced by [n]: *deva+Śas* = *dev-ā-(s→n)* = *dev-ā-n*; similarly for the masculine stems in short vowels: *har-ī-n*, *sūn-ū-n*, *pit-ṛ-n*, *sarv-ā-n*. [Ñe] is replaced by [smāi]: *sarva+Ñe* = *sarva+smāi*; [ÑasI] and [Ñi] are replaced respectively by [smāt, smin]: *sarva+ÑasI* = *sarva-smāt*; *sarva+Ñi* = *sarva-smin*. [ām] gets an initial increment [suṬ]: *sarva+ām* = *sarva+suṬ-ām* = *sarve-ṣām* (7.3.103, 8.3.59). In like manner pronominal stems ending in long [ā] differ from the corresponding nominal stems by having allomorphs for some of the declensional affixes: those marked with Ñ as IT get an initial increment [syāṬ] while the stem-final is replaced by short [a]: *sarvā+Ñe* = *sarva+syā-e* = *sarva-syai*; *sarvā+Ñas(I)* = *sarva+syā-as* = *sarva-syās*; *sarvā-Ñi* = *sarva+syā-ām*; *sarvā+ām* = *sarvā+s-ām* (7.3.103). In the case of the first and second personal pronouns there are the largest number of al-

lomorphs before the declensional affixes, some of which also undergo replacement. [asm-ad-] has the following allomorphs: sing. [aha-] before nom. sing. (7.2.94), [mahya-] before dative sing., [mama] before genitive sing., [ma] before sing. affixes, [āva] before dual affixes, [vaya] before nom. plur. (7.3.92-97). The affixes replaced are: [Ñe] and nom-acc. affixes by [am 7.1.28]. Before the acc. affixes stem-final vowel is replaced by the long one (7.2.87). The acc. plur. [Śas] is replaced by [n]:  $asm\text{-}ad + \dot{S}as = asm\text{-}aa + \dot{S}as$  (7.2.102) =  $asm\text{-}\bar{a} + n$  (6.1.97) =  $asm\text{-}\bar{a}\text{-}n$ . Dative plur. [bhyas] is replaced by [abhyam 7.1.30] while the corresponding ablative plural is replaced by [at 7.1.31]:  $asm\text{-}ad + bhyas = asm\text{-}a\text{-}a + bhyam = asm\text{-}a\text{-}bhyam$  (6.1.97),  $asm\text{-}ad + bhyas = asm\text{-}a\text{-}a + at = asm\text{-}a\text{-}at = asm\text{-}a\text{-}t$  (6.1.97). [ÑasI] is replaced by [at] also:  $asm\text{-}ad + \dot{N}asI = ma\text{-}ad + \dot{N}asI = ma\text{-}aa + at = m\text{-}a\text{-}t$ . The pronominal substitute genitive plur. [s-ām] is replaced by [ākam]:  $asm\text{-}ad + sām = asm\text{-}aa + ākam = asm\text{-}a + ākam = asm\text{-}ākam$ .

While the archetypal affixes remain constant after stems ending in consonants, we have morpho-phonemic changes in the stems themselves in the case of some special types such as those ending in [°-n] where before strong affixes, the penultimate vowel is replaced by the corresponding long one (6.4.8):  $rāj\text{-}an + sU = rāj\text{-}an + \emptyset$  (6.1.668) =  $rāj\text{-}\bar{a}\emptyset$  (8.2.7);  $rāj\text{-}\bar{a}n\text{-}au$ ,  $rāj\text{-}\bar{a}n\text{-}aḥ$ ,  $rāj\text{-}\bar{a}n\text{-}am$ . Before affixes beginning with a vowel, stems ending in [°-an-] replace the penultimate vowel by  $\emptyset$  (6.4.134):  $rāj\text{-}an + \dot{S}as/Tā = rāj\text{-}\emptyset n\text{-}as/-a$ ,  $rāj\text{-}an + bhyām/bhis = rāj\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}bhyām/-bhis$  (8.2.7), giving three sets of allomorphs:  $rāj\text{-}\bar{a}n\text{-}$ ,  $rāj\text{-}an\text{-}$ ,  $rāj\text{-}\emptyset n\text{-}$ . Stems generated by affixes containing a marker indicated by the siglum uK (U, R, L) receive an infixed increment [nuM] before strong affixes [suṬ, Śi 1.1.42-43]:  $mah + atU = mah\text{-}at + sU/au/Jas/am = mah\text{-}\bar{a}nt + \emptyset$  (6.1.68)  $mah\bar{a}n\emptyset$  (8.2.23),  $mah\text{-}\bar{a}nt\text{-}au$ .  $mah\text{-}\bar{a}nt\text{-}aḥ/mah\text{-}\bar{a}nt\text{-}am$  (6.4.10);  $dhī + matUP = dhī\text{-}mat + sU/au/Jas = dhī\text{-}mānt + \emptyset = dhi\text{-}mān\emptyset = dhī\text{-}mān$ ,  $dhī\text{-}mant\text{-}au$ ,  $dhī\text{-}mant\text{-}aḥ$ ,  $dhī\text{-}mant\text{-}am$ ;  $gam + \dot{S}atR = gam + \dot{S}aP + at\text{-} = gacch\text{-}a\text{-}at\text{-}$  (7.3.77) =  $gacch\text{-}a\text{-}t$  (6.1.97) +  $sU = gacch\text{-}ant + \emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $gacch\text{-}an\emptyset$  (8.2.23)  $gacch\text{-}ant\text{-}au$ .

In the case of stems generated by affixes [tṛC, tṛN], the penultimate vowel is replaced by the long one before strong affixes [Śi, suṬ 1.1.42-43, 6.4.11]:  $kṛ + tṛC/tṛN = kar\text{-}tṛ\text{-}/kār\text{-}tṛ + sU/au/as/am = kar\text{-}tān + sU$  (7.1.94) =  $kar\text{-}tān + \emptyset = kar\text{-}tā\emptyset = kar\text{-}tā$ ;  $kar\text{-}tār + au/Jas, am$  (7.3.110) =  $kar\text{-}tār\text{-}au$ ,  $kar\text{-}tār\text{-}as$ ,  $kar\text{-}tār\text{-}am$ . Stems ending in [°in-] have the penultimate vowel replaced by the long one before nom. sing. affix [sU]:  $daṇḍ\text{-}in + sU = daṇḍ\text{-}\bar{i}n + \emptyset$  (6.1.68),  $daṇḍ\text{-}\bar{i}\emptyset$  (8.2.7) contra  $daṇḍ\text{-}in\text{-}au$ ,  $daṇḍ\text{-}in\text{-}\bar{a}$ .

Stems ending in [°-s] exhibit a similar change before strong affixes (6.4.10): *pr-e-yas(UN)+sU/au/Jas/am* = *pr-e-ya-n-s+sU* = *pre-yans+∅* (6.1.68) = *pr-e-yān∅* (8.2.23), *pr-eyāms-au*, etc. *sarp-is+Śi* = *sarpi-n-s-i* = *sarpīms-i* (8.3.24,58; 6.4.8). A more complicated situation is to be seen in the case of perfect participles ending in the affix [KvasU (3.2.107)]: *vid+KvasU* = *vid-vas-* which has three allomorphs: *vid-vā-n-s* (= *vid-vāms-* 8.3.24) before strong affixes, *vid-vas-* before affixes beginning with consonants and *vid-uṣ-* before initial vowel of affixes: *vid-vān*, *vid-vāms-au*, *vid-vāms-as*; *vid-uṣ-aḥ*, *vid-uṣ-ā*; *vidvad-bhyām*, *vid-vad-bhiḥ* (8.2.72).

Separate rules indicate the allomorphs of some pronominal stems like [id-am-, ad-as, et-ad-, tad-, tyad-] etc., cf. 7.2.102ff.

It is particularly with reference to the declensional affixes as set down by Pāṇini as archetypal which minimizes the set of rules for deriving the allomorphs from them with the least effort. The table below shows the basic forms with their allomorphs:

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Nom. sing.         | sU   |
|                    | ∅ after consonantal stems, feminine stems ending in long [ī, ū, ā] (6.1.68)                    |
|                    | [am] after neuter stems ending in [a] (7.1.24) and first and second personal pronouns (7.1.25) |
| Voc. sing.         | sU → ∅ after stems ending in short vowels and monophthongs [e, o] (6.1.69)                     |
| Nom-voc. acc. dual | [au(T)]  |
|                    | [Śi] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.1.18) and all neuter stems (7.1.19)                            |
|                    | [am] after first and second personal pronouns (7.1.28)   |
| Nom. voc. plur.    | [Jas]  |
|                    | [Śi] after pronominal stems (7.1.17)   |
|                    | [Śi] after neuter stems (7.1.20)   |
|                    | [auŚ] after [astan-] (7.1.21)  |
|                    | [∅] after numerals designated by the technical term [ṣaṭ 1.1.24] (7.1.22)                      |
|                    | [am] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronouns (7.1.28)   |
| Acc. sing.         | [am]   |
|                    | ∅ after neuter stems (7.1.23)  |



|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
|                      | [am] after neut. stems ending in [a] (7.1.24)  |
| Acc. plur.           | [Śas]  |
|                      | long vowel+n (6.1.103)   |
|                      | [Śi] after neuter stems (7.1.20)   |
|                      | [auŚ] after [aṣṭan] (7.1.21)   |
|                      | [am] after 1st and 2nd pers. prons. (7.1.28)   |
| Instr. sing.         | [Tā]   |
|                      | [nā] after masc. stems defined by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7: ending in short i, u) (7.3.120) |
|                      | [ina] after masc. and neut. stems ending in short [a] (7.1.12)                         |
| Inst. dat.-abl. dual | [bhyām]  |
| Inst. plur.          | [bhis]   |
|                      | [ais] after stems ending in short [a], masc. as well as neut. (7.1.9)                  |
| Dat. sing.           | [Ñe]   |
|                      | [ya] after stems ending in [a] (7.1.13)  |
|                      | [smai] after masc. pronominal stems (7.1.14)   |
|                      | [syāT+Ñe] after fem. pron. stems (7.3.114)   |
|                      | [am] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.28)                                 |
|                      | [āT+Ñe] after fem. stems in both short and long [ī, ū] (7.3.112)                       |
|                      | [yāṭ+Ñe] after fem. stems ending in long [ā] (7.3.113)                                 |
| Dat. plur.           | [bhyas]  |
|                      | [abhyam] after 1st and 2nd pers. pron. (7.1.30)  |
| Abl. sing.           | [ÑasI]   |
|                      | [āt] after stems in short [a] (7.1.12)   |
|                      | [at] after 1st and 2nd pers. pron. stems (7.1.32)                                      |
|                      | [āT+ÑasI] after fem. stems in short and long [ī, ū: nadi 1.4.3ff.] (7.3.112)           |
|                      | [yāT+ÑasI] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.1.113)   |
| Abl. plur.           | [bhyas]  |
|                      | [at] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.31)                                 |

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| Gen. sing. | [N̄as]   |
|            | [sya] after stems in [a] (7.1.12)  |
|            | [syāT+N̄as] after pronominal stems (7.3.114)   |
|            | [āT+N̄as] after fem. stems in short or long [i, u] (7.3.112)   |
|            | [yāT+N̄as] after fem. stems in [ā] (7.3.113)   |
| Gen. dual  | [os]   |
| Gen. plur. | [ām]   |
|            | [nūT+ām] after stems ending in short vowels and fem. stems in [i, u, long and short, and ā] (7.1.54) |
|            | [sūT+ām] after pron. stems (7.1.52)  |
|            | [ākam] after 1st and 2nd pers. pronominal stems (7.1.33)   |
| Loc. sing. | [Ni]   |
|            | [ām] after fem. stems in [ā, I, u] (7.3.116) and after fem. stems in short [i, u] (7.3.117)          |
|            | [auT] after stems denoted by the technical term GHI (1.4.7) (7.3.118)                                |
|            | [āT+ām] after stems denoted by the technical term [nad̐ 1.4.3ff] (7.3.112)                           |
|            | [yāT+ām] after fem. stems in long [ā] (7.3.113)  |

Since Pāṇini deals with both nominal and verbal stems and the affixes introduced after them to generate the surface forms a great deal of attention has been paid to the nature of these pre-affixal stems in order to minimize the statements necessary for morpho-phonemic changes. The pre-affixal stem is designated by the technical term [aṅga- 1.4.13]. A very large part of the Aṣṭ. is devoted to this section, the governing rule 6.4.1 carrying over to the end of the seventh chapter (7.4.97). Morpho-phonemic changes in the pre-affixal stem are all dealt with fully in this section. While the technical term [pada] denotes a finished word ending in either the [sUP] or [tiN̄] triplets (1.4.14) its role is extended to an [aṅga] before affixes beginning with Kya-° [= KyaN̄, KyaC, KyaṢ] (1.4.15) or before an affix with marker S as IT (1.4.16) and also before affixes beginning with [Śas] (4.1.2) and ending with kaP (5.4.1.151). Changes occurring to a [pada] are covered by the governing rule 8.1.16 extending up to 8.3.54. Similarly changes occurring to the right of a [pada] are covered by governing rule 8.1.17 extending up to 8.1.68. A

third situation arises as an exception to the [pada] status defined by 1.4.17 when the affix introduced after it begins with a vowel or semi-vowel [y] and is covered by the technical term [BHA 1.4.18]. It also covers the affixes with initial [t] or [s] having the sense of affix [matUP 1.4.19]. Governing rule 6.4.129 extending up to the end of the chapter covers the changes occurring in this type of stem. By distinguishing the stem in this three-fold manner Pāṇini minimizes the application of some of his replacement rules which would otherwise generate unacceptable forms. Thus from *marut-* 'wind' we have [pada-s] such as *marut+Tā/Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi* = *marut-ā/-e/-as/-i* where 8.2.39 is inapplicable because here the stem is not a [pada] but [BHA]. On the other hand such exceptional forms which occur in the Veda like *ayas=maya-* (1.4.20) contra classical *ayo-maya-* (6.1.114) are exceptions to this classification. In the case of *ṛk-vat-ā* derived from the underlying deep structure *ṛc+vatUP+Tā*, by its status as a [pada] the palatal stop [ç] is replaced by the velar stop [k 8.2.30], but by its status as a [BHA] it is not replaced by the corresponding voiced phoneme (by 8.2.39). The [pada] status of *rāj-an-* before affixes beginning with a consonant other than [y-] makes 8.2.7 applicable to generate the surface form from *rāj-an+bhyām/bhis/bhyas* : *rāj-a∅=bhyām/bhis/bhyas*. By the ordering of rules in such a manner that rules stated after 8.2.1 are considered not to have taken effect if the situation generated by its application becomes subject to the operation of any rule in the earlier section of the Aṣṭ: thus in *rāj-a∅+bhyām/bhyas* the rules [sUP-i ca 7.3.102] and [bahu-vac-an-e jhaLy eT 7.3.103] cannot operate, as at the time of their operation 8.2.7 is considered invalid, and the condition that the stem should end in short [a] is not satisfied.

Pāṇini's treatment of the conjugation of verbal stems also indicates the insights which he combines with the need for brevity. He classifies the system into ten main categories of tenses and moods and has the technical term [l] to designate them. In order to indicate each of these ten he has the following t.t.t.: IAT for Present Indicative, IIT for Perfect, IUT for non-sigmatic Future, IRT for sigmatic Future, IET for (Vedic) Subjunctive forming one group with marker [T] as IT, and IAN Imperfect, IIN Optative, IUN Aorist and I RN the Conditional, forming a second group with marker [N] as IT. The verbal stems have three constructions: active [kar-tar-i], passive [kar-maṇ-i] and impersonal [bhāv-e] but two voices: active [para-smai-pada] and middle [āt-man-e-pada]. The passive and impersonal constructions are effected by introducing the

Ātmanepada affixes after a special theme with the marker [yaK 3.1.67]. Verbal stems, in their active construction, can have either Parasmaipada or Ātmanepada affixes introduced after them. Some take exclusively Parasmaipada while others take Ātmanepada affixes. The group of stems which take the latter are marked with an anudātta or [Ñ] as an IT in the Dhātupāṭha. A number of stems take optionally one of them, the first being used when the fruit of the action is intended for other than the subject, while the second is used when it is intended for the subject and they are indicated in the Dhp. by svarita accent or [Ñ̄] as IT. Those which take the Parasmaipada are remaining stems in the active construction: cf. 1.3.12, 72, 78.

When an l-member is introduced after a verbal stem one of two things may happen: if the construction is active, the verbal stem receives its class-marker before the l-substitutes replace the l-member; if the construction is either passive or impersonal, the corresponding marker [yaK] is introduced before the l-substitutes. In the active construction there are nine classes of verbal stems, each having its particular marker [vi-kar-aṇa-]: These are according to their classificatory number [ŚaP] for [bhū-] class, Ø<sup>1</sup> [Śap→luK] for [ad-] class, Ø<sup>2</sup> [Ślu] for [hu-] class, [ŚyaN] for [div-] class, [Śnu] for [su-] class, [Śa] for [tud-] class, [ŚnaM] for [rudh-] class, [u] for [tan-] class and [Śnā] for [krī-] class as given in the Dhp. The so-called tenth class is but a new generation of verbal stems, which also includes causatives generated from primary verbs, with marker [NiC] and take the marker [ŚaP] before l-substitutes. 3.1.5-30 introduce a class of affixes, including [NiC] which generate new verbal stems defined by the t.t. [dhā-tu- 3.1.32], but these affixes are optional when the stems are followed by ārdha-dhātuka affixes. This classification of sārva-dhātuka and ārdha-dhātuka has its explanation in the fact that the first are introduced after the whole verbal stem + its class marker which, to distinguish it from the stem, may here be designated "theme", while the second group of affixes are introduced after the primitive stem which may be considered as [ardha-dhatu-]. Thus sārva-dhātuka affixes are introduced after verbal themes while the other class is introduced after the basic verbal stems. The word theme will also designate the final [aṅga] which appears before the particular l-substitute of an l-member.

There are three persons and three numbers. Thus each of the voices contains nine affixes. Their archetypal forms as given by Pāṇini are:

| <i>Person</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Dual</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Third         | tiP          | tas         | jhi          |
| Second        | siP          | thas        | tha          |
| First         | miP          | vas         | mas          |

These are the Parasmaipada group of affixes.

The corresponding Ātmanepada affixes are:

| <i>Person</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Dual</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Third         | ta           | ātām        | jha          |
| Second        | thās         | āthām       | dhvam        |
| First         | iṬ           | vahi        | mahiÑ        |

By 1.1.71 two sigla are generated: tiÑ for the whole group of l-substitutes, and taÑ for the Ātmanepada substitutes. The siglum tiÑ also represents a [pada] ending in these affixes, just as [suP] represents not only the twenty-one declensional affixes but also a [pada] ending in them.

One may also note that while the Parasmaipada affixes belong primarily to the Present system, the Ātmanepada affixes indicate a secondary system. Pāṇini's classifying the l-members in two groups respectively marked by [Ṭ] and [Ñ] shares many common features requiring minimum rules of replacement, as we shall see. The Parasmaipada affixes in their canonical forms hold good without any change (except for the replacement of initial [jh] by [ant] for the Present Indicative), the two Futures (except for the third person in the case of IUṬ or non-sigmatic Future), and the Conditional. For IUṬ there is a replacement of the third person affixes by [Dā, rau, ras 2.4.87]. For the Perfect all the nine affixes are replaced by the following scheme: (3.4.82).

| <i>Person</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Dual</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Third         | NaL          | atus        | us           |
| Second        | thaL         | athus       | a            |
| First         | NaL          | va          | ma           |

For the Imperative the following substitutions are indicated: 3.4.85: it shares the same affixes as lAÑ or Imperfect, viz. [tas, thas, tha, miP] are respectively replaced by [tām, tam, ta, am 3.4.101]. In addition the following substitute rules yield the new allomorphs: (1) affix final [i] replaced by [u]: [tu] sing, [antu] plur; (2) [siP] replaced by [hi] which is not marked by P as IT (3.4.87) and [miP] is replaced by [ni 3.4.83]. By 3.4.99 affix final [s] is replaced by ∅. Thus there is an interlinking in this of both the groups of l-members with marker [Ṭ, Ñ], yielding the following scheme:

| <i>Person</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Dual</i> | <i>Plur.</i>           |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|------------------------|
| Third         | tu           | tām         | antu                   |
| Second        | hi           | tam         | ta                     |
| First         | ni           | va          | ma [ °-s → ∅ (3.4.99)] |

In addition the affixes of the first person get an initial increment [āṭ] which is marked with P as IT (6.4.92) for both sets of affixes.

For the Ātmanepada affixes the following set of rules indicates the substitute allomorphs: by 3.4.79 l-substitutes of l-members with marker [Ṭ] are generated by replacing the last syllable beginning with a vowel (Ti) by [e]: thus [ta] becomes [te], [a(n)ta] becomes [ante] and so on; [thās] is replaced by [se 3.4.80], and we get the following scheme:

| <i>Person</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Dual</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Third         | te           | āte         | a(n)te       |
| Second        | se           | āthe        | dhve         |
| First         | e            | vahe        | mahe         |

By 7.1.4-5 the element [jh] of the 3rd pers. plur. is replaced by [at] when introduced after reduplicated themes or themes which do not end in short [a].

For the Imperative [lOT] the following additional rules apply: 3.4.91 provides for replacement of affix final of [se, dhve] respectively by [va, am] yielding [sva, dhvam]; 3.4.93 provides the replacement of the first person affix-final [e] by [ai]. Elsewhere [e] is replaced by [ām] by 3.4.90.

| <i>Person</i> | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Dual</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Third         | tām          | ātām        | a(n)tām      |
| Second        | sva          | āthām       | dhvam        |
| First         | ai           | ā-vahai     | ā-mahai      |

Vedic Subjunctive [lET] like the Imperative [lOT] shares the features of both the [Ṭ] and [Ṇ] groups of l-members, cf. 3.4.94 whereby the affixes receive an initial increment [aṬ] or [āṬ]: e.g., [pat-a+ā-ti = pat-ā-ti]. The long [ā] of affixes is replaced by [ai]: [mantr-ay=aitē]; this is an optional rule, and similarly [i] of affixes is optionally replaced by ∅ (3.4.97).

The archetypal affixes for [taṆ] given by Pāṇini constitute the basic secondary affixes, introduced without any change as substitutes for [lAṆ, lUṆ, lRṆ], respectively the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional. With reference to Optative [lIṆ] and its sub-variety Precative or Benedictive which functions as ārdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.116) we have the following allomorphs: first, there is an initial increment [yāsuṬ] for Parasmaipada affixes and [sīryuṬ] for Ātmanepada affixes (3.4.102-3), and an additional

increment [suṬ] preceding phonemes [t, th] of affixes, which, in the case of sārva-dhātu-ka Optative are replaced by Ø (7.2.79). The 3rd pers. plur. [jha] is replaced by [ran], and the 1st pers. sing. [i] is replaced by [a]. The scheme of affixes for Optative Ātmanepada is, therefore:

| Person | Sing.    | Dual      | Plur.     |
|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Third  | Øiy+ta   | Øiy+ātām  | Øiy+ran   |
| Second | Øiy+thās | Øiy+āthām | Øiy+dhvam |
| First  | Øiy+a    | Øiy+vahi  | Øiy+mahi  |

The corresponding scheme for Parasmaipada affixes is:

| Person | Sing.  | Dual    | Plur.            |
|--------|--------|---------|------------------|
| Third  | yāØ+t  | yāØ+tām | yāØ+us (3.4.108) |
| Second | yāØ+s  | yāØ+tam | yāØ+ta           |
| First  | yāØ+am | yāØ+va  | yāØ+ma           |

For the Benedictive or Precative we have:

(a) Parasmaipada:

| Person | Sing.                          | Dual      | Plur.    |
|--------|--------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Third  | yās+s+t (= yaØ<br>+Ø+t 7.2.29) | yās+s+tām | yās+us   |
| Second | yās+s                          | yās+s+tam | yas+s+ta |
| First  | yās+am                         | yās+va    | yās+ma   |

(b) Ātmanepada:

| Person | Sing.      | Dual         | Plur.     |
|--------|------------|--------------|-----------|
| Third  | sīy+s+ta   | sīy+ā-s-tām  | sīy+ran   |
| Second | sīy+s+thās | sīy+ā-s-thām | sīy+dhvam |
| First  | sīy+a      | sīy+vahi     | sīy+mahi  |

Pāṇini distinguishes between a verbal stem and a verbal theme. By including the affixes beginning with [saN: 3.1.5] and ending with [NiN̄ 3.1.30] as those building up derived verbal stems (3.1.32) he provides for generating themes from them by introducing the general active class marker ŚaP (3.1.68) before sārva-dhātu-ka affixes. There are other markers which generate themes before l-substitutes. The marker [sya] characterizes the verbal theme before l-substitutes of the sigmatic Future [IR̥Ṭ] and the Conditional [IR̥N̄] (3.1.33). Likewise before l-substitutes of [lET] Subjunctive there is an optional marker [siP] (3.1.34). Before [lIT] substitutes, a derived verbal stem has the marker [ām], and similarly the verbal stem [kās-] (3.1.35) and those which begin with a vowel other than [a], which is heavy (3.1.36), and a few others (3.1.37-39). Before [lUN̄] substitutes the theme is generated by several markers: [Cl̥i] replaced by [s̥iC 3.1.44], [Ksa 3.1.45], [CaN̄ 3.1.48], [aN̄ 3.1.52], [CiN̄ 3.1.60ff.], [Ø 2.4.77] yielding a number of themes giving seven types: (1)

Root Aorist ( $\emptyset$  replacement of  $siC$ ), (2) a-Aorist ( $a\check{N}$ ), (3) reduplicated Aorist ( $Ca\check{N}$ ), and 4 sub-types of sigmatic Aorists: (4) s-Aorist [ $siC$ ], (5) sa-Aorist [ $Ksa$ ], (6) i- $\check{s}$ -Aorist ( $= i\check{T}+siC$ ) and (7) s-i- $\check{s}$ -Aorist [ $saK$  7.2.73+ $i\check{T}+siC$ ]. Themes are generated before [ $li\check{T}$ ] substitutes by a process of reduplication for which simple rules are given in 6.1.1-3,8, and 7.4.59-62,66. Reduplication rules pertaining to the formation of intensive stems are contained in 7.4.82ff.

One of the original concepts in the Aṣṭ. is that of the zero affix. The zero replacement of any item is generally indicated by the technical term [lop-a- 1.1.60] and of affixes by the special terms [ $luK$ ,  $\acute{S}lu$ ,  $luP$  1.1.61]. The need for this distinction is with reference to the general rule 1.1.63 which stipulates that when an affix is replaced by  $\emptyset$ , its presence is still felt in effecting the morpho-phonemic change due to it. Thus *agni-m ci-tavān* = *agni+ci+KviP* (3.2.91) = *agni-ci-t-* (6.1.71) + *sU* = *agni-ci-t-* $\emptyset$  (6.1.68) = *agni-ci-t* 'who had lit the sacrificial fire' is considered a [pada] despite the non-appearance of the sUP triplet. On the other hand a replacement of an affix by employing one of the three t.tt. containing [ $lu$ ] is an exception to this rule: *vid+(ŚaP → luK 2.4.72)+tas* = *vit-* $\emptyset$ +*tas*; since this affix is deemed to be marked by [ $\check{N}$ ] as IT (1.2.4), there is no guṇa replacement of the theme-final vowel, and  $\emptyset$  does not bar the operation of 1.1.5.

Each of these three zero affixes  $\emptyset^1$ ,  $\emptyset^2$  and  $\emptyset^3$  (respectively denoting [ $luK$ ], [ $\acute{S}lu$ ], and [ $luP$ ]) has its own special field.  $\acute{S}lu$  alone is restricted as substitute for  $\acute{S}aP$  (2.4.75).  $\emptyset^3$  [ $luP$ ] preserves the number and gender of the stem after which it is introduced (1.2.51).

The general rule which bars replacement by guṇa vowels (1.1.5) has two markers [ $K$ ,  $\check{N}$ ] and by later interpretation also [ $*G$ ]. Why was it necessary to have more than one marker? The Aṣṭ. has K-IT as well as  $\check{N}$ -IT l-substitutes: among such K-IT affixes are l-substitutes of [ $li\check{T}$ ] which are not marked as P-IT when introduced after verbal stems which do not terminate in a conjunct nexus (1.2.6) and other affixes indicated in 1.2.7-17, with exceptions shown in 1.2.18ff. On the other hand all sārva-dhātu-ka affixes which are not marked by P as IT are regarded as  $\check{N}$ -IT (1.2.4) as well as l-substitutes not marked by [ $\check{N}$ ] or [ $\check{N}$ ] as IT (1.2.1) and initial increment [ $i\check{T}$ ] introduced after the verbal stem [*vi-* 1.2.2], but optionally after [*ūrṇu-*] 1.2.3; similarly the initial increment [*yāsuṭ*] of Parasmaipada l-substitutes of [ $li\check{N}$ ], but which is K-IT when introduced as l-substitutes of Precative. Since both markers prevent the



operation of (7.3.84,86) by the meta-rule 1.1.5, the reason for differentiation is with reference to vocalization (sam-pra-sār-aṇa) of semi-vowels: 6.1.15 applies this vocalization to the verbal stems [vac-, svap-] and the group beginning with [yaj] before K-IT affixes, while the following rule 16 applies to stems beginning with [grah-] before both K-IT and Ñ-IT affixes. This provides the justification for the use of both markers in 1.1.5. By interpretation later critics of Aṣṭ. have included \*G also as such a marker since the nexus [G-K-Ñ] results by saṁdhi into [\*K-K-Ñ = K-Ñ] and this justifies the surface form *sthā-snu-* (3.2.139) where the affix is given as [Ksnu]. If it is K-IT then 6.4.66 would operate to yield an unacceptable form *sthī-ṣṇu-*.

The necessity of the Dhātu-pāṭha will be seen time and again when Pāṇini refers to verbal stems marked specifically with an accent or a phoneme as an IT. When he defines Ātmanepada stems as designated with an anudātta marker or by [Ñ], it is the Dhp. which supplies such a list. References such as [anudātta=upadesa-° 6.4.37] refer one to the Dhp.

Verbal stems marked by [Ñ] as IT, for instance, generate participles ending in [Ktá] to denote the present (3.2.180). Verbal stems with [ḌU] as marker generate a nominal stem with affix [Ktri] 3.3.88 and those with [ṬU] generate nominal stems with [athúC] 3.3.89. Similarly a stem characterized by [ā] as IT does not operate the initial augment [iṬ] of an ārdhadhātuka affix (7.2.16): *ÑI-mid-Ā+Ktá = mid+tá = min-ná-* (8.2.42). Stems with marker [O] are also subject to the operation of 8.2.48: *O-vij-Ī+Ktá = vij+tá = vij+ná = vig-ná* (8.2.30). Stems with marker [Ī] as IT do not also operate the initial augment [iṬ] on affixes denoted by t.t. [niṣṭhā: Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26]: cf. *vig-na-*. Stems with [I] as marker insert an infixed increment after the last vowel of the stem (7.1.58). Stems with marker [U] optionally operate the initial increment [iṬ] on affix Ktvā (7.2.56). Those marked with long [Ū] as IT optionally operate the initial increment [iṬ] before ārdha-dhātuka affixes (7.2.44). The operation of 7.4.1 is barred from stems with marker [R] (7.4.2). Stems with marker [L] have the Aorist marker [aÑ] before Parasmaipada l-substitutes (3.1.55). The operation of 7.2.1 is not applicable to stems with marker [E] as IT (7.2.5). Stems ending in [Ṣ] as IT generate feminine nominal stems with affix [áÑ] (3.3.104): *jṛṣ+áÑ+TāP* (4.1.4)= *jar-á* (7.4.16). Lastly those with [IR] as marker optionally have the Aorist marker [aÑ] for the [Cl] substitute [sṛC] (3.1.57). All these rules are indications that for understanding the operation of these rules the Dhp. lexicon is a prime necessity.

One of the most complicated topics involved is that of the governing rule 7.2.35 which indicates that before an ārdha-dhātuka affix with an initial consonant other than semi-vowel [ $y = v_aL$ ] an initial increment is added defined by [iT]. This operation is not only governed by the conditions stated in this rule, but is subject also to the nature of the verbal stem after which such affixes are introduced. Beginning with 7.2.8, exceptions to this rule are stated. Rule 10 indicates that stems marked with anudātta accent when first introduced (i.e., in the Dhp.) and are monosyllabic, do not bring about this increment. Here again an appeal has to be made to the Dhp. lexicon. The section dealing with details of this augment ends with 7.2.75, and goes forward to extend the scope of this augment for some sārva-dhātu-ka affixes also (76-78). In a number of cases, while specifying the larger inclusive classes such as [bhū-] the word [ādi-] is used to denote them; similarly for shorter groups we have a similar use, as in [pū=ādīn-n-ām 7.3.80], or the word [pra-bhṛ-ti-] as in the case of (adj-pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ ŚaPaḥ 2.4.72) or the plural of the first stem to denote the group concerned (with or without a number): [kir-as=ca pañca-bhyaḥ 7.2.75] or [dyud-bhyo IUN-i 1.3.91]. The need for referring to the Dhp. arises in all such cases.

In a similar manner the Gaṇapāṭha is an essential accompaniment to the Aṣṭ. The section dealing with taddhita formation (4.1.76 to the end of chapter 5) shows all such instances where one has to go to the Gaṇapāṭha for the full operation of the rules stated in this section.

One special feature of affixes remains to be stated. While primary [kṛt] and secondary [taddhita] affixes generate primary and secondary nominal stems, there is one area of a [prāti-pad-ika-] which deals specifically with the generation of compounds. But in the generation of a number of them, we have a section of the taddhita affixes which are primarily concerned, not with the individual nominal stems which go into composition, but with the compound as a whole, after which these affixes are introduced. They go under the governing rule of [sam-āsa=ant-āḥ 5.4.68 to the end of the chapter]. Of the many such affixes we may note three here; [DāC 5.4.73; āC 5.4.75ff.; ṬāC 5.4.01ff.]; while these three in fact represent an accented [á] as the affix, the markers used to distinguish them have a special significance. [DaC], by 6.4.143 replaces the syllable beginning with the final vowel of the nominal stem by Ø: *dv-au vā tray-o vā = dvi+tri+DāC (5.4.73) = dvi-tr+Øá+Jas = dvi-tr-ā-ḥ* 'consisting of two or three'. Affix [ṬaC] generates a feminine stem with affix [NīP 4.1.15]. The marker [Ṭ]

specifically generates this type of feminine stems. Pāṇini's system of markers is so complicated that many times interpretation is necessary. As an example we may cite:  $pac+LAT = pac+\acute{S}aP+\acute{S}ānaC$  (3.2.124)+ $T\bar{a}P$  (4.1.4)=  $pac-a+m-\bar{a}n-\bar{a}$ ; since the affix is a replacement for  $[LAT]$  by 1.1.56, it has the same function as  $[LAT]$  and by 4.1.15 fem. affix  $[N̄P]$  is required; but interpretation comes in here to explain that since  $[LAT]$  has two markers, the function of  $[T]$  is to separate  $[LAT]$  along with other l-members with that marker from those which are marked by  $[N̄]$ . Again this marker  $[N̄]$  as applied to l-members does not come under the operation of the metalinguistic rule 1.1.5. Its function is to separate the two sets of l-members which come under two different sets of l-substitutes, primary and secondary. Another illustration of such multiple markers is the affix  $[CphaN̄]$  where  $[N̄]$  does not operate under 6.1.197 for accent but only for 7.2.117 for replacement of the vowel of the initial syllable by  $vṛddhi$ , while  $[C]$  operates under 6.4.163.

One of the unique features of  $Aṣṭ$ . is the role of accent. Later grammatical systems are not at all concerned with this topic. A remodeling of  $Aṣṭ$ . in Cāndra-vy-ā-kar-aṇa omits the section on accent. It is possible that the phonemic role of accent which is so vital to Pāṇini's description of his native speech did not play a role during the period of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. While Patañjali does discuss the role of accent in so far as sacrificers are involved, its role in common speech has not generated any special comments. In fact Patañjali himself interprets the rule 1.1.70 by analyzing the rule  $[ta-para-s tat-kāla-sya 1.1.70]$  as  $[ta-ḥ par-o ya-smāt so'yam ta-para-ḥ; tāt=api para-ḥ ta-para-ḥ]$ . The first is a bahuvrīhi compound and is accented on the first member, while the second is a tatpuruṣa and accented on the final syllable of the compound expression. Such an analysis can only be possible if accent was not phonemic in the common speech. The liturgical language alone seems to have kept the role of accent at all times in carrying out the functions assigned to particular ceremonies. Patañjali refers to the sages who used to say  $[yar-vā ṇas tar vā-ṇas]$  in their normal speech but spoke correctly as  $[yad vā nas tad vā naḥ]$  while performing Vedic rituals.

According to Pāṇini each  $[pada]$  or finished word has all its syllables as anudātta except for one which bears either the udātta or svarita accent. By a general rule 3.1.3 an affix normally bears the accent on its initial syllable. Any departure from this governing rule is indicated by special rules. For instance all affixes with marker  $[P]$  as well as the declensional affixes denoted by the siglum  $sUP$  are anudātta (3.1.4).

That accent is phonemic can be seen from a few examples. While interpreting the rule [tulya=ās-ya-pra-yat-na-m sa-varṇa-m 1.1.9] Patañjali explains the word [ās-yà-] as derived from the stem [asU IV 100] with affix [NyàT] which by 6.1.185 bears the svarita accent on the affix, but in the context of the sūtra, he derives it further as [ās-y-è bhav-a-m = ās-yà+yaT 5.1.6] which by 6.1.213 bears the udātta accent on the first syllable, and refers to a point of articulation within the buccal region. A difference in the accent accounts for the difference of meaning. Similarly 5.2.49 provides for the formation of ordinals prior to 'eleventh' by ruling in an initial increment [maT] to the affix [DáT 5.2.48], and we have forms like *pañca-m-á-*, *sapta-má-*, *aṣṭa-m-á-* from the numerals *pañcan-*, *saptan-*, *aṣṭan-* respectively, the marker [D] effecting Ø replacement of the syllable beginning with the final vowel (6.4.143). By 5.3.49 affix [aN] is introduced after these ordinals to denote a fraction: the resulting forms are homophonous, but the accent moves to the initial syllable (6.1.197). Thus accent is phonemic and must have been perceptible during Pāṇini's time since he is so careful in recording facts.

Since the [pada] is the unit which bears an accent on one of its syllables, the question arises as to what happens to the constituent parts of a [pada] each of which may have its own individual accent. In fact the Dhātupāṭha gives the list of verbal stems indicating their accents which indicates that verbal stems may have their own individual accents. Except in a few cases the Gaṇapāṭha does not mark the accents of nominal stems. Their accent is to be deduced from the underlying deep structure which generates the surface forms. Since a [pada] is defined as either a nom. stem + sUP or a verbal stem + tiÑ, one has to derive the position of the [pada] accent from the process of derivation. The accent proper to the last element which is introduced in the deep structure generally marks the [pada] accent. As an illustration we may take the case of the third person singular of the Present Indicative of the verbal stem *bhū* which bears the udātta accent: *bhū+LAT* = *bhū+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhó+a+ti*. Since the class marker [ŚaP] and the l-substitute [tiP] are P=IT-s they are both anudātta. So the resulting form is *bháv-a-ti*. Similarly in the case of *suÑ* which is anudātta, *su+LAT* = *su+nú+tiP* = *su-nó-ti* since by 1.2.4 the class marker [Śnu] of the su-class is a Ñ-IT and prevents a guṇa replacement of stem final [u] while that of the class marker is so replaced. When we come to consider the situation in the deep structures *bhū+ŚaP+tás*, *su+Śnú+tás*: = *bhó+a+tás* = *bhav-a-tas*, *su-nu-tas*, the place of the accent has to be determined, since in both illustrations there

are two of the three elements bearing their own accents. The normal position is that of the last accented member so that we have *su-nu-tás*, with the udātta on the last syllable of the surface form. In the normal course the same thing should have happened in the case of *bhāv-a-tas*. But a special rule prevents the accent falling on accented l-substitutes, cf. 6.1.186, which indicates that accented l-substitutes lose their accent when introduced, so that themes ending in short [a] retain their original accent. A stem having an accented syllable loses its accent if the theme marker is accented: *lūN+Śnā = lu-nā-tiP*; this accent of the theme is lost if the affix has an accent: *lu-nī-tás*. 5.4.11 introduces the affix [ám] after the comparative and superlative affixes: when it is introduced after this we have *lu-nī-tas-tar-ā=m*. Though all sUP affixes are defined as anudātta (3.1.4), there are situations when they acquire the udātta accent. Thus 6.1.168 teaches that beginning with the instrumental singular, all sUP affixes bear the udātta accent when introduced after nominal stems which are monosyllabic before the locative plural affix [suP]: *vāc+śú = vāk-śú* (8.2.30; 3.59); *vāc-ā/é/ús; vāg-bhī/bhyām/bhyás*. When these stems enter into composition as final members, this rule is optional (6.1.169).

The accentual system as occurring in the Vedic texts and as described in the Aṣṭ. sometimes shows differences between the Vedic system and that current during Pāṇini's time in the speech of the educated community. For instance the pronominal stem *sārva-* bears the udātta accent on the first syllable in Ṛg Veda, but Pāṇini's rule [sarva-sya sUP-i 6.1.191] indicates that this is so only before sUP triplets; the inference is, therefore, that the word normally bears the accent on the second syllable. Again by [hrasva-nuṭ=bhyām matUP 6.1.176] the affix matUP is accented when introduced after a nominal stem which ends in a short accented vowel. In the case of *himá-* 'snow' which is accented on the final syllable Pāṇini's rule gives *hima-vát-* with the accent shifted to the affix, contra Vedic *himá-vat* bearing the accent on the final syllable preceding the affix. That accent did have a vital role in actual speech during Pāṇini's time is also indicated by his rule 6.1.181: [vi-bhāṣ-ā bhāṣā-y-ām] very clearly.

There are many homophonous elements having different functions. For instance [áC] stands for all vowels, as the siglum derived from ŚS 1-4 and it also stands for kṛt affix, with feminine in long [ā] (3.1.134; 4.1.4) and also a taddhita affix (5.2.127), the marker [C] indicating the accent falling on the affix itself (6.1.163). There are two affixes [KtiN] and

[KtiC], the first deriving feminine stems with accent on the initial syllable (6.1.197) while the second generates stems with a precative sense (3.3.174). Affix [KtiC] also is not subject to the operation of 6.4.15 and 37. There are two affixes [tṛ] with markers [C] or [N], differing in the accentuation of the surface forms; affix [tṛN] is introduced after all verbal stems to denote the significances enumerated in 3.2.129: habitual disposition, age or capacity, (3.2.135) but [tṛC] to denote that the agent is worthy of the action (3.3.169) and can also occur after all verbal stems.

Occasionally a doubt may arise regarding the function of an element. As an instance we may note the general replacement rule 7.1.1 whereby [yu, vu] are replaced respectively by [ana, aka]. By 6.4.88 the element [vuK] is introduced after the verbal stem [bhū-] before l-substitutes of [IUN and IIT]. There are a number of affixes containing the element [vu] such as [DvuN, NvuC, NvuL, vuK, vuC, vuN, vuN, ŠvuN]. To arrive at the proper interpretation of [vuK] introduced after the verbal stem [bhū-] interpretation is necessary that it is a final increment of the verbal stem and is not an affix. The interpretation of 7.1.1 draws on 7.1.2 which has the specification [praty-aya=ādī-nām] and by a process known as [apa-karṣ-a-] introduces this term from the following sūtra, contra the normal system of [anu-vṛt-ti-] where one derives the word from a preceding sūtra to fill in the ellipsis.

The technical term [praty-ay-a-] implies that it is that element which gives the full meaning of the finished expression. In the case of [vuK] which is introduced after the verbal stem [bhū-] it is not a [praty-aya-] but a stem-final augment. The substituend is always in the sixth triplet, and one has to distinguish between a replacement and an augment. To some extent the markers [K, Ṭ and M] decide the case for an augment.

Marker [N̄] of an element indicates that it is the substitute for the final phoneme of the substituend even when it is polyphonic (1.1.53). It is also a marker of the affix or element which when introduced after a nominal or verbal stem bars the operation of 1.1.5 (i.e., guṇa replacement). That is why in the case of nominal stems which are designated by the t.t. GHI (i.e., those ending in short i or u) undergo that transformation despite marker [N̄]. The same is true of the aorist marker [aN̄] when introduced after verbal stems ending in [ṛ] and the stem [dṛṣ-] (7.4.16). Similarly the siglum [aN̄] and affix [aN̄] are easily indentifiable from the contexts. Where this is not possible, the metarule mentioned by Patañjali that in case of doubt one must have recourse to

interpretation operates. This system of interpretation must have arisen at the very time of the oral transmission of the Aṣṭ. and the genesis of such interpretation must be the basis of much critical work that followed its composition. The works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali are continuations of that tendency to make clear what is not so easily discernible on account of the style of Aṣṭ. The additional rules which are appended in these later works are an example of noting the changes in the language which must have taken place after Pāṇini's time, though in some cases, they have been lapses in the original text.

In a work of such magnitude which covers every aspect of the author's speech community, systematized on the basis of mnemonic rules, there is indeed much scope to find some overstatements as well as understatements. But none of this takes away from the credit which is due to Pāṇini who, in this astounding work, has set up a model which is fully adequate to cover every aspect of the language described. Because of its importance, all earlier works in this field gradually disappeared. Aṣṭ. in its turn became the focal point of much critical and explicatory work over the last two millennia. That is a universe by itself, but its appeal is to the specialist. However, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, along with Pāṇini are the three great teachers accepted by all subsequent authorities, and the whole Pāṇinian system is designated sometimes as *tri-muni vy-ā-kar-aṇa-m*. Regarding the authority of this triumvirate, later tradition lays down the law: *yath-o-t-taram munī-n-ām prā-māṇ-ya-m* 'according to the greater authority of the succeeding sages'.

Since interpretation is the ultimate source for the explication of the original sū-tra-s of Pāṇini, several metalinguistic principles were developed, some of which are due to Pāṇini himself. A majority of these, technically known as [pari-bhāṣā=s], are due to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. A collection of these was assembled and commented upon by Nagojibhaṭṭa and they help one in understanding the intricacies of Pāṇini's grammar.

The broad principles of interpretation have been laid down by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. In his passage discussing the nature of grammar as presented by Pāṇini he has the following passage: *na hi sū-tra-ta eva śabd-ā-n prati-pad-y-a-nte; kiṁ tarhi? vy-ā-khyā-na-taś ca; nanu tad eva sū-tra-m vi-grh-ī-ta-m vy-ā-khyā-na-m bhav-a-ti? na keval-ā-n-i carcā-pad-ā-n-i vy-ā-khyā-na-m "vṛddhi-ḥ+āT + aiC"=iti. Kiṁ tarhi? ud-ā-har-aṇa-m, praty-ud-ā-har-aṇa-m, vāk-ya=adhy-*

*ā-hār-a ity etat sam-ud-i-ta-m vy-ā-khyā-na-m bhav-a-ti* (MBh. I 11,20-23). 'One does not derive words by referring only to the sū-tra-s. What then? By interpretation also. But is not that the same sūtra broken into its several constituent elements which constitutes interpretation? No, the separation of the constituent elements does not constitute interpretation (such as separating the words [vr̥ddhi-ḥ, āT, aiC] of the first sū-tra). What then? Examples, counter-examples, filling in the ellipsis, these together constitute interpretation.' It is out of this type of interpretation that one brings out the full implication of each sū-tra. To understand fully the nature of this interpretation we may illustrate it with an example. Pāṇini 1.2.4 reads as follows: *sārva-dhā-tu-ka-m* (3.4.113) *a-P-IT*. Interpretation of this sūtra then is as follows: *a-P-IT sārva-dhā-tu-ka-m* [ $\dot{N}$ -IT 1.2.1]= $\dot{N}$ -IT=*vat bhav-a-ti: kṛ+LAT = kṛ+ú+tás* (3.1.79, 4.78)= *kar-u+tás* (7.3.84)= *kur-u-tás* (6.4.110); *a-P-IT=iti kim? kṛ+u+tiP = kar-ó-ti* (7.3.84). First the ellipsis is filled in by the expression [ $\dot{N}$ -IT] of 1.2.1 recurring in this rule by the process of [anu-vṛt-ti] and supplying the copula. Then follows the illustration of this rule, with an affix which is clearly not marked by [P] as IT. Lastly the question regarding the restraint [a-P-IT] is illustrated by the surface form generated with the affix [tiP]. This in short is how the sūtra is to be interpreted. Beyond this normal style of interpretation, both the Vārttika-s and Mahābhāṣya go deeper into the construction of the sū-tra-s and question the validity of each expression therein in relation to the situations indicated in other related sū-tra-s. Modifications are suggested and then denied, maintaining the original status of the sū-tra. In a few cases the modifications suggested have been accepted as the basic text in the Kāśikā. But these are few as compared to the large number of them which occur without such modifications. The theoretical development of linguistic philosophy dates precisely from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and finds its apex in Bhartṛhari's Vākya-pad-īya. These are the standard original works in the field of Sanskrit grammar, forming the basis of later expository treatises. But at the very back of all these lies Pāṇini's great work which must be studied first by means of his own metalinguistic techniques.



Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

## atha śabdānuśāsanam

Now begins instruction (anusāsanam) pertaining to articulatory speech (śabda-°).

As preliminary to the main corpus of Aṣṭādhyāyī there is a repertory of phonemes divided into fourteen strings (sūtra-s) forming a distinct part popularly known as Śiva-sūtras (ŚS) or Māheśvara-sūtras (MS) and commonly referred to as Pratyāhāra-sūtras (PS), because of their capacity to generate pratyāhārās or sigla representing groups of phonemes which enter into any particular grammatical operation, in order to produce an economy of statement. The whole object of Aṣṭādhyāyī is to effect an economy of statement and thus dispense with the normal arrangement of given topics. These ŚS are not a part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, but are traditionally associated with its corpus. Traditionally the authorship of ŚS, as the name implies, is ascribed to the divine Śiva or Maheśvara. Even the introductory statement which precedes them is part of the great commentary, the Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali.

### ŚIVA-SŪTRAS

|     | <i>Sūtra</i>         | <i>Definition</i>                           | <i>Sigla generated</i>                           |
|-----|----------------------|---|--|
| 1.  | a i u Ṇ <sup>1</sup> | simple vowels                               | aṆ <sup>1</sup>                                  |
| 2.  | ṛ ḷ K                | sonant vowels                               | aK, iK, uK                                       |
| 3.  | e o ṅ                | diphthongs                                  | eṅ   |
| 4.  | ai au C              | diphthongs                                  | aC, iC, eC, aiC                                  |
| 5.  | ḥa ya va ra Ṭ        | voiced aspirate +<br>semivowels y, v, r     | aṬ   |
| 6.  | lĀ Ṇ <sup>2</sup>    | semi-vowel l                                | (rĀ), aṆ <sup>2</sup> , iṆ <sup>2</sup> ,<br>yaṆ |
| 7.  | ṇa ma ṇa ṇa na M     | nasal stops                                 | aM, yaM, ṇaM                                     |
| 8.  | jha bha Ṇ            | palatal and labial<br>voiced aspirate stops | yaṆ  |
| 9.  | gha dha dha Ṣ        | voiced aspirate stops                       | jhaṢ, bhaṢ                                       |
| 10. | ja ba ga da da Ś     | voiced unaspirated<br>stops                 | aŚ, haŚ, vaŚ,<br>jhaŚ, jaŚ, haŚ                  |
| 11. | kha pha cha tha      | unvoiced stops                              | chaV   |

|     |                                 |                  |                                 |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| 12. | <u>ka</u> <u>pā</u> Y           | unvoiced stops   | yāY, māY,<br>jhāY, khāY         |
| 13. | <u>śa</u> <u>ṣa</u> <u>sa</u> R | sibilants        | yāR, jhāR,<br>khāR, cāR, śāR    |
| 14. | <u>ha</u> L                     | voiced fricative | aL, hāL, vāL,<br>rāL, jhāL, sāl |

The sigla listed above are derived by applying 1.3.2-3 along with 1.1.71 (q.vv.). The capital letters at the end of each sūtra are IT markers (1.3.3) while the underlined vowels are used for ease of pronunciation to denote the consonantal phonemes. It may be noted that this repertory of phonemes (akṣara-samāmnāyā) does not include long and prolated or extra long (cf. 1.2.27 below) vowels or the anusvāra, visargā (or visarjanīya), jihvā-mūlīya and upadhmānīya or the supra-segmental phonemes of accent. The vowels represent phoneme classes, rather, involving features of length,  $\pm$ nasality and three accents.

Though the number of sigla can run into three figures, those actually needed for grammatical operations in the corpus of Aṣṭādhyāyī are 41 (or 42 if rĀ is included according to later Pāṇinīyas). These sigla, in their alphabetical order are:

1. aK simple vowels a, i, u and sonant vowels ṛ, ṝ (with suprasegmental features of 3 lengths, 3 accents and  $\pm$ nasality); 6.1.101,128.
2. aC all vowel phoneme classes (with suprasegmental features of length, accent and  $\pm$ nasality): a, i, u, ṛ, ṝ, e, o, ai, au; 1.1.10,47,73; 2.27; 3.2 etc.
3. aṬ all vowels+voiced fricative h+semivowels except l; 8.3.3,9; 4.63.
4. aN<sup>1</sup> simple vowel class a, i, u; 1.1.51; 6.3.111.
5. aN<sup>2</sup> all vowels (aC)t h+semi-vowels; 1.1.69.
6. aM all vowels+h+semi-vowels+nasal stops; 8.3.6.
7. aL all vowels+all consonants (= aC+haL).
8. aŚ all voiced phonemes (= aC+haŚ); 8.3.17.
9. iK simple vowels i, u, ṛ, ṝ; 1.1.3,45,48; 2.9.
10. iC all vowels except the phoneme class a; 6.1.104; 3.68.

11. iN<sup>2</sup> all vowels except the phoneme class a+h+semi-vowels.
12. uK the simple vowels u, ɾ and ʝ; 8.1.70; 2.11; 3.57.
13. eN̄ diphthongs e and o; 1.1.2,75; 6.1.69,94,109 ff.
14. eC all diphthongs e, o, ai and au; 1.1.48; 6.1.45 ff.
15. aiC diphthongs ai and au; 1.1.1,8; 7.8.8; 8.2.106.
16. khaY all voiceless stops: kh, ph, ch, ʈh, th, k, p, c, t, t; 7.4.61; 8.3.6.
17. khaR all voiceless consonants (= khaY+śaR).
18. naM velar, retroflex and dental nasal stops; 8.3.32.
19. caR all voiceless un-aspirated stops+sibilants 1.1.58; 8.4.54 ff.
20. chaV palatal, retroflex and dental voiceless stops: ch, ʈh, tha, c, t, t; 8.3.7.
21. jaŚ all voiced un-aspirated stops: j, b, g, ḍ, d; 1.1.58; 8.2.39; 4.53 ff.
22. jhaY all non-nasal stops: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh, j, b, g, ḍ, d, kh, ph, ch, ʈh, th, c, t, t, k, p; 5.4.111; 8.2.10; 4.62 ff.
23. jhaR all non-nasal stops+sibilants (= jhaY+śaR).
24. jhaL all non-nasal stops+fricatives (jhaY+śaL).
25. jhaŚ all voiced stops: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh, j, b, g, ḍ, d; 8.4.53.
26. jhaṢ all voiced aspirated stops: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh; 8.2.37,40.
27. baŚ un-aspirated voiced stops other than palatal j; 8.2.37.
28. bhaŚ voiced aspirated stops other than palatal jh; 8.2.37.
29. maY all stops except nasal stop ñ; 8.3.33.
30. yaN̄ semi-vowels+nasal stops+jh, bh; 7.3.101 ff.
31. yaN̄ all semi-vowels y, v, r, l; 1.1.45; 6.1.77; 4.81,156.
32. yaM semi-vowels+nasal stops; 8.4.64.
33. yaY semi-vowels+stops; 8.4.58 ff.
34. yaR semi-vowels+stops+sibilants 8.4.45 ff.

35. (\*r<sub>1</sub>Ä) liquids r, l; 1.1.57.
36. r<sub>2</sub>L all consonants other than semi-vowels y, v; 1.2.26.
37. v<sub>2</sub>L all consonants other than semi-vowel y; 6.1.66; 7.2.35.
38. v<sub>2</sub>Ś semi-vowels other than y+voiced stops; 7.2.8.
39. ś<sub>2</sub>R sibilants ś, ṣ, s; 7.4.4; 8.3.28,35 ff.; 3.58; 4.49.
40. ś<sub>2</sub>L all fricatives; 3.1.45
41. h<sub>2</sub>L all consonants; 1.1.7,10; 3.3; 3.1.12,83.
42. h<sub>2</sub>Ś all voiced consonants; 6.1.64.

# VARṆA-SAMĀMNĀYA (Repertory of Phonemes)

|                      | Glottal        | Velar | Palatal        | Retroflex      | Dental | Labial         |
|----------------------|----------------|-------|----------------|----------------|--------|----------------|
| <i>Vowels</i>        |                |       |                |                |        |                |
| Short                | a              |       | i              | ɾ              | ɪ      | u              |
| Long                 | ā              |       | ī              | ṛ              | ī      | ū              |
| Prolated             | a <sup>3</sup> |       | i <sup>3</sup> | ṛ <sup>3</sup> |        | u <sup>3</sup> |
| Diphthongs           |                |       | e              |                |        | o              |
|                      |                |       | ai             |                |        | au             |
| <i>Semi-vowels</i>   |                |       | y              | r              | l      | v              |
| <i>Consonants</i>    |                |       |                |                |        |                |
| Unvoiced (stops):    |                |       |                |                |        |                |
| Unaspirated          |                | k     | c              | ṭ              | t      | p              |
| Aspirated            |                | kh    | ch             | ṭh             | th     | ph             |
| Voiced (stops):      |                |       |                |                |        |                |
| Unaspirated          |                | g     | j              | ḍ              | d      | b              |
| Aspirated            |                | gh    | jh             | ḍh             | dh     | bh             |
| Nasals               |                | ṅ     | ñ              | ṇ              | n      | m              |
| <i>Fricatives</i>    |                |       |                |                |        |                |
| Unvoiced (sibilants) |                |       | ś              | ṣ              | s      |                |
| Voiced               |                | h     |                |                |        |                |

### 1.1.1 v̐d-dhir āT=aiC

(The technical term = t.t.) v̐d-dhi denotes the vowel phonemes long ā (= āT) and the diphthongs ai, au (= aiC).

1. āT = long vowel class ā (by 1.1.70 below) with supra-segmental features of three accents and ±nasality. Unmarked vowels by marker T stand for their class, associated with the supra-segmental features of length (=3): short (hrasvá), long (=dirghá) and extra-long or prolated (plutá) (1.2.27), and accent (=3): udātta 'high-pitched', ánudātta 'low-pitched' and svaritá 'rising and falling tone or circumflex' (1.2.29-31), ±nasality. The short vowels have a duration of one mora, the long of two and the prolated of three mora, while consonants have half a mora each. By 1.1.70 aiC following the marker T of āT represents the diphthongs ai, au, having a duration of two moras only.
2. as a non-technical term v̐d-dhi denotes 'increase, growth, interest (on principal), etc.' Cf. 5.1.47.
3. as a t.t. v̐d-dhi occurs in 1.1.3-6,73; 6.1.88-92; 2.105; 7.2.1-7,114-18; 3.1-35, 89-90.

### 1.1.2 aT=eÑ guṇáh

(The t.t.) guṇá denotes the vowel phonemes short a (aT) and the diphthongs e, o (eÑ).

1. aT represents the short phoneme-class a, having a duration of one mora while eÑ following marker T of aT represents phoneme-class e, o of two mora duration.
2. as a non-t.t. guṇá signifies 'quality, attribute, characteristic' 2.2.11; 3.23, and in the compounds guṇá-kārtsnyá 'whole or entire quality' 6.2.93; guṇá-pratiṣedhá- 'denial or negation of a quality' 6.2.155, guṇá-vácana- 'attributive, adjective' 2.1.30; 4.1.44; 3.58; 5.1.124; 6.2.24, 8.1.12; it also denotes 'fold, times' 5.4.29.
3. as a t.t. guṇá occurs in 1.1.3-6; 6.1.87,97; 4.126,146,156; 7.3.82-88,91; 4.10-11,16,21,29,30,57,75,82.

### 1.1.3 iKo guṇá-v̐d-dhi

When the t.t. guṇá (2) and v̐d-dhi (1) are introduced as replacements (and the substituendum is not specified), they replace only the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ and ṝ).

The expression iKaḥ, ending in the sixth triplet (=genitive) is expected to recur when it is not specified, with the use of the t.t. guṇá and v̐d-dhi. For example 7.3.84 sārva dhātuka=ārdha dhātukāyoḥ (guṇáh 82) and 86 puK=anta-laghu=upadhāsyā ca (guṇáh 82) specify only the pre-affixal base (=aṅga 6.4.1) in the genitive (1.1.49) as the substituendum; by this meta-rule the expression iKaḥ recurs here, denoting the actual substituendum. Thus bhá+ŚaP : bhó+a : bháv-a

(6.1.77) before l-substitutes of the Present System (3.4.78). Similarly by 7.2.1 siCi vḡd-dhiḡ parasmaipadésu we have the expression iKaḡ recurring with vḡd-dhi to denote the specific substituendum:  $kṛ\tilde{N}+s\tilde{i}C+l$ -substitutes of Parasmaipadá:  $\acute{a}-kṛ+s+t : \acute{a}-kār-s-\tilde{r}t$  (6.4.71; 7.3.96) =  $\acute{a}-kār-s-\tilde{r}t$  (8.3.59).

### 1.1.4 ná dhātulopé=ārdhadhātuke

[Guṇá and Vḡd-dhi replacements 3] do not (ná) operate before an ārdhadhātuka affix which conditions a zero replacement (lópa) of a verbal base (dhātu-°).

ārdhadhātuka is defined by 3.4.114 as affixes other than those of the Present System (3.4.113). Thus  $l\tilde{u}\tilde{N}+y\acute{a}\tilde{N}$  (3.1.22) :  $lo-l\tilde{u}-y\acute{a}$  (6.1.9 for reduplication and 7.4.82 for guṇá replacement of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable) is a derived verbal base (3.1.32) from which an agent noun is derived by introducing the affix áC (3.1.134):  $lo-l\tilde{u}-y\acute{a}+\acute{a}C$ ; by 2.4.74 the marker  $y\acute{a}\tilde{N}$  is replaced by zero (∅) before a vowel:  $lo-l\tilde{u}-y\acute{a}+\acute{a}C : lo-l\tilde{u}-\emptyset-\acute{a}C$  and the guṇá replacement ruled in by 7.3.84 does not take place so that the expected form  $lo-luv-\acute{a}$  is realized by 6.4.77.

### 1.1.5 K-Ñ-ITi ca

And (ca) [guṇá and vḡd-dhi replacements 3 are not 4 conditioned] before affixes marked with K or Ñ as an IT.

According to Pāṇiníyas the expression K-Ñ-ITi stands for \*G-K-Ñ-ITi for reasons which will be indicated below.

1. Before l-substitutes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka 3.4.113) the class of verbal stems beginning with *tudĀ vyáthane* (DhP VI 1) 'torment, inflict pain' has the class marker Śá (3.1.77) which, by 1.2.4 is deemed as marked with Ñ as IT; thus  $tud+\acute{S}á+tiP$  (3.4.78) =  $tud-\acute{a}-ti$  and consequently 7.3.86 does not operate here. Similarly  $kṛ+Ktá-$  :  $kṛ-tá-$  'done, accomplished'.
2. The only exception is with regard to taddhita affix marker K as IT which conditions vḡd-dhi replacement in the initial syllable of a nominal stem (7.2.118).
3. \*G as an IT-marker which does not condition guṇá or vḡd-dhi replacement is introduced to explain forms like *sthā-snú-* as derived from *sthā+\*Gsnú-* (3.2.138 glā-ji-sthāś ca \*G-Ksnúḡ) which is rendered Ksnú- by 8.4.55; if the marker had been K instead of \*G the final phoneme of [sthā-] would have been replaced by ṛ according to 6.4.66. \*G is also considered as an IT-marker in 3.2.138.

### 1.1.6 <sup>1</sup>dīdhī-<sup>2</sup>vevī=<sup>3</sup>iṭām

[Guṇā and Vṛd-dhi replacements 3 are not conditioned 4 with reference to the following substituenda]: the verbal bases dīdhī- 'shine', vevī- 'be agitated' and the initial increment iṭ.

1.  $\bar{a}+dīdhī+ṆvuL$  (3.1.133) :  $\bar{a}+dīdhī+aka$  (7.1.1) =  $\bar{a}-dīdhy-āka$ - 'shining', despite marker Ṇ which should condition vṛd-dhi by 7.2.115. Similarly  $\bar{a}+vevī+ṆvuL$  =  $\bar{a}-vevy-āka$ - 'trembling'.
2.  $bhū+IUT$  :  $bhū+tās+miP$  :  $bhū+iṭ+tās-mi$  (3.1.33 for tās and 3.4.78 for miP and 7.2.35 for iṭ) =  $bho+i-tās+mi$  =  $bhav-i-tās-mi$  but 7.3.84 does not operate on iṭ.

### 1.1.7 haLah=ánantarāḥ saṁyogāḥ

(The t.t.) saṁyogā 'conjunction' denotes an uninterrupted (ánantarāḥ) sequence of consonants (haLah):

1. "uninterrupted" by vowels defines a conjunct; up to five consonants is normal: *ánna*-(2) 'food', *strī*-(3) 'woman; feminine gender'; *kāraṇya*-(4) 'blackness, darkness'; *kārtanya*-(5) 'totality, whole'.
2. as a t.t. occurs in 1.2.5; 4.11; 6.1.3; 4.10,62,68,82,106,166; 7.2.43; 4.10,29; 8.2.23,43.

### 1.1.8 mukha-nāsikā-vácanaḥ=ánunāsikaḥ

(The t.t.) ánunāsika- 'nasal' denotes a phoneme articulated simultaneously through the oral and nasal cavities (mukha-nāsikā-vácana-).

1. nasal vowels: ā, ã, ī, ã, etc.
2. nasal stops: ñ, m, ṇ, ṇ, n.
3. nasal semi-vowels: ỹ, ĩ, ỹ.

### 1.1.9 túlya=āśya-prayatnam sávarṇam

(The t.t.) sávarṇa 'homogeneous' designates phonemes which are produced by the same articulatory effort (túlya-prayatná-) at the same point of articulation in the oral cavity (āśya-).

1. túlya- 'same, similar, equivalent'.
2. āśya<sup>1</sup> 'oral cavity' but āśya-<sup>2</sup> = āśyè<sup>1</sup> bhava- - āśyà<sup>1</sup>+yàT 5.1.6 'point of articulation in the oral cavity'. Five points of articulation are recognized: velum (kaṇthá-), soft palate (tālu-), hard palate (mūrdhán-), teeth ridge (dánta-) and lips (ōṣṭha-). Our corpus has ōṣṭhya- (7.1.102) 'labial', dántya- (7.3.73) 'dental' and mūrdhanya- (8.3.55) but not kaṇthya- 'velar' or tālavya- 'palatal'; on the



other hand 4.3.62 derives the word *jīvhā-mūlfya-* 'formed at the root of the tongue'.

3. *prayatnā-* 'articulatory effort or process' is two-fold: *ābhyantarā-* 'intra-buccal' and *bāhya-* 'extra-buccal'; the first again is four-fold: *spṛṣṭā-* 'close contact' for stops, *īśāt-spṛṣṭā-* 'slight contact' for semi-vowels or resonants, *īśād-vivṛṭā-* 'slight openness' for fricatives, and *vivṛṭā-* 'fully open' for vowels. The principal extra-buccal efforts are associated with  $\pm$ voice (glottal),  $\pm$ aspiration (pulmonic) and  $\pm$ nasality (nasal). Openness and constriction of the glottis, relating to voicelessness and voice respectively, are designated *vivārā-* and *saṁvārā-*, and the three accents: *udāṭṭā-* 'high-pitched or rising tone', *ānūdāṭṭā-* 'low-pitched or falling tone' and *svarītā-* 'rising and falling tone, circumflex', a combination of the preceding two, associated with vowels constitute eleven aspects of this articulatory process. Though not involved in the definition of *sāvṛṇya-* or homogeneity, they are taken into consideration when replacement takes place according to 1.1.50.

4. as a t.t. occurs in 1.1.58,69; 6.1.101,102-6,127; 4.78; 7.1.39; 8.4.58.

### 1.1.10 ná=aC=haLau

A vowel (aC) and a consonant (haL) [which satisfy the above condition 9] are (nevertheless) not (ná) (homogeneous 9).

In consequence of this, in the expression *dadhi+śītam* 'cold curds' *saṁdhī* or euphonic combination does not take place as taught in 6.1.101 between °-i+ś-°, though both are homogeneous by 9 above.

### 1.1.11 īT=ūT-eT=dvivacanam pragḥhyam

(The t.t.) *pragḥhya* denotes [final 1.1.52] °-ī, °-ū or °-e of dual endings (*dvi-vacanām*).

1. By 6.1.125 *pragḥhya* vowels are not subject to replacement before other vowels as conditioned by *sāmhita* (6.1.72) or euphonic combinatory rules; thus we have expressions like *agnī iti*, *vāyū iti*, *phāle iti*, *pācete iti*, where the first three expressions ending in the dual cases and the fourth ending in the dual personal verbal affix are *pragḥhya* vowels.

2. As a t.t. occurs in 6.1.125; 8.2.107; 4.57, and recurs by *anuvṛtti* in the rules 12-19 below.

### 1.1.12 adāso māt

[(The t.t.) *pragḥhya* denotes vowels °-ī, °-ū and °-e 11] occurring after the phoneme [m] which is part of the nominal base *adās-* 'that'.

Thus no *saṁdhī* replacement takes place in the expressions *amī āsāte*, *amū āsāte* 'they two (respectively m. and f.) sit down'.

### 1.1.13 Śe

[(The t.t.) pragḥya 11] denotes the ending Śe (7.1.39).

This affix is a replacement for sUP triplets (3.4.78) in Vedic. The Vedic examples are: *tvé iti*, *asmé indrā-bṛhaspatī*.

### 1.1.14 nipātá éka=aC=án-āÑ

[(The t.t.) pragḥya 11 denotes] a particle (nipātá-) consisting of a single vowel (éka+aC) with the exception of āÑ.

1. *i indram paśya*, *u úttiṣṭha* 'look at Indra', 'get up'.
2. The particle á with marker Ñ denotes the senses of (1) a little (īśad-arthá), (2) connection with activity (kriyā-yogé), (3-4) exclusive limit (maryādā) and inclusive limit (abhividhí); but without the marker it signifies (5) emphasis of a sentence as an expletive (vākyà) and (6) reminiscence (smāraṇa): *á evám nu mányase* (5); *á evám kīla tát* (6) 'thou dost certainly consider thus'; 'such indeed was then the cause'.

### 1.1.15 oT

[(The t.t.) pragḥya denotes 11 a particle 14] (ending in 1.1.72) the diphthong [o].

*aho Íśah* 'lo, the Lord'; this rule applies to particles consisting of more than one syllable, since monosyllabic particles are already covered by the preceding rule.

### 1.1.16 sambúddhau śákalyasya itau=án-ārṣe

[(The t.t.) pragḥya denotes 11] a vocative-(final 1.1.72) before the expression *iti* which is not a part of the Vedic text (án-ārṣ-e) according to (the grammarian) Śákalya.

By quoting the name of the teacher Śákalya this rule is considered as optional. Pāṇini (= P.) uses this device in two ways: (a) either as a mark of respect (pūjāarthé) or (b) to indicate the optional nature of the rule (vibhāṣāarthé), *vāyo iti* / *vāyav iti* (6.1.78).

### 1.1.17 uÑah

[According to the grammarian Śákalya 16 (the t.t.) pragḥya 11 denotes the particle 14] uÑ (= u followed by the marker Ñ) [before non-Vedic *iti* 16].

*u iti / v-iti* (6.1.77 according to other grammarians).

### 1.1.18 $\tilde{u}$

[According to the grammarian Śākalya 16 (the t.t.) *pragfhyā* 11 denotes the particle 14]  $\tilde{u}$  [which replaces  $u\tilde{N}$  17 (1.1.49)].

Originally sūtras 17-18 constituted a single sūtra which Kātyāyana proposed to divide into two by a process known as *yoga-vibhāgā* ‘splitting of one rule into parts’. According to Śākalya this  $\tilde{u}$  is optionally substituted for  $u\tilde{N}$  and is *pragfhyā*: *u iti,  $\tilde{u}$  iti / v-iti*.

### 1.1.19 $\bar{i}T=\bar{u}T$ -au ca saptamy-arthé

[(The t.t.) *pragfhyā* denotes 11] expressions (ending in 1.1.72) long °- $\bar{i}$  or °- $\bar{u}$  which have the meaning of the seventh triplet of nominal endings (sUP 4.1.2).

By 7.1.39  $\emptyset^1(=luK)$  replaces sUP triplets in Vedic: *sómo gaurf́ ádhi śritádḥ* ‘Soma has come to rest on the she-buffalo (skin)’; *ádhy asyám māmakf́ tanú* ‘in this, my body’.

### 1.1.20 $^1dā$ - $^2dhā$ GHU= $\acute{a}$ - $dāP$

(The t.t.) GHU denotes (verbal stems of the form)  $dā$  or  $dhā$  except those which have the shape of  $dā$  and are marked with P (as IT).

GHU bases are: *ḌU-dāN dāne* III 9, *ḌU-dhāN dhāraṇa-póṣaṇayoḥ* III 10, *do avakhándane* IV 40, *dāN dāne* I 977, *deN rákṣaṇe* I 1011 and *dheT́ pāne* I 951.

$dāP$  represents *dāP lávane* II 50, *daiP sódhane* I 971.

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.17; 2.4.77; 3.3.92; 6.4.66,67,113,119; 7.3.70; 4.46-7,54; 8.4.17.

### 1.1.21 $\bar{a}dy$ -antavát= $\acute{e}kasmin$

When a grammatical operation applies to a single phoneme unit ( $\acute{e}kasmin$ ), it is treated as though it were the initial ( $\bar{a}di$ ) or final ( $\bar{anta}$ ) (of a similar polyphonic expression).

3.1.3 [ $\bar{a}dy$ - $udattaś$  ca] provides that the initial syllable of an affix bears the *udatta* accent: e.g., °-*távyā*- (*kar-távyā*-); similarly the affix  $\acute{a}N$  as a patronymic affix consisting of a single vowel phoneme is, by this rule, regarded as the initial: *upagu+áN* = *aupagav-á*- ‘descendant of Upagu’. 7.3.102 (sUPi ca) provides that nominal stem final °-*a* is replaced by °- $\bar{a}$  before nominal endings beginning with *y*-, *bh*-; under the governing rule 6.4.1 (*áṅgasya*) this rule applies to the

ánga-final vowel, but in the case of *a-bhyām* = *ā-bhyām* the substitute stem (for *idám* 7.2.113) consists of a single phoneme *a* which, by this rule is now regarded as ánga-final.

### 1.1.22 taraP-tamaPau GHAp

(The t.t.) GHAp denotes the affixes taraP and tamaP.

These represent the general comparative (5.3.57) and superlative (5.3.55) affixes.

As a t.t. occurs in 5.4.11; 6.3.17,43; 8.2.17.

### 1.1.23 <sup>1</sup>bahú-<sup>2</sup>gaṇá-<sup>3</sup>vatU-<sup>4</sup>Ḍáti saṁkhyā

(The t.t.) saṁkhyā denotes (the nominal bases) bahú- 'many', gaṇá- 'group' and expressions (ending in 1.1.72) affixes vatU(P) [5.2.39] and Ḍáti [5.2.41].

1. This t.t. covers a sub-class of nominal stems consisting of number words or numerals.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.10,19,50; 3.2.21; 4.1.26,135; 5.1.19,22,39,58; 2.42,47; 3.42; 4.1.17,43,86,89,140; 6.2.35,163; 3.47,110; 7.3.15.

### 1.1.24 ṣ-ṇā=antā ṢAT

(The t.t.) ṢAT denotes [a sub-class of saṁkhyā 23] (ending in 1.1.72) °-ṣ or °-ṇ (when first encountered).

1. These are: *ṣaṣ* (6), *pañcan* (5), *saptán* (7), *aṣṭán* (8), *návan* (9), *dáśan* (10).
2. As a t.t. occurs in 4.1.10; 6.1.175; 7.1.22,55.

### 1.1.25 Ḍáti ca

(The t.t. ṢAT 24 denotes saṁkhyā 23 expressions) [ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ḍáti also (ca).

- 7.1.22 [ṣaḍbhyo luK] provides for the replacement of nominative and accusative plural sUP affixes introduced after this sub-class of numerals.

### 1.1.26 Ktá-KtávatŪ niṣṭhā

(The t.t.) niṣṭhā denotes the affixes Ktá (3.4.70) and KtávatU.

1. These affixes generate the past passive and active participles respectively.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.36-7,69; 3.2.102; 6.1.22-28,205; 2.2.110,169; 4.52,60,95; 7.2.14-34,47,50; 8.2.42.

### 1.1.27 sarvá-ādīni sarvanāmāni

(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 'pronominal stem' denotes the class of nominal bases whose first member is sarvá- 'all'.

1. Such a list is called a gaṇá and a repertory of such gaṇás constitutes a supplement to this corpus under the title Gaṇa-pāṭha, corresponding to a similar list of verbal stems designated Dhātu-pāṭha.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.3.37; 5.3.2,7,8,10,23,71; 6.3.91; 7.1.14-17,52; 3.114.

### 1.1.28 vibhāṣā dik-samāśe bahuvrīhaú

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes a bahuvrīhí compound (2.2.23ff.) formed with direction words (dik-samāśá).

Thus in the bahuvrīhí compound *úttara-pūrvā* 'north-eastern', the dative singular can either be *úttara-pūrvāyai* (as a substantive) or *úttara-pūrvāsyai* (as a pronominal).

### 1.1.29 ná bahuvrīhaú

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] does not (ná) denote [the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] occurring (at the end of 1.1.72) a bahuvrīhí (compound).

Example (Ex.): *priyá-viśva-* 'beloved of all' has the dative singular form *priyá-viśvāya* as against *-viśvasmai*.

### 1.1.30 tṛtīyā-samāse

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] does not denote 29 the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] occurring (at the end of 1.1.72) a tatpuruṣá 2.1.22 (compound) the prior member of which ends in the (1.1.72) third sUP triplet (i.e., the instrumental case 2.1.30).

*māśena pūrvasmái* = *māśa-pūrvāya* (2.1.31) 'prior by a month'.

### 1.1.31 dvañdvé ca

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] does not denote 29 a member of the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27] co-occurring (at the end 1.1.72) of a Dvañdvá (compound 2.2.29).

*pūrvేశāñ ca páreśāñ ca* = *pūrva-parāñām* 'of the former and the latter'; instead of

the normal genitive plural in °-sām (7.1.52) the regular °n-ām (7.1.54) associated with nominal stems is introduced after the dvandvā compound.

### 1.1.32 vibhāṣa Jasi

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes [the class of words whose first member is sarvá- 27, (occurring at the end of 1.1.72) a dvandvā compound 31] before (the nominative plural sUP ending) Jas.

7.1.17 [Jasah Śī] provides for a replacement of Jas by Śī when introduced after pronominals ending in short °-a; so we have *dakṣiṇottarē/dakṣiṇottarāḥ* 'southern and northern'.

### 1.1.33 <sup>1</sup>prathamá-<sup>2</sup>caramá-<sup>3</sup>taya=<sup>4</sup>álpa=<sup>5</sup>ardhá-<sup>6</sup>katipayá-<sup>7</sup>némās ca

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27 optionally denotes 32] the words *prathamá-* 'first', *caramá-* 'last', expressions (ending in 1.1.72) the affix °-taya (P 5.2.42), *álpa-* 'small', *ardhá-* 'half', *katipayá-* 'some', and *néma-* 'half' [before affix Jas 32].

Thus we have the following examples: *prathamé/prathamāḥ*; *caramé/caramāḥ*; *dvítaye/dvítayāḥ*; *álpe/álpāḥ*; *ardhé/ardhāḥ*; *katipayé/katipayāḥ*; *néme/némāḥ*.

### 1.1.34 pūrva-pára=ávvara=dákṣiṇa=úttara=ápara=ádharāṇi vyavasthāyām á-samjñāyām

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmān 27 optionally denotes 32] the words *pūrva-* 'front, eastern', *pára-* 'subsequent', *ávvara-* 'lower, more recent', *dákṣiṇa-* 'right, southern', *úttara-* 'upper, northern', *ápara-* 'behind, western', *ádharā-* 'lower' [before affix Jas 32] provided they are employed in the sense of relative situation (*vyavasthā*) and not used as proper names (*ásamjñāyām*).

Though they are already pronominals by their inclusion in the class of words beginning with *sarvá-* [27], they function optionally so before affix Jas: *pūrve/pūrvaḥ*; *páre/paráḥ*; *ávare/ávarāḥ*; *dákṣiṇe/dákṣiṇāḥ*; *úttare/úttarāḥ*; *ápare/áparāḥ*; *ádhare/ádharāḥ*; but *dákṣiṇe ime gāthakāḥ* 'these singers are expert'; similarly *úttarāḥ kúravāḥ* 'n.pr. of a country'.

### 1.1.35 svām a-<sup>1</sup>jñāti-<sup>2</sup>dhana=ākhyāyām

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] (the pronominal base) svá- when not signifying jñāti 'kin' or dhána- 'wealth' [as a proper name 34 before the affix Jas 32].

In this particular situation svá- signifies 'own': *své/svāḥ putráḥ* 'one's own sons', but *svāḥ* 'kinsfolk', *prabhūtāḥ svāḥ* 'extensive possessions, assets or wealth'.

### 1.1.36 ántaram bahiryogá=upasaṁvyāyoh

[(The t.t.) sarvanāmán 27 optionally denotes 32] (the pronominal stem) ántara- [before affix Jas 32] when it signifies connection with the exterior (bahir-yogá-) or under-clothing (upasaṁyāna).

1. ántara- is a regular member of this class, but optionally so before the affix Jas in these two meanings, but in its normal meaning of 'between' it is necessarily a pronominal stem.
2. *ánrare/ántaráḥ=grāḥ* 'houses situated at the extremity (of the village)'; similarly *ántare/ántaráḥ śátakāḥ* 'under-garments'.

### 1.1.37 svār-ādi-nipātam ávyayam

[(The t.t.)] ávyaya- 'indeclinable' denotes members of the class headed by svār- 'sun' as well as particles (nipātá).

1. Nipātás 'particles' are listed in 1.4.57-96 below.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.38-41; 4.67; 2.1.6; 2.11,20,25; 3.69; 4.82; 3.4.59; 4.1.10; 2.104; 3.23; 5.3.71; 4.11,86; 6.2.2,168; 3.66; 8.3.46.

### 1.1.38 taddhitás ca á-sarva-vibhaktiḥ

[(The t.t.)] ávyaya 37] denotes derivatives (ending in 1.1.72) a taddhitá (4.1.78ff.) 'secondary nominal affix' after which not all [sUP triplets 1.4.103] (vibhakti 1.4.104) endings are introduced.

*tad* ±feminine affix± sing./du./pl. ablative endings = *tá-tas* where the vibhakti affix *taṣi*L is introduced by 5.3.7 as a replacement for the fifth sUP triplets.

### 1.1.39 kṛt=m=éC=antaḥ

[(The t.t.)] ávyaya denotes 37] expressions derived with kṛt [3.1.93] affixes (ending in 1.1.72) °-m or °-eC (= e, o, ai, au).

1. Kṛt affixes are primary affixes deriving nominal stems from verbal bases; those ending in °-m are: tumuN, (*kár-tum* 'to do'), NamuL (*svādum-kāram* 'having sweetness').
2. Kṛt affixes ending in °-eC are: °-áse, °-aseN and °-tavai/tave as indicated by the examples *jiváse/jívase* 'to live' *kar-táve* 'to do', *apabhāṣ-i-tavai*, *mlecch-i-tavai* 'to speak indistinctly' [3.4.9,14].

### 1.1.40 Ktvá-tosuN-KasuNāḥ

[(The t.t.) ávyaya 37 denotes] expressions (ending in 1.1.72) the affixes Ktvá, tosuN and KasuN.

Ktvá is a kṛt affix introduced by 3.4.18ff. to generate absolutes: *kṛ-tvá* 'having done'; similarly for the other affixes: *kár-tos* (3.4.16) 'doing', *ā-tḥd-as* (3.4.17) 'piercing'.

### 1.1.41 avayībhāváś=ca

And [(the t.t.) avyaya denotes 37] 'the adverbial compound' avayībhāvá (2.1.5-21).

By including this type of compound as a member of the indeclinable (ávyaya) class, feminine and declensional affixes [āP and sUP 2.4.82] are replaced by Ø<sup>1</sup> (luK) when introduced after it.

### 1.1.42 Śi sarvanāma-sthānám

(The t.t.) sarvanāma-sthāná 'strong case ending' denotes (the replacement affix) Śi (for Jas and Śas 7.1.20).

1. The expression sarvanāma-sthāná indicates a situation in which the operation applies to the whole nominal stem and implies the 'strong case ending'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.4.17; 6.1.170,199; 7.1.70,86; 3,110.
3. exx.: *dádhi+Jas/Śas* = *dádhi+Śi* (7.1.20) = *dádhi-n+Śi* (7.1.72) = *dádhi-n-i* (6.4.8).

### 1.1.43 sUṬ á-napuṁsakasya

[(The t.t.) sarvanāma-sthāná denotes 42] (the sUP triplets comprised by the siglum) sUṬ (= sU, au. Jas, am, auṬ) introduced after a nominal stem other than a neuter one (i.e., masculine and feminine only).

*rājan+sU* = *rājān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rājān+Ø* (6.1.68) = *rājā+Ø* (8.2.7).



### 1.1.44 ná vā=iti vibhāṣā

(The t.t.) vibhāṣā denotes the meaning of the combined particles ná vā 'or not' (literally 'not or') and signifies optionality.

1. There are three types of optional rules: (a) á-prāpte vibhāṣā provides optionally what would not obtain otherwise; (b) prāpté vibhāṣā makes optional what has been provided by another rule; (c) ubhayātra vibhāṣā is a combination of the first two. (a) is illustrated by 32 above.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.28,32; 2.3,16,36; 3.50,77,85; 4.12,16,25,50,78 etc.

### 1.1.45 iK=yaṇḥ samprasāraṇam

(The t.t.) samprasāraṇa 'vocalization' denotes the vowel phonemes (comprised by the siglum) iK (= i,u,ɾ, ɿ) (replacing the semi-vowels comprised by the siglum) yaṇ (= y,v,r,l) (respectively 1.3.10).

1.  $yaj+Ktá = iaj+Ktá$  (6.1.15) =  $ij+Ktá$  (6.1.108) =  $iṣ+Ktá = iṣ-tá$  'spoken, uttered'. Similarly  $vac+Ktá = uk-tá$  'spoken, uttered'.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 3.3.72; 5.2.55; 6.1.13-20,22-26, 30-32,34,37-44,108; 3.139; 4.131; 7.4.67.

### 1.1.46 ādy-antau Ṭa-K-ITau

(An increment) marked with Ṭ as IT constitutes the initial (ādí) of the unit to which it is added, and one marked with K as IT constitutes the final (ánta).

1. The phonological changes which take place in morphology are of two kinds: replacement of phonemes or addition of phonemes to the base when affixes are introduced. Deletion of phonemes is regarded as replacement by  $\emptyset$ . The substituendum is always accompanied by the sixth sUP triplet (in the genitive case: 49 below).
2. The increment iṬ associated with árdhadhātuka affixes beginning with vaL (7.2.35) is an initial increment:  $bhú+tum = bhú+iṬ-tum = bháv+i-tum$  becomes the initial of the affix tumuN.
3. Before the affix of the present participle middle °-āna- verbal themes ending in short °-a get an increment muK (7.3.82) where m constitutes the final of the verbal theme:  $édh+ŚaP+āna- = édha-m+āna-$  'growing'; if this increment were considered as a part of the affix °-āna (= māna-) the theme-final short a of  $édh-a-$  would be replaced by the corresponding long vowel by 7.3.102 and result in an unacceptable form.

### 1.1.47 M-IT=aCaḥ=ántyāt páraḥ

(An increment) marked with M as IT is inserted after the last (ántya) vowel (aC) of the expression to which it is added.

1. *rudh+ŚnáM* (3.1.78) = *ru-ná-dh-* = *ru-ṇá-dh* (8.4.2) 'obstruct, hinder'.
2. Increments with marker Ṭ are: aṬ, āṬ, iṬ, īṬ, ṇamuṬ tuṬ, dhuṬ, nuṬ, yāṬ, yāsuṬ, yiṬ, yuṬ, ruṬ, siyuṬ, suṬ, syāṬ; increments with marker K are: aṽK, asuK, ānuK, ithuK, kuK, juK, tuK, tithuK, tuK, thuK, duK, nīK, nuK, puK, muK, yaK, yuK, riK, rīK, ruK, luK, vuK, suK, saK; increments with marker M are: aM, iM, uM, nuM, puM, raM, ŚnáM.

### 1.1.48 eCa iK=hrasva=ādeśe

When (the t.t.) *hrasvá* (1.2.27) is used to denote a short vowel (*hrasvá* 1.2.28) of vowel phonemes (designated by the siglum) eC (= e, o, ai, au) (and the substitute is not specified) it is one of the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u).

1. Though the siglum iK contains the additional vowels ṛ and ṝ, they are not required for the statement of this rule; a new siglum iN<sup>1</sup> would have been more appropriate, but would have caused confusion, since with one exception (1.1.69) aN represents aN<sup>1</sup> while iN and other sigla ending in marker N operate with N<sup>2</sup>.
2. A *bahuvrīhi* compound is an attributive word capable of taking all three genders; thus *āti+rai* 'which has surpassed riches', when taking the neuter gender, by 1.2.47 replaces the final long vowel ai by i yielding the form *āti-ri-*. Similarly by 1.2.48 in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *citrá+go* the final -o is replaced by u, yielding the form *citrá-gu-* 'possessor of brindled cows'.

### 1.1.49 ṣaṣṭhī sthāné-yogā

The sixth (ṣaṣṭhī) sUP triplet is used to indicate that the expression after which it is introduced is the substituendum (sthāné-yogā).

This is a metalinguistic rule governing the use of the genitive case in the corpus of Ast. This corpus makes use of three building blocks: the nominal stem (prātipadika 1.2.45), the verbal stem (dhātu 1.3.1; 3.1.32) and a set of affixes (praty-ayá 3.1.1-5.4.160) and a body of replacement rules which are context-sensitive. The genitive or sixth case, in its metalinguistic use, stands for the substituendum on which the rule operates. Thus in the rule [áster bhūḥ 2.4.52] *bhū-* replaces *as-* before árdhadhātuka affixes. On the other hand in 6.4.89 [ūṬ=upadhāyā góhaḥ], though there are two genitives, the substituendum is the [upadhā] which is qualified by [góhaḥ] and the governing expression [áṅgasya 6.4.1] which recurs there gives the full expression as [góhaḥ=áṅgasya=upadhāyāḥ] makes it clear that the last genitive alone is the substituendum.

### 1.1.50 sthāne=ántara-tamah

(Where a choice has to be made) among possible replacements (sthāne) that one is chosen which is most proximate (ántara-tama) to the substituent.

6.1.87 [āt=guṇáh] states that guṇá is the single substitute for the phoneme class [a] and the following vowel [aCi 6.1.71]. By 1.1.2 the t.t. guṇá denotes the vowel phoneme-classes [a, e, o]; in the compound expression *deva+indra-*, °-a+i-° is to be replaced by one of these three members; the choice by this rule falls on *e* which is palato-velar and therefore most proximate to both *a* and *i*, but not on *a* which is velar or on *o* which is labio-velar.

### 1.1.51 ur aN<sup>1</sup> rĀ-parah

(A vowel represented by the siglum) aN<sup>1</sup> (= a, i, u) [substituted in the place of 50] of vowel ɾ (and ɿ) is automatically followed by the phoneme r (and l respectively 1.3.10).

1. 7.1.100 [ɾTa iT=dhātoḥ] provides for the replacement of vowel ɾ of a verbal stem by short i(T): *kɾ+Śa+tiP* = *kir-á-ti* 'scatters'.
2. *hɾ+ŚaP+tiP* where ɾ is replaced by guṇá by 7.3.84 [sārva-dhātuka=ārdhadhātukayoḥ (guṇáh 82)], and since there is now a choice to be made from the three members of this class (1.1.2), by 50 above the closest is *a* which is of the same duration as that of the substituent and differs from it only in one feature of articulation, while *e*, *o* differ from it in two features, and so we realize the expected form *hār-a-ti* 'removes'. Similarly 7.2.114 [mɾj- vɳd-dhiḥ] provides for a vɳddhi (= ā, ai, au by 1 above) replacement of the vowel (3 above) of the verbal stem mɾj- 'wipe, clean' before sārva-dhātuka affixes: *mɾj+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* = *mārj+tiP* since ā like *a* above is the obvious choice for the reasons stated there, and we realize the expected form *mārs-ṭi* (8.2.36; 4.41).
3. The siglum rĀ, as indicated earlier, denotes the two lateral semi-vowels r and l; consequently the guṇá substitute for ɿ is *al*, and the vɳddhi substitute is *al*: *kɳp+ŚaP+te* = *kālp-a-te* 'is able'.

### 1.1.52 aLaḥ=ántyasya

(A substitute replaces) the final (ántyasya) phoneme (of the substituent).

7.2.102 [tyádāḍnām aḥ] provides for the replacement of the sub-class of pronominals whose first member is tyád- 'that' before vibhākti (7.2.84 = sUP triplets); *tyád+sU* = *tyáa+sU* = *tyá+sU* (6.1.97) = *syá+s* (7.2.106).

### 1.1.53 Ñ-ITca

[A polyphonic 55] substitute marked with Ñ as IT [replaces the final phoneme of the substituend 52].

1. Sūtra 55 below is an exception to 52 above and provides for the replacement of the whole substituend instead of its final phoneme; the present rule is a prior exception to that exception, so that by a reversal of the normal process of recurrence (anuvṛtti) the expression polyphonous (áneka-aL) is anticipated here.
2. Substitutes with marker Ñ are: anaÑ, ayaÑ, avaÑ, asuÑ, ānaÑ, inaÑ, iyaÑ, uvaÑ, niÑ, nyaÑ, riÑ, riÑ, ṣyaÑ.

### 1.1.54 ādéḥ párasya

(When a substitute replaces a following substituend) it replaces its (párasya) initial phoneme (ādéḥ).

- 7.2.83 [ṛT āsah (ānāsya 82)] provides for the replacement of °-ānā-, the marker of the present participle middle by ṛ(T) when it is introduced after the verbal stem ās- 'sit': ās+<sup>1</sup>ānā- = ās+mā- 'sitting'.

### 1.1.55 áneka=aL ŚIT sárvasya

A polyphonic (áneka=aL) substitute or (a monophonic one) with marker Ś as IT replaces the whole of the substituend.

1. Substitutes which are not polyphonic but replace the whole of the substituend have to be monophonic which, contra 52 above do not replace the final phoneme when marked with Ś as IT. This is, therefore, an exception to 52 above. Such substitutes are aŚ, iŚ, ṛŚ, eŚ, Śi, Śi, Śe.
2. 2.4.53 [bruvo vaciḥ] provides for the replacement of brū 'speak' by vac- before árdhahātuka affixes, and being polyphonic, replaces the whole substituend: brū+tf- = vac+tf- = vak-tf- (8.2.30).

### 1.1.56 sthānivád ādesáh=án-aL-vidhau

A replacement (ādesá = X) for a substituend (sthānín- = Y) is treated like the substituend (sthānivát) except (án-°) with regard to an operation (vidhí) which would thereby apply and would be at the same time dependent on the original phoneme (aL).

1. pra+kr+Ktvá = pra+kr+LyaP (7.1.37) and LyaP is therefore treated as a kṛt affix like Ktvá and by 6.1.71 [hrasvaśya PIti kṛti tuK] is treated as though it were also marked by K as IT, conditioning thereby a final increment tuK: pra-kṛt-ya- 'having started to do or perform'.



vowel and before a non-vowel; but since the substitute *y* is not treated like the substituend vowel, the option will not prevail.

- (3) In the expression  $yā+yā\dot{N}+varáC = yā-yā+ya\dot{N}+varáC$  (6.1.9) *a* of  $ya\dot{N}$  is replaced by  $\emptyset$  before affix  $varáC$  (6.4.48):  $yā-yā+y\emptyset+vará$ , and the  $\emptyset$ -replacement is not treated like the substituend with respect to replacement of *y* before  $vará$ - (6.1.66):  $yāyā+\emptyset+vará = yāyā-vará$ - ‘constantly moving’.
- (4) From the denominative  $kandūyá$ - ‘scratch’ with affix  $KtiN$  we get:  $kandūya+ti : kándūy\emptyset+ti$  (6.4.48) =  $kándū\emptyset\emptyset+ti$  (6.1.66) since  $\emptyset$ -replacement of *a* is not treated like the substituend.
- (5)  $kṛ+saN+NvuL = ci-kir-sa+NvuL = cikṛ-sa+aka-$  (7.1.1) =  $cikṛ-s\emptyset+aka-$  (6.4.48) =  $cikṛ-s-aka-$  ‘desirous of doing’. Since marker *L* of  $NvuL$  provides for the udátta accent to be placed on the preceding vowel we realize the correct form  $cikṛ-s-aka$  despite the intervention of the substituend  $\emptyset$  which is not treated like the original substituend.
- (6) From the verbal stem  $piṣ-$  (VII 15) ‘crush, pound’ we derive the Imperative 2nd pers. sing. as follows:  $piṣ+ŚnáM+hi$  (3.1.78; 4.87) =  $pi-ná-s+hi = pi-n\emptyset-s$  (6.4.111)  $+dhi$  (6.4.101) =  $pi-n-s+dhi = pi-m-s+dhi$  (8.3.24) =  $pi-m-s+dhi$  (8.4.42) =  $pi-m-d-dhi$  (8.4.53) =  $pi-n-d-dhi$  (8.4.58) =  $pi-n-dhi$  (8.4.65) where  $\emptyset$ -replacement of *a* of *na* is not treated like the substituendum.
- (7) In the step  $pi-n\emptyset-s+dhi = pi-m-s+dhi$  above,  $\emptyset$  is not treated like the substituend when replacing the non-pada-final dental nasal by the anusvāra (8.3.24).
- (8) The Instrumental sing. of  $prati-dīvan-$  ‘gambling opponent’ is generated as follows:  $prati-dīvan+Tā = prati-dīv\emptyset n+ā$  (6.4.134) =  $prati-dīv-n-ā$  (8.2.77) since in the verbal stem  $div-$ , *i* is the penultimate and *a* is not treated like the substituend *a* before *n*.
- (9) The Imperative third pers. dual of  $bhas-$  ‘chew’ (111 18) is derived as follows:  $bhas+tām$  (3.4.90) =  $bhas+Ślu+tām$  (2.4.75) =  $ba-bhas-tām$  (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54) =  $ba-bh\emptyset s+tām$  (6.4.100) =  $ba-bh\emptyset\emptyset+tām$  (8.2.26) =  $babh-dhām$  (8.2.40) =  $bab-dhām$  (8.4.53) where  $\emptyset$ -replacement is not treated like its substituend.
- (10) The third per. plur. Perfect of  $ghas-$  ‘eat’ (I 747) is generated as follows:  $ghas+lIT = ghas+ús$  (3.4.82) =  $ja-ghas+ús$  (6.1.8; 7.4.62; 8.4.54) =  $ja-gh\emptyset s+ús$  (6.4.98),  $jaghs-ús$  (8.3.60) =  $jaks-ús$  (8.4.55) where  $\emptyset$ -replacement is not treated like the substituend.

### 1.1.59 dvir-vácane=aCi

Before (an affix with) an initial vowel (aCi) (which conditions a reduplication of the verbal stem) [the replacement 56] of a vowel is treated like the original substituend (sthānivát 56) only with respect to that reduplication (dvir-vácane).

This rule has a five-fold application with respect to (1)  $\emptyset$  replacement of  $\bar{a}$ , (2)  $\emptyset$  replacement of the penultimate, (3)  $\emptyset$  replacement of  $\dot{N}iC$ , (4)  $\emptyset$  replacement of semi-vowels and (5) replacement by *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv*.

- (1) Perfect 3rd pers. dual of verbal stem  $pā-$  ‘drink’ (I 972) is derived as follows:

$pā+átus$  (3.4.82) =  $p\emptyset+átus$  (6.4.64) and by 6.1.8 the verbal stem undergoes reduplication before IIT substitutes, but this rule applies to stems containing a single vowel, and here we have only a single consonant  $p\emptyset$ ; but since  $\emptyset$  is treated like the substituend  $\bar{a}$  the form generated is  $pa-p\emptyset-átus$  =  $pa-p-átus$  'they two have drunk'.

- (2) Perfect 3rd dual of *han* 'kill' is similarly derived, for the reasons already stated under (1) as follows:  $han+átus$  =  $h\emptyset n+átus$  (6.4.98) =  $ha-h\emptyset n+átus$  =  $ja-h\emptyset n+átus$  (7.4.62) =  $ja-ghn-átus$  (7.3.55).
- (3) Aorist 3rd pers. sing. of the causative stem of *at-* 'wander' is derived thus:  $at+N\dot{I}C+Ci$  (3.1.44) =  $at+N\dot{I}C+Ca\acute{N}$  (3.1.48) =  $\acute{a}t+N\dot{I}C+Ca\acute{N}$  (7.2.116) =  $\acute{a}t+i+Ca\acute{N}$  =  $\acute{a}ti-ti+a+t$  (3.4.100; 6.1.2,11) =  $\bar{a}-ti-t\emptyset+a-t$  (6.4.51) where  $\emptyset$  is treated like the substituend  $N\dot{I}C$  in deriving the reduplicated theme  $[\bar{a}-ti-t]$  by 6.1.2.
- (4) Perfect 3rd pers. of *kṛ-* 'to make, perform':  $kṛ+átus$  =  $kṛ-átus$  =  $kṛ-kr-átus$  (6.1.8) =  $cṛ-kr-átus$  (7.4.62) =  $ca-kr-átus$  (7.4.66) where the semi-vowel replacement of the sonant vowel (6.1.77) is treated like the substituend.
- (5) Perfect 1st pers. sing. of *nṛ-* 'to lead':  $nṛ+NaL$  (3.4.82) =  $nái+a$  (7.2.115) =  $náy+a$  (6.1.78) =  $ni-náy-a$  (6.1.8) =  $ni-náy-a$  (7.4.59) where the  $\bar{a}y$  replacement is treated like the substituend for the purpose of reduplication.

### 1.1.60 á-darsanam lópaḥ

(The t.t.) *lopa* (=  $\emptyset$ ) denotes the disappearance, invisibility, elision (*a-darsanam*) [= zero replacement] (of an item).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.4,58; 3.9; 3.1.11-2; 4.32, 97-8; 4.1.133; 3.22,133; 5.1.125; 3.82; 4.1,51,138, 146ff.

"Disappearance" implies prior appearance of some unit and thus construed gives the notion of zero (=  $\emptyset$ ) replacement.

### 1.1.61 pratyayasya <sup>1</sup>luK-<sup>2</sup>Ślu-<sup>3</sup>luPaḥ

(The t.tt.) *luK* ( $\emptyset^1$ ), *Ślu* ( $\emptyset^2$ ) and *luP* ( $\emptyset^3$ ) denote [elision or disappearance (*adarsana* 60) = zero replacement] of an affix (*pratyayá*).

As a t.t. *luK* occurs in 1.2.49; 2.4.58; 4.1.88,90,109,175-78. *Ślu* occurs in 2.4.75; 6.1.10; 7.4.75. *luP* occurs in 1.2.51; 4.2.4ff.,81; 3.166-68; 5.2.105.

### 1.1.62 pratyaya-lopé pratyaya-lakṣaṇám

When an affix is replaced (*pratyaya-lopé*) [by  $\emptyset$ ] operations conditioned by it still operate (*pratyaya-lakṣaṇám*) (as if the affix were still present).

1. The repetition of the word *pratyayá-* in this rule, when it was already recurring from the preceding one is for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that only when the whole affix is replaced by zero the operation conditioned by it takes place.

2. The present participle of *gam-* 'go' [I 1031] : *gam+ŚātR̥* (3.2.124) = *gám+ŚaP+ŚātR̥* (3.1.68) = *gách+a-atR̥* (7.3.77) = *gáčch-a-atR̥* (6.1.73); before strong affixes (sUT of SUP triplets) the infixed increment *nyM* is inserted after its last vowel: *gáčch-a-at+sU* = *gáčch-a-t+sU* (6.1.97) = *gáčch-a-n-t+sU* (7.1.70); since this affix occurs as the final member of a conjunct as pada- final (1.4.14) it is replaced by  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  (8.2.23) leaving a pada ending in '-t : *gáčch-a-n-t* and by recurring application of 8.2.23 conjunct pada-final *t* is now replaced by  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  : *gáčch-a-n*;  $\rightarrow \emptyset$  replacement of the affix still conditions the padá status of *gáčch-a-n*. Similarly in the nom. plur. form of *saptán+Jas* = *saptán+θ<sup>1</sup>* (7.1.22); the status of being a padá (1.4.14) of *saptán+Jas* still holds good for *saptán+θ<sup>1</sup>* = *saptáθθ<sup>1</sup>* (8.2.7) = *saptá* '7'.
3. Optative 1st pers. sing. of *ā+han-* is derived as follows: *ā+han+sṛyūT̐* (3.4.102) +*iT̐* (3.4.78) = *ā-han+sṛyūT̐+aT̐* (3.4.106) = *ā-han+θṛy-a* (7.2.79) = *ā-hθn* (6.4.98)+*θṛy+a* = *ā-ghn-ṛy-a* (7.3.54); since only a part of the initial increment *sṛyūT̐* is replaced by  $\emptyset$ , the replacement of the dental nasal of the verbal stem conditioned by 6.4.37 does not take place.

### 1.1.63 ná lumatā=āṅgasya

[When a zero replacement of an affix is conditioned by the use of 62] (the t.t.) *lu* (= *luK*, *Ślu* or *luP* 61) [operations pertaining to 62] a pre-affixal stem (āṅgasya [1.4.13]) do not take place.

A gotra descendant of *garga-* is *garga+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *gárg-ya-* (6.4.48; 7.2.117); the nominative plural of this in deep structure is: *garga+yaÑ+Jas*; 2.4.64 conditions the replacement of affix *yaÑ* by *luK*: *garga+θ<sup>1</sup>+Jas*; since this is a replacement by a t.t. containing *lu(K)* the operation conditioned by *yaÑ* (replacing the first syllabic of the nominal stem by *vṛddhi* 7.2.117) does not take place: *gargāḥ* (8.2.15).

### 1.1.64 aCaḥ=ántya=ādi ṬI

(The t.t.) *ṬI* denotes that part of an element which begins with the last vowel.

In other words this t.t. denotes the syllable which begins with the last vowel of a given unit. As a t.t. occurs in 3.4.79; 5.3.71; 6.3.92; 4.143-45,155; 7.1.88; 8.2.82-84,89-90.

From the verbal stem *édhA vṛddhau* (I 2) 'increase, grow' we arrive at the 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative (IAṬ) as follows: *édh+IAṬ* = *édh+ŚaP+ta* = *édh-a+te* (3.4.79) which conditions the replacement of *ṬI* by *e*; in this case *a* of *ta* fulfills the definition, but in the dual form: *édh-a+ātām ām* is the *ṬI* which is so replaced: *édh-a+āte* = *édh-a+iyte* (7.2.81) = *édh-e-te* (6.1.66,87).



### 1.1.65 aLaḥ=āntyāt pūrva upadhā

(The t.t.) upadhā 'penultimate' denotes the phoneme (aL) preceding (pūrva) the last one (āntya) (of an expression).

1. As a t.t. occurs in 6.3.47; 4.7,20,24,47,89,149; 7.1.101; 2.116; 4.1-8; 8.2.9,76-79.
2. 3rd pers. sing. IAT of *vidÁ jñāne* (II 55) 'know': *vid+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* (2.4.72) = *ved+tiP* (7.3.86) where the light penultimate (laghú=upandha) of *vid-* is replaced by *guṇá*.

### 1.1.66 tásmín=iti nīrdiṣṭe pūrvasya

A form stated in the locative case (ending in the seventh sUP triplet) denotes an element the unit preceding which (pūrvasya) is subject to the grammatical operation introduced by that statement.

1. This is a metalinguistic rule (pāribhāṣā) and denotes the right context before which the operation takes place.
2. While by metarules the three cases: ablative, genitive and locative have the specified technical application in the formulation of the sūtras, other normal uses also occur when these do not denote a phonological context. Several types of the locative case are noted by the Pāṇinīyas: (a) locative of domain (viśaya-saptamī) : (chāndasi 1.2.62; 4.81 etc.; bhāṣāyām 3.2.108 etc.) (b) locative of cause (nimitta-saptamī) which serves as a condition for an operation but need not occur directly after the unit operated on (= operand) as in the case of 1.1.5 as applied to the 3rd pers. plur. of the Present Indicative of *vid-* : *vid+θ<sup>1</sup>+jhi* = *vid-ānti* (7.1.3) where *ānti* is deemed to be marked with *Ṇ* as IT (1.2.4) but the operand *i* is separated from it. In contrast to this the locative indicated in the present rule is designated para-saptamī 'an immediately following context'. (c) locative of being or locative absolute (sati saptamī or \*sat-saptamī) such as [ārdhadhātuke 6.4.46ff.] (d) a locative is also used to denote meanings: [rādhohimsāyām 6.4.123]. (e) lastly it is also used to denote the subordinate member of a compound (ūpapada) 3.1.92.

### 1.1.67 tásmād ity ūttarasya

A form stated in the ablative case (tāsmāt) denotes an element, the unit following (pārvasya) which (is subject to the grammatical operation introduced by the rule).

1. This indicates the left context after which the operation indicated obtains.
2. In affix-governing rules ablatives such as (prātipadikāt 4.1.1) or [dhātōḥ 3.1.91] are not interpreted by this context. However, there are instances where the genitive is used when the ablative is expected and Pāṇinīyas usually interpret this as [pañcamy-arthē ṣaṣṭhi] 'the sixth sUP triplets used for the fifth'. The reason for such divergence in most cases appears for the sake of brevity.

### 1.1.68 svām rūpām śābdasya=ā-śabda-saṁjñā

An expression denotes itself (svām rūpām) unless it is the name of a linguistic technical term (śabda-saṁjñā).

Thus the rule [agnér dhāK 4.2.33] applies only to the expression *agní-* and not to its synonyms like *pāvaka-*, *vāhni-*, *jvālana-* etc. [svām rūpām] 'its own form' is, however, in a few cases overlooked, where the expressions indicate general classes like the technical terms themselves or common nouns like the expressions 2.4.11 *vṛkṣā-* 'tree', *mṛgā-* 'deer', *tṛṇa-* 'grass', or *svā-* (3.4.40) which includes all types of wealth or property and *pakṣín-* 'bird', *mṛgā-* 'deer', *mátsya-* 'fish' denoting genus or species which include all individual specimens.

### 1.1.69 aṆ<sup>2</sup> uT=it sávarṇasya ca=ā-pratyayaḥ

(A phoneme) denoted by the siglum aṆ<sup>2</sup> (= a, i, u, ṛ, ̣, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l) or one having the marker U as IT denotes (not only itself [svām rūpām 68] but also) all phonemes homogeneous with it (sávarṇasya), unless it is an affix (pratyayaḥ).

In the expression [āt=guṇaḥ (aCi 6.1.77 ékaḥ pūrva-paráyoh 6.1.84) 6.1.87] the ablative [āt] of phoneme [a] stands for all sub-members or allophones of the a-class [3 lengths, 3 accents and ±nasality]; similarly in the rule [cOḥ kUḥ (padāsya 8.1.6) 8.2.30] cU represents all palatal stops and kU all velar stops.

### 1.1.70 Ta-paras tát-kālasya

A (vowel) phoneme followed or preceded by marker T denotes homogeneous phonemes of its time duration (tát-kālasya).

Patañjali interprets the expression [ta-para-ḥ] as *Taḥ páro yásmāt = Táparaḥ / tād api páraḥ = Ta-parāḥ*. [Ta-para] thus lends itself to be interpreted as 'followed by or following T'. Thus in (aT=eṆ guṇáh 1.1.2) T follows [a] but precedes eṆ (= e,o). Consequently [a] stands for the a-class of one mora duration while [e,o] represent homogenous phonemes of two mora duration. This is important, for the single replacement of [ā+ī] would still be [e], the two coalescing vowels being of two mora duration each, but their replacement by this rule is, not of four mora duration, but only two. In 3.2.171 [āt=ṛ=gama-hanÁ-jānaḥ <sup>1</sup>Ki-<sup>2</sup>Kinau lIT ca], in the expression [ād-ṛ-°] the phoneme d is not a replacement of this T as might be thought of at first sight, but either the phoneme d or t used for ease of pronunciation, since verbal stems ending in the phoneme class [ṛ] are subject to the operation stated in that rule.

### 1.1.71 ādír ántyena sahá=ITā

The initial item which is to be denoted (ādīh), together with (sahá) the final (ántyena) IT marker (ITā) of the last item (ántya) to be denoted (constitutes a siglum) [denoting itself 68] (and the intervening items).

1. The notion of the intervening items arises from the definition of the words [ādī] 'that which has no prior item' and [ántya] 'that which has no succeeding item'.
2. Through the operation of this rule P. employs 41 sigla (pratyāhārā) [or 42 according to the Pāṇinīyas who include rĀ as one based on the ŚŚ]. The 21 basic nominal endings (4.1.2) are represented by the siglum sUP, the first five of them, constituting the strong case endings by sUT; similarly the basic personal endings of the verbal system (3.4.78) by the siglum tiÑ and the special nine belonging to the middle voice (ātmanepadā) by taÑ.

### 1.1.72 yéna vidhís tad-antásya

When an operation (vidhí) is stated by means of a unit X (= a phoneme or group of phonemes) which is part of a larger unit which it qualifies, that X denotes the element ending in it (tad-antásya) [as well as itself (svásya rūpásya) 68].

By the rule [er aC 3.3.56] affix aC is introduced after all verbal stems ending in[°-i] as well as the verbal stems iK-, iÑ-, iÑ.

### 1.1.73 vṛd-dhi-r yásya=aCām ādís tād vṛd-dhām

(The t.t.) vṛd-dhá denotes (all such) expressions whose first vowel (aCām ādīh) is a member comprised by (the t.t.) vṛ-dhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au).

1. As a t.t. occurs in 4.1.113,148,157,160,171; 2.114-18, 120-25,141-2; 3.144; 6.2.87.
2. By 4.2.114 [vṛd-dhāt=chah] a secondary nominal stem derived from vṛddhá expressions by introducing the affix cha generates forms as follows: śālā+cha- = śālā+fyā- (7.1.2) = śāl̥+fyā- (6.4.64) = śāl-fyā- 'belonging to the hall'.

### 1.1.74 tyád-ādīni ca

[(The t.t.) vṛd-dhá] also (ca) denotes the class of (pronominals) whose first member is tyád- 'that'.

1. Members of this sub-class of sarvanāmáns (pronominals) are: tyád-, tād- 'that', etád- 'this', adás 'that', idám- 'this', éka- 'one', dvī- 'two', yuṣmád- 'you', asmád- 'we', bhávatU 'your honor', kím- 'which, what, who'.
2. Affix cha is introduced after these members although they do not meet the conditions of 73 above: tyád-fyā-, tad-fyā-, tvád-fyā-, mad-fyā-, yuṣmad-fyā-, asmad-fyā-, bhavad-fyā- etc.

### 1.1.75 eÑ prācām deśé

[(The t.t.) vṛd-dhá 73] denotes (all such) expressions [whose first vowel 73] is a member comprised by the siglum eÑ (= e,o) when they signify a place of habitation (deśé) of easterners (prācām).

*gonarda-* ‘an eastern city’ +*cha-* = *gonarda+īya-* = *gonard∅+īya-* (8.4.148) = *gonard-īya-* ‘a resident of the Gonarda city (one of the names of Patañjali, author of Mahābhāṣya). On the other hand *kroḍa+áN* [4.3.25 *tátra jātáḥ*, 53 *tátra bhávah*] = *kraudá-* ‘born or residing in Kroḍa, a northern city’.

### 1.2.1 gāÑ-kuṭāḍibhyaḥ=á-Ñ-N-IT=Ñ-IT

[Afixes] which are not marked with Ñ or N as IT function like those marked with Ñ as IT when introduced after the verbal stems: gāÑ replacement of the verbal stem iÑ (2.4.49-50) 'study', and the group of verbal stems whose first member is kuṭ- 'be curved' (= Dh. VI 73-108).

1. There are two verbal stems gāÑ, one a replacement for the verbal stem [iÑ adhyáyane 11 37] and the other gāÑ gátau (I 998), but the present rule covers only the former. The Aorist marker siC (3.1.44), not being marked with Ñ or N as IT functions as though it were marked with Ñ; thus the 3rd pers. sing. of this verbal stem has the deep structure: *adhi+á+gā+siC+ta*; by 6.4.66 the stem-final vowel is replaced by *I* before the Aorist marker since it is functioning like a ÑIT: *adhi-á-gI-s+ta* = *adhy-á-gI-s-ta* (8.3.59; 4.41).
2. Similarly *kúṭ+tumN* = *kúṭ+iT-tumN* (7.2.35) = *kúṭ-ikum*, since this affix functions like a Ñ-IT. But *út-kuṭ+NiC+ŚaP* = *út-koṭ-ay-a-* (7.3.84,86); *kuṭ+GHaÑ* = *kóṭ-a-* (7.3.86).

### 1.2.2 vija iT

(All affixes with the initial increment 1.1.46) iT introduced after the verbal stem vij- [O-vij-Ī bhayá-cálanayoḥ VI 7, VII 23] 'fear, move' [function like those marked with Ñ as IT 1].

*ud+vij+ti-* = *ud-vij+iT-ti-* = *ud-vij-iti-*; likewise *ud-vij-ikum(uN)*, *ud-vij-itávya-*, but *ud-vij+NvuL* = *ud-vej-aka-* (7.1.1; 3.86) and similarly *ud-vej-aníya(R)*, *ud-vej-ana-* etc.

### 1.2.3 vibhāṣā=ūrṇoḥ

[All affixes beginning with the initial increment iT 2] optionally (vibhāṣā) function [like those marked with Ñ 1] when introduced after the verbal stem ūrṇu(Ñ) 'cover' [II 30].

*pra+urnu+iT-ti-* = *prorṇuv-iti-* (6.4.77; 1.87)/*prorṇav-iti-* (7.3.84; 6.1.78), the first form without guṇá replacement but the second with guṇá replacement. But *prorṇú+ana-* = *prorṇá-ana-* 'covering, enclosure'.

### 1.2.4 śārvadhātukam a-P-IT

Śārvadhātuka [= tiÑ, Ś-IT 3.4.113 = Present System] affixes not marked with P as IT [function like those marked with Ñ as IT 1].

1. *vid+tiP* = *vid+ṭ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* = *ved+ti* (7.3.86) = *vet-ti* (8.4.55); but *vid+tás* = *vit-tás*, *vid+jhi* = *vid-ánti* (7.1.3).

2. *vid+ŚātR-* = *vid+ātR-* 'knowing'.

### 1.2.5 a-saṃyogāt=IIT̐ K-IT

Substitute endings of IIT̐ (the Perfect Tense 3.4.81-82) [not marked with P as IT 4] function like those marked with K as IT (when they are introduced after a verbal stem) which does not end (1.1.72) in a conjunct consonant (a-saṃyogāt).

1. Before K-IT- affixes *guṇá* replacements are blocked (1.1.5) and *samprasāraṇa* (= vocalization) replacement in certain verbal stems is conditioned (6.1.15 ff) and  $\emptyset$ -replacement of penultimate nasals of certain verbal stems takes place (6.4.24). While blocking of *guṇá* and vocalization replacements are common to affixes marked with Ñ as IT also, 6.1.15 is restricted to those with K as IT only.
2. *vac+ús* = *uc+ús* (6.1.15) = *vac-uc-ús* (6.1.8) = *va-uc-ús* (7.4.60) = *u-uc-ús* (6.1.17, 108) = *ūc-ús* (6.1.101); *yaj+átus* = *iaj+átus* = *yaj-ij+átus* (6.1.108) = *ya-ij+átus* (7.4.60) = *ia-ij+átus* (6.1.17) = *i+ij+átus* (6.1.108) = *īj+átus* (6.1.101). But affix [thaL] replacement of [siP 3.4.82] is a P=iT by metarule 1.1.56 and hence not a K-IT by this rule: *kṛ+thaL* = *kṛ-kṛ+thaL* (6.1.8) = *ca-kṛ+thaL* (7.4.62,66) = *ca-kār+tha* (7.3.84); verbal stems ending in a consonant cluster: *dhvans+éŚ* (3.4.81) = *da=dhvans+é* (7.4.60; 8.4.54); [éŚ] is not K=IT by this rule because the stem ends in a consonant cluster, blocking out the operation of 6.4.24 which conditions  $\emptyset$ -replacement of the penultimate nasal. Normally since 1-substitutes of IIT̐ constitute the árdhahātuka class of affixes 4 above does not apply to them, but by the present rule they are deemed to be K-IT when introduced after verbal stems not ending in a conjunct.

### 1.2.6 <sup>1</sup>índhī-<sup>2</sup>bhavatibhyāñ ca

[Substitute endings of IIT̐ 5] introduced after the verbal stems *índh-* 'kindle' (VII 11) and *bhū-* 'become' (I 1) also (ca) function [like those with marker K as IT 5].

1. The verbal stem *índh-* is included here because it is an exception to 5 above, having a consonant nexus at the end; *bhū-* is included so as to extend the domain of 5 to include even those affixes which are marked by P as IT.
2. *índh+éŚ* (3.4.81) = *iḥdh+éŚ* (6.4.24) = *idh-idh-é* (6.1.8) = *iḥḥidh-é* (7.4.60) = *īdh-é* (6.1.101).
3. *bhū+NaL* = *ba-bhūv-a* (7.4.73; 8.4.54).
4. This rule has been contradicted by Kātyāyaná and Patañjali for the following reasons: in the case of [índh-], in the spoken language it comes under the operation of 3.1.36, while in Vedic by 3.4.117 1-substitutes of IIT̐ are optionally sárvadhātuka, in consequence of which by 4 above all taÑ substitutes are Ñ-IT, which results in the form *ī-dhe*, while in the case of [bhū-] a final increment

(v<sub>u</sub>K) is introduced by 6.4.88 before l-substitutes of IUṆ and IT̄ which makes the present rule unnecessary.

### 1.2.7 <sup>1</sup>mṛḍÁ-<sup>2</sup>mṛḍÁ-<sup>3</sup>gudhÁ-<sup>4</sup>kuṣÁ-<sup>5</sup>kliśÁ-<sup>6</sup>vadÁ-<sup>7</sup>vasaḥ Krvā

The affix Ktvā (1.1.40) [in spite of being augmented with initial increment iṬ (18 below) functions like a K-IT] when introduced after the verbal stems mṛḍ- 'be gracious' (VI 38, IX 44), mṛḍ- 'crush' (IX 43), gudh- 'be angry' (IV 13, IX 45), kuṣ- 'tear out' (IX 46), kliś- 'torment' (IX 50), vad- 'say, utter' (I 1058), and vas- 'dwell' (I 1054).

1. This is a prior exception to 18 below where it is stated that Ktvā with initial increment iṬ does not function like a K-IT.
2. Because iṬ-Ktvā functions like a K-IT with respect to the verbal stems listed here we get the following surface forms: *mṛḍ-itvā*, *mṛḍ-itvā*, *gudh-itvā* *kuṣ-itvā*, *kliś-itvā*, *ud-itvā*, *uṣ-itvā*.

### 1.2.8 <sup>1</sup>rúḍa-<sup>2</sup>vidÁ-<sup>3</sup>múṣÁ-<sup>4</sup>grāhi-<sup>5</sup>svapi-<sup>6</sup>pracchaḥ saN=ca

[The affix Ktvā 7] and the affix saN, introduced after the verbal stems rúḍ- 'cry' (II 58), vid- 'know' (II 51), múṣ- 'steal' (IX 58), grāh- 'grasp, seize' (IX 61), svap- 'sleep, lie down' (II 59) and prach- 'ask' (VI 120) [function like K-IT affixes 5].

1. *rud-i-tvā*, *vid-i-tvā*, *muṣ-i-tvā*, *grah-i-tvā* (7.2.37), *sup-tvā*, *pr̥ṣ-tvā* (8.2.38; 4.41).
2. *rud+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *rú-rud+iṬ-sa+a+ti* (6.1.9; 7.2.35; 4.60) = *rú-rud-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97); similarly *ví-vid-i-ṣa-ti*, *mú-muṣ-i-ṣa-ti*, *jí-ghṛk-ṣa-ti* (7.4.66,79; 8.2.31,37,41), *sú-sup-ṣa-ti* (6.1.15), *pí-pr̥cch-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.16).
3. Optional application taught in 26 below is blocked by this rule as a prior exception in the case of the verbal stems [rúḍ-, vid-, múṣ-].

### 1.2.9 iKo jhaL

[The affix saN 8] (with initial 1.1.54) non-nasal stops and fricatives (jhaL) introduced after a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) in a vowel comprised by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [functions like a K-IT affix 5].

From the verbal stem *ci-* 'gather', we get the underlying deep structure of the desiderative base as *ci+saN* (3.1.7) and since guṇá replacement of the stem vowel (7.3.84) is blocked out by the present rule, 6.4.16 [aC=hanÁ-gamāṃ saNi] conditions its replacement by the corresponding long vowel: *cī+saN* = *cī-cī-saN* (6.1.9) = *cī-cī+saN* (7.4.59) = *cī-cī-ṣa-* (8.3.59); similarly from *su-* 'press,

extract':  $su+saN = s\acute{u}-s\acute{u}-\acute{s}a-$ ;  $k_r+saN = k_r^f+saN = k_r^f-k_r^f+saN = k\acute{a}r-k_r^f+saN$  (7.4.66) =  $k\acute{a}\emptyset=k_r^f+saN$  (7.4.60) =  $kf-kir+saN$  (7.4.79; 1.100) =  $kf-kir-sa-$  (8.2.77) =  $c\acute{f}-k\acute{r}-\acute{s}a-$  (8.3.59; 4.54).

The siglum  $jhaL$  in the *sūtra* is really in the place of  $an-iT$  qualifying  $saN$ , for only the phoneme  $s$  of  $jhaL$  is involved and saves one mora by over-inclusion of phonemes.

### 1.2.10 $haL$ -antāt=ca

[The affix  $saN$  8 with initial 1.1.54  $jhaL$  9 functions like a K-IT 5] when introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72)  $haL$  'consonants' [preceded by a vowel denoted by the siglum  $iK$  9].

$bhid+saN = bh\acute{id}-bh\acute{id}+saN$  (6.1.9) =  $bh\emptyset-bh\acute{id}+saN$  (7.4.60) =  $bf-bhid-saN$  (8.4.54) =  $bf-bhit-sa-$  (8.4.58) with no  $guṇā$  replacement of the penultimate short vowel by 7.3.86.

### 1.2.11 $^{1}IIN$ - $^{2}siCau$ =ātmanepadēṣu

The  $IIN$  replacement ( $sīy\acute{u}T$  3.4.102) and the  $IUN$  replacement ( $s\acute{i}C$  3.1.44) [beginning with  $jhaL$  9, introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72)  $haL$  10, preceded by  $iK$  (=  $i, u, r, l$ ) 9 function like a K-IT 5] before ātmanepadā endings (=  $taN$  1.4.100).

1. The Precative or Benedictive ( $\acute{a}śir-IIN$ ) 3rd pers. sing.  $\bar{A}tm.$  of  $[bhid-]$  'split' (VII 2) is derived as follows:  $bhid+IIN = bh\acute{id}+t\acute{a}$  (3.4.78) =  $bhid+sīy\acute{u}T+suT+t\acute{a}$  (3.4.102, 107) =  $bhid+s\emptyset-s-t\acute{a}$  (6.1.66) =  $bhid-s\acute{r}-s-t\acute{a}$  (8.3.59; 4.41) =  $bhit-s\acute{r}-s-t\acute{a}$  (8.4.55). The short penultimate vowel of the verbal stem is not replaced by  $guṇā$  since marker K blocks out this operation of 7.3.86 by metarule 1.1.5.
2. Similarly the Aorist ( $IUN$ ) 3rd pers. sing. is derived as follows:  $bhid+IUN = bh\acute{id}+t\acute{a}$  (3.4.78) =  $bhid+Cl\acute{i}+t\acute{a}$  (3.1.43) =  $bhid+s\acute{i}C+t\acute{a}$  (3.1.44) =  $bhid+\emptyset+t\acute{a}$  (8.2.26) =  $bhit-ta$  (8.4.55) =  $\acute{a}T+bhit-ta$  (6.4.71) =  $\acute{a}-bhit-ta$ .

### 1.2.12 $us$ $ca$

[The  $IIN$  replacement  $sīy\acute{u}T$  and  $IUN$  replacement  $s\acute{i}C$  11 beginning with  $jhaL$  8] introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the vowel  $r$  [function like a K-IT affix 5, when followed by āmanepadā endings ( $taN$  11)].

1. Precative 3rd pers. sing.  $\bar{A}tm.$  of  $k_r-$  'do, make':  $k_r+IIN = k_r+t\acute{a} = k_r+sīy\acute{u}T+suT+t\acute{a} = k_r-s\emptyset-s-t\acute{a} = k_r-s\acute{r}-s-t\acute{a}$  (8.3.57, 59; 4.41).
2. Aorist 3rd pers. sing.  $\bar{A}tm.$ :  $k_r+IUN = k_r+ta = k_r+s\acute{i}C+ta = k_r+\emptyset+ta$  (8.2.27) =  $\acute{a}T+k_r+ta = \acute{a}-k_r-ta$ .



3. In both 1. and 2. the stem-final vowel is not replaced by guná which is blocked by the K-marker.

### 1.2.13 vā gamah

[The IĪÑ replacement sīyūT̄ and the IUÑ replacement siC 11 with initial jhaL 9] introduced after the verbal stem gam- ‘go’ (I 1031) optionally (vā) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before ātm. endings 11].

- [gam-] which normally takes the Parasmaipadā endings has the Ātmanepadā endings when co-occurring after the preverb [sam-°] (1.3.29):  $sām+gam+IĪÑ = sām-gam+ta = sām+gam+sīyūT̄+suT̄+ta = sām-gam-sī-ṣ+ta$ ; by this rule this marker optionally functions like a K-IT, whereby 6.4.37 pertaining to the zero replacement of stem-final nasal becomes optional also:  $sām-gam-sī-ṣ-ta/sām-gaṭ-sī-ṣ-ta$ .
- Similarly:  $sam+gam+IUÑ = sam-gam+ta = sam-gam+siC+ta = sam+āT̄+gam+siC+ta = sam-ā-gaṭ-s-ta$  (6.4.37) =  $sam-ā-ga-ṭ-ta$  (8.2.27)/ $sam-ā-gam-s-ta$ .

### 1.2.14 hanah siC

The (IUÑ substitute marker) siC introduced after the verbal stem han- ‘kill’ (II 2) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before ātmanepadā endings 11].

This verbal stem regularly takes Parasmaipadā endings and is replaced by [vadhá-] before IĪÑ and IUÑ (2.4.42-3); when co-occurring with preverb á-° it regularly takes Ātmanepadā endings and before these introduced after IĪÑ and IUÑ [han-] is optionally replaced by [vadhá-] (2.4.44). When it has its own form we have:  $ā+han+siC+ta = ā+haṭ+ṣ+ta$  (6.4.37) =  $ā-ha-ṭ-ta$  (8.2.27) =  $ā+āT̄+ha-ta = ā-ha-ta$  ‘has killed’ or ‘has been killed’ (passive).

### 1.2.15 yamo gándhane

[The IUÑ substitute marker siC 14] introduced after the verbal stem yam- (I 1033) when it expresses the sense of ‘divulge, disclose’ (gándhane) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before Ātmanepadā endings 11].

Like [han-] above [yam-] takes Ātmanepadā endings when co-occurring with preverb [āñ-°] (1.3.28); thus:  $ā+yam+siC+ta = ā-yaṭ-s-ta$  (6.4.37) =  $ā-ya-ṭ-ta$  (8.2.27),  $ā-ya-s-ātām$ ,  $ā-ya-s-ata$ ; but in other senses:  $ā-yam-s-ta$

### 1.2.16 vibhāṣā=upayāmane

[The IUN substitute marker *siC* 14 introduced after the verbal stem *yam-* 15] when denoting the sense of ‘espouse’ optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before *Ātmanepadā* endings 11].

*upa+yam+siC+ta* = *upāya-ta/upāyam-s-ta*; *Ātm.* endings are introduced by 1.3.56 when the verbal stem co-occurs with preverb *upa-*°.

### 1.2.17 <sup>1</sup>*sthā*-<sup>2</sup>*GHV*or *iT*=*ca*

[The IUN substitute marker *siC* 14] introduced after the verbal stems *sthā-* ‘stand, remain’ (I 975) and those defined by the t.t. *GHU* [1.1.20 *dā-dhā GHU a-dāP*] [functions like a K-IT affix 5 before *Ātmanepadā* endings 11] and (*ca*) short *i(T)* is the replacement for stem-final (1.1.72) (vowel) of these stems.

1. One should note that in the *sūtras* 1,2,5,6,10 the ablative case is used while in 2,3,7,8,9,11-15 it is presumed to be an ablative, although the surface form is identical with the genitive; in the present case the genitive-locative common form [*sthā-ghv-os*] occurs, and the context indicates that it is the substituent for the replacement element [*iT*] which determines its status as a genitive dual. Context in these cases determines the character of the forms used. With reference to the relative position of *siC* and (*sthā*+*GHU*class stems) one has to assume the transformation of the genitive dual to that of the ablative dual (*\*sthā-GHU-bhyām*), a process which Patañjali defines by the verbal stem (*pra-kj*p-). It will be shown at the appropriate places where Pāṇinīyas indicate the use of the genitive for the ablative in the sense of 1.1.67 by the statement (*pañcamy-arthé ṣaṣṭhī*).
2. [*sthā-*] takes *Ātm.* endings under conditions of co-occurrence with certain preverbs stated in 1.3.22-26: *pra+sthā+siC+ta* = *prā-sthi+s-ta* = *prā-sthi+∅+ta* (8.2.27) = *pra+āT+sthi-ta* (6.4.71) = *prā-sthi-ta*.
3. Similarly from [*dā-*] ‘give’: *dā+siC+ta* = *ā-di-∅-ta* = *ā-di-ta*.

### 1.2.18 *ná Ktvā sa=iT*

The affix *Ktvā* with initial increment *iT* does not (*ná*) [function like a K-IT affix 5]

1. This rule suppresses the marker *K* already present in the affix [*Ktvā*] when it receives the initial increment *iT*. A prior exception to this general rule was stated in 7 above.
2. *div-* ‘gamble’ +*Ktvā* = *div+iT=Ktvā* (7.2.35) = *dev-i-tvā* (7.3.84)

### 1.2.19 niṣṭhā <sup>1</sup>śīÑ-<sup>2</sup>svidi-<sup>3</sup>midī-<sup>4</sup>kṣvidī-<sup>5</sup>dhṛṣah

The niṣṭhā affix (1.1.26 = Ktá-, KtávātU) [preceded by the initial increment iṭ̥ does not 18 function as a K-IT 5] when introduced after the verbal stems śī- ‘sleep, lie down’ (II 22), svid- ‘sweat, perspire’ (I 780), mid- ‘melt’ (IV 133), kṣvid- ‘be unctuous’ (IV 134) and dhṛṣ- ‘offend’ (V 22).

1.  $\acute{e}i+Ktá = \acute{e}i+iṭ̥+Ktá$  (7.2.35) =  $\acute{e}e+i-tá$  (7.3.84) =  $\acute{e}ay-i-tá$  (6.1.78).

2. In the case of the remaining four verbal stems the general rule denying initial increment to niṣṭhā affixes 7.2.16 is made optional in 7.2.17 when impersonal usage (bhāvé) or the commencement of an action (= incipient action: ādikarmāṇi) is involved, yielding two set of forms:  $mid+Ktá = min-ná$ - (8.2.82) or  $med-i-tá$ - in these two senses only. Similarly we have:  $sved-i-tá$ - /  $svinná$ -,  $kṣved-i-tá$ - /  $kṣviṇ-ṇá$ -;  $dhars-i-tá$ - /  $dhṛṣ-tá$ -.

### 1.2.20 mṛṣas titikṣāyām

[A niṣṭhā affix 19 with initial increment iṭ̥ does not 18 function like a K-IT 5] when introduced after the verbal stem mṛṣ- (IV 55) when expressing the sense of ‘forbear, pardon, endure’.

The Dhātupāṭha records the following three verbal stems mṛṣÚ sécane (v.1. sáhane) I 739, mṛṣÀ titikṣāyām IV 55 and mṛṣA titikṣāyām X 305. The present rule is restricted to only the one belonging to the class IV.

$mṛṣ$ - (IV 55)+ $Ktá = mṛṣ+iṭ̥+Ktá = marṣ-i-tá$ -; in other senses  $mṛṣ-i-tá$ -. In the case of I 739 the corresponding form is  $mṛṣ-tá$ - while for X 305 it is  $marṣ-i-tá$ - from the deep structure:  $mṛṣ+ÑiC+Ktá = marṣ-i+Ktá$  (7.3.84) =  $marṣ-i+iṭ̥-Ktá$  (7.2.35) =  $marṣ-ḥ-i-tá$  (6.4.52).

### 1.2.21 úT=upadhāt=bhāvá=ādikarmaṇór anyatarásyām

[A niṣṭhā affix 19 with initial increment iṭ̥ 18] optionally (anyatarásyām) [does not function 18 like a K-IT 5] when introduced after a verbal stem containing a penultimate short u [úT=upadha-] when used in the impersonal construction (bhāvé) or denoting the commencement of an action (ādi-karmāṇi).

Thus from [dyut-] ‘shine’ (I 777)  $dyut+Ktá = dyut+iṭ̥+Ktá = dyut-itá$ - /  $pra-dyot-i-tá$  ‘started to shine or illuminate’.

### 1.2.22 pūṆaḥ Ktvā ca

[Niṣṭhá affixes 19 with initial increment iṭ 18] and the affix Ktvā [with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after the verbal stem pūṆ- ‘purify’ (I 1015) [do not function like a K-IT affix 5].

$pū+iṭ-Ktā = po-i-tā$  (7.3.84) =  $pav-i-tā$  (6.1.78) ‘purified’;  $pū+iṭ-Ktvā = po-i-tvā = pav-i-tvā$  ‘having purified’.

Note: a rule between two optional rules (anyatarāsyām 21 and vā 23) is not optional.

### 1.2.23 na=upadhāt tha-phá=antāt=vā

[The affix Ktvā 22 with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after a verbal stem ending in -th or -ph (tha-phá=antāt) and containing [n] as penultimate (na=upadhāt) [does not 18] optionally (vā) (function as a K-IT affix 5).

1.  $granth-$  ‘fasten, tie’ +  $iṭ-Ktvā = graṭh-i-tvā$  (6.4.37) =  $grath-i-tvā / granth-i-tvā$ .

2.  $gunph+iṭ-Ktvā = guṭkph-i-tvā / gumph-i-tvā$  (8.3.24) ‘having strung together’.

### 1.2.24 <sup>1</sup>vānci=<sup>2</sup>lúnci=<sup>3</sup>ṛtas ca

[The affix Ktvā 22 with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after the verbal stems vānc- ‘cheat’ (I 204), lúnc- ‘pluck’ (I 202) and ṛt- ‘dare, abhor’ also (ca) [optionally 23 does not 18 function like a K-IT 5].

1.  $vānc+iṭ-Ktvā = vaṭc-i-tvā / vānc-i-tvā$ .

2.  $luñc+iṭ-Ktvā = luṭc-i-tvā / luñc-i-tvā$ .

3.  $ṛt+iṭ-Ktvā = ṛt-i-tvā$  blocking out the guṇá replacement introduced by 7.3.86 /  $ari-i-tvā$ .

4. By 7.2.56 [uT=ITo vā] the verbal stem [vancU I 204] optionally conditions the insertion of increment iṭ at the head of Ktvā introduced after it; when the initial increment is not inserted we have:  $vanc+Ktvā = vaṭc+Ktvā$  (6.4.24) =  $vak-tvā$  (8.2.30)

### 1.2.25 <sup>1</sup>tṛṣi=<sup>2</sup>mṛṣi=<sup>3</sup>kṛśeḥ kāśyapasya

[The affix Ktvā 22 with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after the verbal stems tṛṣ- ‘be thirsty’ (IV 118), mṛṣ- ‘forbear, pardon’ (IV 55) and kṛś- ‘emaciate, become lean’ (IV 117) [optionally 23 does not 18 function like a K-IT 5] according to the grammarian Kāśyapa.

1. Since the optional nature of this rule is inferred from the preceding rules, the citing of Kāśyapa's name is purely honorific.
2.  $tṛṣ+iṭ-Ktvā = tṛṣ-i-tvā / tarṣ-i-tvā$ : similarly:  $mṛṣ-i-tvā / marṣ-i-tvā$ ;  $kṛṣ-i-tvā / karṣ-i-tvā$ .

### 1.2.26 $raLo\ u=i=upadhāt=hāL-ādeḥ\ saN=ca$

[Affix Ktvā 22] and (the desiderative marker) saN [both with initial increment iṭ 18] introduced after a verbal stem beginning with a consonant (hāL-ādeḥ) and (ending in 1.1.72) a consonant other than y and v (raL) and containing the vowel [u] or [i] as penultimate (u=i-upadhāt) [optionally 23 do not 18 function like a K-IT affix 5]

1.  $dyut+iṭ-Ktvā = dyut-i-tvā / dyot-i-tvā$  'having shone'.
2.  $dyut+iṭ-saN = dyūt-dyut+i-saN = dyūṭ=dyut-i-saN$  (7.4.60) =  $dīu-dyut-i-sa$  (7.4.67) =  $dī-dyut-i-sa$  (6.1.108) =  $dī-dyut-i-ṣa-te / dī-dyot-i-ṣa-te$  (8.3.59) 'desires to shine', but  $div+iṭ-Ktvā = dev-i-tvā$ ,  $div+saN = dī-dev-i-ṣa-ti$ .

### 1.2.27 $^1ū-kālah=aC=^1hrasvá-^2dīrghá-^3plutáh$

(The t.tt.) hrasvá- 'short', dīrghá- 'long' and plutá- 'extra-long, prolated' denote (respectively 1.3.10) vowels (aC) having the duration of u, ū and u3 (ū-kālah).

1. Vowel length is determined by the duration of its actual enunciation; three lengths are commonly recognized by these three technical terms, the short (hrasvá) measuring one mora, the long (dīrghá) measuring two and the prolated (plutá) measuring three. By the same pattern of duration a consonant is estimated to last half a mora or metrical unit whose actual value is relative to the speed of normal speech of each person.
2. The t.t. hrasvá occurs in 1.2.32,47; 4.6,10; 6.1.69,71,127,151,176; 3.43,61; 4.92,94; 7.1.54; 3.80,107-8,113; 4.52.
3. The t.t. dīrghá occurs in 1.1.58; 4.12; 3.1.6; 6.1.7,68,75-6,101-2; 4.25-6,69,83,94; 8.2.46,76-7; 3.9; 4.52.
4. The t.t. plutá occurs in 6.1.125; 8.2.82-108.

### 1.2.28 aCaś ca

[(Substitutes introduced by using the t.tt.) hrasvá-, dīrghá- or plutá 27] replace vowels (aCaḥ) only.

This is a meta-rule, and the expression [aCaḥ in the genitive] as the substituend is expected to occur wherever it is not specified but any of these t.tt. is used in the formulation of the rules, as in 47 below [hrasvá nápuṁsake prātipadikāśya]

where the word [prātipadikāśya] is interpreted as [prātipadikāśya (āntyasya 1.1.52) aCaḥ (sthāne 1.1.49)], just as [iKaḥ 1.1.3] is supposed to recur when the words guṇā and vṛddhi are employed without actually specifying the substituent.

### 1.2.29 uccaīr udāttaḥ

(The t.t.) udātta 'high-pitched' denotes [a vowel 27] with rising tone (uccaīḥ).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.32,37,40; 3.96; 4.103; 4.1.37,52; 4.108; 5.2.44; 6.1.159-223; 2.64-126; 4.71; 7.1.98; 8.2.5,82-108; 4.66.

### 1.2.30 nīcaīr ānudāttaḥ

(The t.t.) ānudātta 'low-pitched' denotes [a vowel 27] with falling tone (nīcaīḥ).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.38-9; 2.4,32,33; 3.1.4; 4.1.38; 6.1.59,120,161,190; 8.2.6.

### 1.2.31 samāhārāḥ svaritāḥ

(The t.t.) svaritā- 'circumflex' denotes [a vowel 27] having a combination (samāhārā) [of rising (uccaīḥ 29) and falling (nīcaīḥ 30) tones].

1. As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.37,39; 3.11; 6.1.185; 8.2.4,6,103; 4.66-7.

2. The musical nature of these tones is referred to in Pāṇiniya-Śikṣā (v.18) by attributing specific notes in the fundamental scale (of music) as under:

- |              |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|
| (a) udātta   | seventh/third      |
| (b) ānudātta | second/sixth       |
| (c) svaritā  | first/fourth/fifth |

### 1.2.32 tāśya=ādīta udāttam ardha-hrasvām

Of that (tāśya) [svaritā 31] the duration of half a mora (ardhahrasvā) vowel (aC) 28 from the beginning (ādītaḥ) is udātta 'high-pitched'.

Thus, in a short svaritā vowel the first half is udātta and the second half is ānudātta; in a long svaritā vowel, other than the first half, the remaining one and a half will be ānudātta, and in a plutā svaritā the remaining two and a half mora will be ānudātta.

### 1.2.33 éka-śruti dūrāt sambúddhau

When calling some one from a distance (dūrāt sambúddhau) (the utterance is articulated as) a mono-tone (éka-śruti).

The three tones defined by 29-31 are merged into a single tone without distinction.

### 1.2.34 yajña-karmāṇi=á-<sup>1</sup>japa-<sup>2</sup>nyūṅkha-<sup>3</sup>sāmasu

In a sacrificial act (yajña-karmāṇi) the enunciation [is in monotone 33] except in (1) silent repetition (jāpa) (of a sacrificial formula), (2) nyūṅkhá 'insertion of [O] and [3] sāmān 'melody'.

1. Mántras used in the performance of a sacrifice are to be in monotone.
2. The exceptions are with reference to the soft murmuring of mántras with accents intact and the insertion of sixteen varieties of the phoneme [o] and the melodic recitation of the Sāma-Veda.

### 1.2.35 uccaistarām vā vaṣatkārāḥ

[In a sacrificial act 34] the expression vāṣat optionally occurs (vā) [in a monotone 34] or with a markedly higher pitch (uccaistarām).

### 1.2.36 vibhāṣā chándasi

(In the recitation of) the Veda (chándasi) [the monotone 34] is optional (vibhāṣā).

1. The use of the word vibhāṣā here, in the face of the recurring optional indicator vā of 35 is for the purpose of blocking out the recurrence of [yajña-karmāṇi 34]. Thus it is implied that in the self-study or recitation of the Veda monotone can take place optionally.
2. When monotone is not employed the alternate recitation will be in the three tones or pitches.

### 1.2.37 ná subrahmaṇyāyām svaritāsya tu=udāttaḥ

In the recitation of Subrahmaṇyā hymns [monotone 34] does not (ná) occur, but the udātta accent replaces the svaritá.

In the recitation: *subrahmaṇyóm índrā āgáccha*, since *subrahmaṇyā-* is derived from *su-brahman-* with affix *yāT*. *yā* bears the svarita accent (6.1.85); similarly *índra*, being a vocative, has the udātta accent on the initial syllable, and the following [a] of the second syllable, following an udātta has the svaritá

accent (8.4.66); similarly in *á-gaccha*, *á-* has the udátta accent (6.2.49) while the following ánudātta is replaced by svaritá; all these svaritás will be replaced by the udátta accent.

### 1.2.38 <sup>1</sup>deva-<sup>2</sup>brahmaṇor ánudāttaḥ

[In the recitation of the Subrahmanyā hymns 37] the ánudātta accent replaces [the svaritá accent 37] of the expressions devā brāhmaṇāḥ [occurring therein].

Since *dévāḥ*, *brāhmaṇāḥ* are vocatives they bear the udátta accent on their initial syllable and the ánudātta vowel in the following syllable is replaced by svaritá (8.4.66); by this rule 37 is blocked, through a process of replacing the svaritá by the original ánudātta accent.

### 1.2.39 svaritát sāmhitāyām ánudattānām

In continuous recitation (sāmhitāyām ‘maximum contiguity’) [monotone 33] replaces the ánudātta vowels following a svaritá.

In continuous recitation of *imám me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī* since the ánudātta vowel in *me* follows the udátta of *mám* of *imám* it is replaced by svaritá, and since by 8.1.19 all vocatives not standing at the head of a phrase are ánudātta, it is replaced by monotone in all the succeeding vowels of that recitation.

### 1.2.40 udátta-svaritá-parasya sannátaraḥ

A tone or pitch called sannátara ‘lower (than nīcāḥ ‘low’ 30)’ replaces [an ánudātta 38] followed by an udátta or svaritá (udátta-svaritá-para).

In the formula *devā marutaḥ pṛśni-mātaro páḥ*, *-mātaraḥ* is all ánudātta (8.1.19) while *apáḥ* has the udátta accent on the second syllable (6.1.171), so the saṁdhi vowel [o] in *mātaro páḥ* bears the sannátara accent.

### 1.2.41 áṇṇkta éka=aL pratyayáḥ

(The t.t.) áṇṇkta denotes an affix consisting of a single phoneme (ék=aL).

As a t.t. occurs in 6.1.67-8; 7.3.91,96ff.



### 1.2.42 tatpuruṣaḥ samānā=adhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayāḥ

(The t.t.) karmadhārayā denotes a tatpuruṣa compound (2.1.22-2.21) formed from coordinate padās (samānā=adhikaraṇa ‘having the same case endings’).

1. *nīlam utpalām* = *nīla*+*utpalām* (2.4.71) = *nīlotpalām* ‘blue lotus’.

2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.38; 6.2.25-28,46,57; 3.42.

### 1.2.43 prathamā-nirdiṣṭam samāsā upasārjanam

(The t.t.) upasārjana ‘subordinate member’ denotes items appearing in the first sUP triplets (nominative case endings) (in the the rules which serve to generate) compounds (samāsē [2.1.3-2.38]).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.48,57; 4.1.14,54; 6.2.36,104; 3.82.

### 1.2.44 éka-vibhakti ca=á-pūrva-nipāte

[(The t.t.) upasārjana 43] also (ca) denotes [a member of a compound 43] which always has the same case ending (éka-vibhakti) (in the deep structure of the compound) except with respect to being placed in the prior position (á-pūrva-nipāte).

In the compound *nīḥ-kausāmbi-* (*nīḥkrānta*+*sUP* *kausāmbi*+*NasI* in the underlying deep structure) the word \*-kausāmbi- is always followed by the fifth singular sUP triplet where as *nīḥkrānta-* can be followed by different sUP triplets, though the composition is not necessary and can be equally substituted by the declined forms of individual members.

### 1.2.45 arthavád á-dhātur á-pratyayaḥ prātipadikām

(The t.t.) prātipadikā ‘nominal stem’ denotes a meaningful (arthavát) expression other than a dhātu ‘verbal stem’ (1.3.1; 3.1.32) or a pratyayā ‘affix’ (3.1.1-5.4.166).

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.47; 2.3.46; 4.71; 4.1.1; 8.2.7; 4.11.

Since this rule is followed by another rule below, extending the operation of this t.t., here it is restricted to primitive or underived nominal stems. Two views were expressed by grammarians. Śākaṭāyanā and his followers believed that all nominal stems were derivable from verbal stems, while others held the view that this was not always true. P’s view appears to posit two sets: (1) underived (á-vyutpanna-) nominal stems or primitive stems and (2) derived nominal stems. As verbal stems are fully registered in the Dhātupāṭha and all affixes [with the

exception of Uṇ=ādi group] are dealt with in chapters 3-5 of Aṣṭ., morphemes other these will by definition be nominal stems. P's structure of Sanskrit is based on these three fundamental building blocks, a significant departure from the earlier four-fold analysis with nāman 'nomen, nominal stem', ākhyāta 'verbal stem, verbum', upasargā and nipātā without special analysis of pratyayas 'affixes'.

### 1.2.46 <sup>1</sup>kṛt-<sup>2</sup>taddhitā-<sup>3</sup>samāsās ca

[(The t.t.) prātipadikā- 45] also (ca) denotes (derived nominal stems ending in 1.1.72) kṛt 'primary affixes' (3.1.93ff.), in taddhitā 'secondary affixes' (4.1.76ff.) or those forming samāsās 'compounds' (2.1.3ff.).

1. kṛt: *kṛ+ṆvuL* (3.1.133) = *kār-aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115).
2. taddhita: *úpagor ápatyam* = *úpagu+aÑ* (4.1.92) = *aupago+aÑ* (6.4.146; 7.2.117) = *aúpagav-a-* (6.1.78).
3. samāsā: *rājñah púruṣah* = *rājan+Nas* + *púruṣa+sU* = *rājan+θ<sup>1</sup>+puruṣa+sU* (2.4.71) = *rājaθ-puruṣāh* (8.2.7)

### 1.2.47 hrasvó nápumsake prātipadikásya

A short [vowel 28] replaces (the final 1.1.52) vowel of a nominal stem (prātipadikásya) employed in the neuter gender (nápumsake).

The compound *āti+rai-* 'who or which has surpassed wealth', when qualifying a neuter substantive, replaces the final vowel *ai* by short *i* (1.1.48): *āti-ri- kúlam* 'an extravagant family', but in conjunction with non-neuter substantives we have *grāma-ṇI* 'village head-person'; *senānf* 'army general'.

### 1.2.48 <sup>1</sup>gó-<sup>2</sup>striyór upasárjanasya

[A short vowel 47] replaces the final vowel (1.1.52) [of the prātipadikā 45] gó- 'cow (f), bull (m)' occurring as an upasárjana (43) and of an upasárjana (ending in 1.1.72) in a feminine affix (striyām 4.1.3ff.).

1. The underlying deep structure of *citrá gāvo yásya sah* = *citrá+TāP+Jas+gó+Jas* = *citraθ-θ<sup>1</sup>+go+sU* (6.3.34; 2.4.71) yields the surface form *citráguḥ* 'possessed of brindled cows'.
2. From the underlying structure *nīṣ+(krāntā-)+sU+kausāmbī+NasI* (= *nīṣkrāntāḥ kausāmbiyās*) we generate the surface form of the compound *nīṣ+θ<sup>1</sup>+kausāmbī+sU* (2.2.18; 4.71) = *nīṣ-kausāmbi-h* (8.3.15).

### 1.2.49 luK taddhita-luKi

When a taddhita ‘secondary’ affix is replaced by luK (=Ø<sup>1</sup> 1.1.61) luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) at the same time replaces [the feminine affix of the upasārjana 48].

In the compound generated from *pāñca indrānyó devātā asyá* with the underlying structure: *pāñca+Jas + indra+ānuK + ŃfS+Jas + devātā+Jas* the surface form is generated by *pāñca+Ø<sup>1</sup>+indra+Ø<sup>1</sup>+Ø<sup>1</sup>+sU = páncendra-s* ‘a sacrificial cake sacred to five Indrāñís’. This surface form is realized through the operation of 4.1.38 [dvigór luK ān-apatye] which introduces a luK replacement of affix [áN] in the resulting Dvigú compound: *pāñca+Ø<sup>1</sup>+indrāñf+áN* (4.1.83; 2.24) and with Ø<sup>1</sup> replacement of the taddhita affix [áN 4.1.83], Ø<sup>1</sup> also replaces at the same time the feminine affix [ānuK+ŃfS 4.1.49] of the upasārjana *indrāñf*.

### 1.2.50 iT=goṇyāḥ

The short vowel i(T) replaces (the final 1.1.52 vowel) of the nominal stem goṇí ‘a sack measure’ [when the taddhita affix introduced after it is replaced by luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 49].

This is an exception to 49 above, and the feminine affix in [goṇf] is replaced by the short vowel: *pāñcabhir goṇfbhiḥ krñtāḥ = pāñca+bhis+goṇf+bhis+krñtā+sU = pāñca+Ø<sup>1</sup>+goṇf+!thaK* (5.1.19,37) = *pāñca-goṇf+Ø<sup>1</sup>* (5.1.28) = *pāñca-goṇ-f+sU* ‘purchased with five sack measures’.

### 1.2.51 luPi yuktavát=<sup>1</sup>vyakti-<sup>2</sup>vacané

[When a taddhita affix 49 is replaced by] luP [1.1.61 = Ø<sup>3</sup>] the gender (vyákti-) and number (vácana-) (of the derived word) conforms to that of the original (yukta-vát) word.

*vaṅgānām janapadó nivāsāḥ* ‘the country of the Vanga people’ = *vaṅga+áN* (4.1.83; 2.69) = *vaṅga+Ø<sup>3</sup>* (4.2.81) = *vaṅga+Jas = vaṅgāḥ*; but on the other hand: *lavaṇéna sámśṛṣṭaḥ sūpaḥ = lavaṇá+!thaK* (4.4.22) = *lavaṇá+luK* (4.4.24) = *lavaṇāḥ sūpaḥ*, *lavaṇá yavāgūḥ* (f.), *lavaṇám śákam* (n.) where the original expression is neuter, but with luK replacement takes on all three genders.

### 1.2.52 viśéṣaṇānām ca=á-jāteḥ

[The gender and number 51] of qualifying words (viśéṣaṇānām) are also (ca) [identical with those expressions generated by IUP replacement 51 of taddhita affixes 48] except when they denote a species (jāti).

*vaṅgāḥ=bahv-annāḥ=bahu-kṣṛa-ghṛtāḥ* ‘the people of Vanga (have) plenty of food,

plenty of milk and butter', but *vaṇigāḥ*=*janapadāḥ* 'the country of V. people'; likewise *godauḥ ramaṇīyau* 'Goda (village) is beautiful', but *godauḥ grāmaḥ* 'the village Goda' since the expression *grāma*- denotes *jāti* 'species' as a village.

### 1.2.53 *tād āśiṣyaṁ saṁjñā-pramāṇatvāt*

That (*tad*) [= gender-number agreement 51] between the qualifying and qualified expressions need not be taught (*āśiṣyam*-) since their basis is convention (*saṁjñā-pramāṇatvā*).

This conventional basis can be illustrated by the words *dārāḥ*, (m.pl.), *bhāryā* (fem.), *kalatrām* (neut.) all signifying 'wife'; *āp+Jas* = *āpaḥ* f.pl. 'water'; *gṛhā+Jas* = *gṛhāḥ* m.pl. 'wife', *sikātā+Jas* = *sikātāḥ* f.pl. 'sand' and *varṣā+Jas* = *varṣāḥ* f.pl. 'the rainy season', all with fixed gender and number through accepted convention.

### 1.2.54 *luP=yoga=a-prakhyānāt*

Replacement by *IuP* ( $\emptyset^3$ ) [need not be taught 53] since the relationship in meaning (*yóga*) between the primitive and derived stem cannot be posited (*a-prakhyānāt*).

Thus *vāraṇāḥ* 'n.pr. of a village' cannot be related to the presence of the trees of that name if they do not grow there; such words are purely conventional and do not yield to etymological derivation. Therefore the rule [*janapadé luP* 4.2.81] cannot be said to be valid in such cases.

### 1.2.55 *yoga-pramāṇé ca tad-abhāvé=á-darsanaṁ syāt*

For, if the relationship (of etymological meaning) were basic (*yoga-pramāṇé*), then, in its absence (*tad-abhāvé*) the derived word should also disappear (*ádarsanaṁ syāt*).

Place names like *vāraṇāḥ*, *pañcālāḥ* are originally derived from the name of the people residing there, and they continue to be used as proper names even when the original people who gave those names, do not reside there, and thus are current without relevance to their origins, and should be regarded as purely conventional, and not etymologically derived.

### 1.2.56 pradhāna-pratyaya=artha-vacanām ārthasya=anya-pramāṇatvāt

[Nor is it necessary to teach 53] (the principles that the sense of a word) is expressed by the predominant member (pradhāna) (in a derivative word) and by the affix (pratyayá) (in a derived word), because the sense is dependent on something else (anya-pramāṇatvāt) [= convention].

Kātyāyaná and Patañjali discuss the relevance of grammatical analysis to natural language by stating that the ultimate authority is the [loka] 'people', that is, the actual speakers, and the aim of such analysis is to describe that usage as it is current among the śiṣṭas or 'educated class'. Such an analysis demonstrates that in so far as these two aspects are concerned convention alone is the final authority. To the extent possible this convention has been brought under the linguist's analysis and a number of works dealing with gender are in existence. P himself has specified rules such as [striyām KtīN 3.3.94, napuṃsaké bhāvé Ktāḥ 3.3.114].

### 1.2.57 <sup>1</sup>kāla=<sup>2</sup>upasarjané ca túlyam

[Nor is it necessary to teach 53] equally (túlyam) (the meaning of) Tense (kāla) or upasárjana 'the subordinate member' (43) [since it is dependent on something else 56].

Since usage [prayogá] is the principal authority for grammatical analysis, it can deal only with operations which fall within a system; however, number, gender, tense and the order or sequence of members in a compound are purely conventional and may be subject to change from generation to generation.

### 1.2.58 jāty-ākhyāyām ékasmin bahuvacanām anyataráśyām

The plural (bahuvacanām) is optionally (anyataráśyām) used in the sense of the singular (ékasmin) when designating a species (jāty-ākhyāyām).

An expression can both be a collective noun or represent a single object. Thus in the sentence "Man is prone to error" the word "man" stands for the whole class of human beings (including women) and we can have an alternate sentence "Men are prone to error". Likewise we can say: *sampannó yávaḥ* or *sampannāḥ=yávaḥ* 'fully ripe barley', but if the numeral *eka-* 'one' is used we have *eko yávaḥ*. By employing the word [jāti] 'species' proper names are excluded.

### 1.2.59 asmádo dvāyoś ca

[The plural 58] of the (first personal pronoun), *asmád-* 'we' is also (58) [optionally used in the sense of the singular 58] as well, as in the dual (dvāyoḥ).

For *ahám bráv-I-mi* 'I speak', one can equally say *vayám brūmāḥ* 'we speak'; similarly it can also replace *āvām brūvāḥ*.

This corresponds to the royal or editorial "We".

### 1.2.60 <sup>1</sup>phalgunī-<sup>2</sup>proṣṭhapadānām ca nákṣatre

[The plural 58] of the nominal stems *phálgunī* and *proṣṭhapadá* designating asterisms (nákṣatra) also (ca) [optionally replaces the dual 59].

The twin-star asterisms will naturally be associated with the dual endings, but the use of the plural endings is optionally taught in the sense of the dual: *púrve phálguny-au* / *púrvāḥ phálgu-nyah*; *púrve proṣṭhapadé* / *púrvāḥ proṣṭhapadāḥ*; however, in the phrase *phálgunyau māṇaviké* 'girls born under the asterism of Phálgunī', the word *phálgunyau* does not refer to the asterism directly, but is a qualifying expression for *māṇaviké* 'two girls or maidens' and is therefore not subject to this operation.

### 1.2.61 chándasi púnarvasvor ekavacanám

In the domain of Chándas (= Veda) the singular (ekavacaná) of the nominal stem *púnarvasu-* 'n.pr. of an asterism consisting of twin stars' is used [for the dual optionally 58-58].

*púnarvasur nákṣatram* / *púnarvasū nákṣatram*.

### 1.2.62 vísākhayos ca

[In the domain of Chándas the singular 61] of the nominal stem *vísākhā* 'n.pr. of a twin-star asterism' is also (ca) used for [the dual optionally 58].

*vísākhā nákṣatram* / *vísākhe nákṣatram*.

### 1.2.63 <sup>1</sup>tiṣya-<sup>2</sup>punarvasvór nakṣatra-dvaṁdvé bahuvacanásya dvivacanám nītyam

In a Dvaṁdva compound formed from names of asterisms (nakṣatra-dvaṁdvé) of *tiṣyā-* 'a single star asterism' and *púnarvasu* 'a twin-star

asterism' the dual (dvi-vacanm) necessarily (nityam) replaces the plural (bahuvacanásya).

Since *Tiṣyā* is one and *Púnarvasu* two stars, their compound is naturally expected to take the plural sUP endings, but by this rule the dual ending replaces the plural: *uditē tiṣya-punarvasú dṛśyete* 'the asterisms T and P are seen rising'.

### 1.2.64 sārūpāṇām ekaśeṣā eka-vibhaktáu

When there is the single occurrence of a single (sUP) ending (eka-vibhaktáu 1.4.104) only one of a series of repeated morpheme stems (sārūpāṇām) remains in use (eka-śeṣāḥ).

$vṛkṣás ca vṛkṣás ca = vṛkṣá+sU+vṛkṣá+sU = vṛkṣá+au = vṛkṣáu; vṛkṣás ca vṛkṣás ca vṛkṣás ca = vṛkṣá+sU+vṛkṣá+sU+vṛkṣá+sU = vṛkṣá+Jas = vṛkṣāḥ..$

### 1.2.65 vṛddhó yúnā tát=lakṣaṇas céd-evá viśeṣāḥ

If a derivative denoting vṛddhá (= a gotrá descendant 4.1.162) is used along with one denoting a yúvan descendant (4.1.163-65), only the former [remains 64] provided the only difference between the two derivatives is that they are descendants of the same ancestor (tát=lakṣaṇas céd-evá).

The t.t. vṛddhá in this sense is nowhere defined by Pāṇini, but Patañjali provides the following gloss: [pūrva-sūtré gotrásya vṛddhám iti samjñā kriyáte] 'in the earlier sūtra (works) the word vṛddhá denotes (the t.t.) gotrá', while the Kāśikā quotes such a rule [ápatyam ántarhitam vṛddhám] which is parallel to P 4.1.162 [ápatyam pautrá-prabhṛti gotram].

$gárgyas ca gárgyāyanás ca = garga+ya\tilde{N}+sU+garga+ya\tilde{N}+phak+sU = garga+ya\tilde{N}+au = gárgyau.$

### 1.2.66 strī puṁvát=ca

[If a derivative denoting a vṛddhá descendant 65] representing a woman (strī) [is used along with a yúvan descendant 65] it is treated like the (corresponding) masculine (derivative).

$gárgI ca gárgyāyanás ca garga+ya\tilde{N}+\tilde{N}iP+sU+garga+ya\tilde{N}+phak+sU = garga+ya\tilde{N}+\tilde{N}iP+au = garga+ya\tilde{N}+\emptyset+au = gárgyau.$

### 1.2.67 púmān striyā

When a word in the masculine gender (púmān) is conjoined with the same word in the feminine gender (striyā) the masculine alone [subsists 64].

*brāhmaṇas ca brāhmanī ca = brāhmaṇau* 'a brahmin (man) and a brahmin (woman)'. But in the case of *īndras ca indrāṇī ca* since the form *indrāṇī* is a feminine form derived from the base form *īndra-* in the context of [pūmyogā 4.1.45 'co-habitation with man'] the result is *indrendrāny-au*.

### 1.2.68 <sup>1</sup>bhrātṛ-<sup>2</sup>putraú <sup>1</sup>svasṛ-<sup>2</sup>duhitṛbhyām

The words bhrātṛ- 'brother' and putra- 'son' [subsist 64] when conjoined respectively (1.3.10) with the words svasṛ- 'sister' and duhitṛ- 'daughter'.

1. *bhrātā- ca svasā ca = bhrātṛ+sU+svasṛ+sU = bhrātṛ+au = bhrātar-au* (7.3.110).
2. *putrās ca duhitā ca = putrā+sU+duhitṛ+sU = putrā+au = putraú*.

### 1.2.69 nápuṃsakam á-napuṃsakena=ekavát=ca=ásya= anyataráśyām

A neuter nominal stem [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with the same stem in a non-neuter gender (á-napuṃsakena) and optionally (anya-taráśyām) as the neuter singular form (ekavát).

*śuklām ca śuklās ca / śuklá ca = śuklám / śukle; śuklām ca śuklās ca suklā ca = śuklāni / śuklám; but śuklām ca śuklām ca = śuklé; śuklām ca śuklām ca śuklām ca = suklāni*.

### 1.2.70 pitā mātṛā

The nominal stem pitṛ- 'father' [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with mātṛ- 'mother' [optionally 69].

*mātā ca pitā ca = pitṛ+au = pitár-au / mātā-pitaraú* (6.3.25) 'parents'.

### 1.2.71 śváśuraḥ śvaśrvā

The nominal stem śváśura- 'father-in-law' [alone subsists 64] when conjoined with the stem śvaśrú 'mother-in-law' [optionally 68].

*śvaśrú ca śváśuras ca = śváśura+au = śváśurau / śvaśrú-śvaśuraú*.



### 1.2.72 tyád-ādīni sárvair nítýam

The pronouns of the class whose first member, is tyád- 'that' [alone subsists 64] necessarily (nítýam) when conjoined with (all types of: sárvaiḥ) nominal stems.

*sá ca devaattás ca = tát+au = tás+au = tá+au (6.1.97) = taú; yás ca devadattás ca = yaú; sá ca yás ca = yaú; yaś ca kaś ca = kaú.*

### 1.2.73 grāmyá-pásu-saṁghéṣu=á-taruṇéṣu strī

[The feminine nominal stem (strī) alone subsists 64] when a troop of domestic animals (grāmyá-pásu-saṁghá), other than the young (á-taruṇa) are referred to together.

1. *gáva imáh* 'these (are) cattle'.
2. *imé rúravaḥ* (67) 'these (are) antelopes'. This exception applies only to domesticated animals where the feminine is used instead of the masculine.

### 1.3.1 bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ

(The t.t.) dhātu- ‘verbal base or stem or root’ denotes the class of expressions whose first member is bhū- ‘become’ (I 1).

In the ancillary text called Dhātu-pāṭha all these items are listed under ten major sections corresponding to nine classes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka), the tenth being considered as a derived verbal stem with the formans NiC (3.1.25,32), falling within the ambit of the first or general class; NiC also functions as the marker of the causative stem (3.1.26). There are almost 2000 stems registered in the extant Dhātu-pāṭha under these ten groups as under: I bhū-class 1059, II ad-class 72, III hu-class 25, IV div-class 137, V su-class 34, VI tud-class 143, VII rudh-class 25, VIII tan-class 9+1, IX kṛi-class 61 and cur-class 395 (according to Boehtlingk’s edition). The original Dhp. consisted only of the actual lists of verbal stems, and meanings were added later, separating the individual members in the continuous text; original form appears like bhv-edh-° and in the revised Dhp. bhū- sattāyām, édha- vṛddhau etc. Verbal stems in general depict action.

### 1.3.2 upadeśé=aC=ánunāsika IT

(The t.t.) IT denotes a nasalized (ánunāsika- 1.1.8) vowel (aC) (of an element when it is) first introduced (in the grammatical instruction: upadeśé).

P. uses the nasalized vowels as IT markers for various purposes: primarily to indicate in the Dhp. which verbal stems take the middle voice or Ātmanepadá when they are associated with the ánudatta accent (12 below) as in the case of [edhĀ vṛddhau I 2]. Later commentators assert (as in the Kāśikā) that in the sixth ŚS [lĀN<sup>2</sup>] the vowel [a] is nasalized in order to give the siglum [rĀ] for liquids [r, l] in the sūtra [ur aN rĀ-paraḥ 1.1.51]. Since most sacred and science texts were primarily transmitted verbally from teacher to pupil in unbroken succession, this nasalization must have been apparent in the oral transmission. With its loss, the later Pāṇinīyas only theoretically recognized this nasalization by this rule in the written transmission. The same reasoning holds good for the use of accents as markers.

### 1.3.3 haL ántyam

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes a final (ántya) consonant (haL) [in the element when first introduced in the grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

To arrive at the meaning of the siglum haL this rule is interpreted in two different ways:

1. [haL-antya] is taken as a compound derived from the under-lying deep structure [haL+Ni+ántya+am = haL+∅+antya+am] ‘the final (element) in [haL]’, giving

the meaning: 'The t.t. IT denotes the final element in the expression [h<sub>a</sub>L]'. With this definition L is such a marker and we get the siglum [h<sub>a</sub>L] by 1.1.71 denoting all consonants beginning with (h) of ŚS 5 and ending with L of ŚS 14. This then provides for C of aC as an IT marker and the present rule can be properly re-interpreted as under:

2. "The t.t. IT (2) denotes a consonant (h<sub>a</sub>L) occurring at the end (ántya) of an element when first introduced in the grammatical instruction (upadeśé 2)".

Thus h<sub>a</sub>L is a cover symbol for all consonants and aC for all vowels. All other sigla are then derived with the use of these definitions and 1.1.71.

### 1.3.4 ná vibháktau tU-s-māḥ

[The t.t. IT 2] does not (ná) denote [final 3] dental stops (tU 1.1.69) and the phonemes [s] and [m] in vibhákṭi (1.4.104) endings.

While 3 is specifically a general rule, the exception given here restricts the scope of that general rule: thus in [°-āt replacement of ŌsI 7.1.12] after stems ending in short [°-a-] [t] is not an IT marker; similarly in the case of Jas, Ōas, am, ām [s, m] are not IT-s, as in the case of verbal endings °tas, °-thas, °ātām, °āthām, dhvam (3.4.78). Since [tU, s, m] are not markers when occurring at the end of a vibhákṭi affix by this rule, they are not subject to the operation of 9 below [replacement by Ø].

### 1.3.5 ādīr ŌI-ṬU-ḌAV-aḥ

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes the syllables ŌI, ṬU and ḌU occurring as initials (ādīḥ) [of verbal stems when first introduced in grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

These initial syllables accompany certain verbal stems in the Dhp. list: ŌI-mīd-Ā snéhane I 779 'be unctuous'; ṬUnád-Ī samḡddhaú I 67 'thrive', ḌU-kṛ-Ō káraṇe VIII 16 'do, make, perform'. By 3.2.187 the affix [Ktá] which properly belongs to the past passive participle, however, generates a participle expressing the present tense with verbal stems marked with ŌI as IT: *mīd+Ktá* = *min-ná* (8.2.42) 'is fat'; similarly after stems marked by ṬU 3.3.89 introduces kṛt affix athúC: *nand+athúC* (7.1.58) = *nand-athú* 'delight'; affix Ktri- is introduced by 3.3.88 after stems marked by ḌU: *kṛ+Ktrí+maP* (4.4.20) = *kṛ-trí-ma* 'artificial'.

### 1.3.6 ṣaḥ pratyayásya

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes [the initial 5] phoneme ṣ of an affix (pratyayásya) [when first introduced in grammatical instruction (upadeśé) 2].

1. Such affixes are: Śá, ŚáC, ŚākaN, ŚkaN, ŚtaráC, ŚtraN, ŚtháC, ŚthaN, ŚthaL, Śpha, ŚphaK, ŚyaN, ŚyaN, ŚlaN, ŚvuN.

2. In 8.3.79 [iṆah śīdhvam-IUṆ-ITāṁ dhah=āṅgāt] the affix śī-dhvam has initial s-°, but it is not an IT marker, since it is a replacement of an original s of śtyuṭ (3.4.102) and consequently is not subject to the operation of 9 below.

### 1.3.7 cU-ṭŪ

[The t.t. IT 2] denotes the [initial 5] palatal and retroflex stops (1.1.69 cU, ṭU) [occurring in the affixes 6 when first introduced in grammatical instruction 2].

1. Affixes with initial palatal stops: (a) C: CaṆ, CānaŚ, CāP, CiṆ, CphaṆ, Cli, Cvī; (b) J: Jas, Jasi; (c-d) by separate rules initial ch- and jh- are replaced by iy- (7.1.2) and a(n)t (7.1.3,5) respectively, blocking out 9 below. In presenting the text of Aṣṭ. in roman transliteration, therefore, initial ch- and jh- of affixes are not indicated by capital letters, although by this rule they are IT markers; they rather go with ph- and kh- as indicated in 7.1.2.
2. Initial retroflex stops: (a) Ṭ: Ṭa, ṬaK, ṬaC, Ṭā, ṬāP, ṬenyaṆ, ṬyaṆ, Ṭyu, ṬyuL (exception ṭītaC); (b) by a separate rule (7.3.51) initial ṭh- is replaced by ik and is therefore not subject to 9 below; (c) Ḍ: Ḍa, ḌāC, ḌaT, ḌaṆ, ḌatamāC, ḌatarāC, Ḍati, Ḍā, ḌāC, ḌāP, Ḍu, ḌupāC, ḌmatUP, Ḍya, ḌyaṆ, ḌyaT, Ḍyā, ḌvalāC, ḌvuṆ. (d) By a separate rule (7.1.2) initial ḍh-° is replaced by ey, and is therefore not subject to 9 below. All such exceptions to 9 are not indicated by capital letters like regular IT markers.

### 1.3.8 <sup>1</sup>l<sub>2</sub>-<sup>2</sup>ś<sub>2</sub>-<sup>3</sup>kU=á-taddhite

[The t.t. IT 2 denotes initial 5] phonemes l, ś and velar stops [occurring in affixes 6] other than those belonging to taddhita 'secondary' (á-taddhite) [when first introduced in grammatical instruction 2].

1. Affixes with L as IT marker: LyaP [replacement for Ktvā in verbal composition], Lyu, LyuṬ.
2. Affixes with Ś as IT marker: Śá, ŚátR, Śádhyai, ŚadhyaiṆ, ŚaP, ŚānáC, ŚānaṆ, ŚāyáC, ŚnáM, Śnā, Śnú, ŚyaṆ, Ślu. Note: Ś has another function as IT in regard to replacements where an item marked with it replaces the whole of the substituend: cf. Śi, Śī, Śe.
3. Affixes with initial velar stops: (a) K: Ká, KaṆ, Kádhyai, KadhyaiṆ, KaP, KamūL, KasūN, KaseṆ, KānáC, Kí, KiṆ, KuráC, KeṆ, Kenya, Ktá, KtávātU, KtíC, Ktin, Ktrí, Ktvā, Knú KyaṆ, KyáC, KyáŚ (but not kāmýáC cf. 3.1.9), KlukaṆ, KvaniP, KvaraP, KvásU, Kvī, KvīN, KvīP, Ksá, Ksé, Ksnú-; (b) KH: KHáC, KHaL, KHAMuṆ, KHaL, KHaŚ, KHīṣṇúC, KHukaṆ KhyuṆ; (c) \*G occurs only in \*Gsnú (=Ksnú 3.2.138); (d) GH: GHá, GHaṆ, GHīṇuṆ, GHuráC; (e) Ń: Ńi, ŃiṆ, ŃiP, ŃiŚ, Ńas, ŃasI, Ńi, Ńe, ŃvaniP.
4. In taddhita affixes these do not function as IT markers: (a) l: láC; (b) ś: śá

(5.2.10), śás (5.4.42), śālāC; (c) k: káK, katáC, kaṭyáC, kalpaP, kuṭārāC, kuṇaP, kṛtvá- suC; (d) initial kh replaced by iy (7.1.2); (e) g: gmini; (f) gh: replaced by iy (7.1.2): gha, ghaC, ghaN, ghaS.

### 1.3.9 táśya lópaḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces that (táśya) [IT marker 2].

1. The word táśya is used instead of IT-aḥ to indicate that the Ø replaces the whole IT substituendum and not the final phoneme only (by 1.1.52). This has relevance to the initial IT markers Ńl, ṬU, ḌU.
2. The IT markers have several functions: (a) they generate the sigla (pratyāhārá); (b) they do not enter into actual grammatical operations except in introducing morpho-phonemic changes in the elements coming together to form the surface units of speech. The morpho-phonemic features associated with the markers relate to (i) replacement, (ii) augmentation, (iii) accentuation, (iv) generation of feminine stems both of primary and secondary derivatives. Both initial and final IT markers are subject to zero (Ø) replacement in actual derivation of surface forms after affecting these morpho-phonemic changes.
3. Guṇá and Vṛddhi blocked by K, Ń, \*G (1.1.5); Vṛddhi of stem-final vowels indicated by Ń, N (7.2.115); and of initial syllable of nominal stems (by 7.2.117) and by K (7.1.118). Ń, N indicate udātta accent on the initial syllable of the derived form (6.1.197) while K, C indicate this accent on the final syllable (6.1.164-5); L indicates accent on the final syllable preceding the affix (6.1.193) while R indicates that accent is placed on the pre-penultimate syllable of the surface form (6.1.217).
4. Ṭ indicates initial augmentation while K indicates final augmentation of the substituendum while M functions as an infixed augment inserted after the last syllable (1.1.46-7).
5. Ṭ and ḌH indicate a feminine affix ŃP after a stem generated with these affixes, while ŃfṢ operates after stems generated with affixes with marker Ṣ (4.1.41).

### 1.3.10 yathā-saṁkhyám anudeśáḥ samānām

(When two sequences of elements) which have the same number of members (samānām) are stated in rules (the elements of the subsequent sequence) are related to the former in a (one-to-one) order (yathā-saṁkhyám).

There is a one-to-one correspondence in order of enumeration in the two sets, for instance, of the statement 6.1.77 [iKo yaN aCi] where iK represents the vowels [i, u, ṛ, ḷ] as the substituenda, and yaN the semi-vowels [y, v, r, l] as the replacements: i:y, u:v, ṛ:r and ḷ:l. However, a few instances do occur where this metarule does not operate, and certain devices have been used to indicate this fact which will be discussed at their appropriate places; here interpretation (vyākhyāna) gives the correct result when there is a doubt.

### 1.3.11 svarit́éna=adhikārāḥ

Elements which are to serve as governing rules (adhikārā) or section headings valid in the subsequent rules are marked with the svarit́á 'circumflex' accent (1.2.31).

1. There are major and minor section headings as also headings within headings: e.g., (pratyayāḥ, paraś ca, ādy-údāttas ca 3.1.1-3) cover the whole of chapters 3-5, but within this major governing system we have sub-sections headed by [dhātoḥ 3.1.93, Ñi=aP-prātipadikāt 4.1.1 and even within this last striyām 4.1.3].
2. These governing rules are, in a majority of cases, stated with a specification of their range, with words like [prāk: prāk=ivāt kaḥ 5.3.70] or [ā-° as in ā-Kves tacchīla-taddharma-tatsādhukāriṣu 3.2.137].
3. Since the corpus of Aṣṭ. is built up of sūtras, using maximum brevity possible, the full sense of each rule is to be extracted from recurrence of relevant items from the preceding sūtras in addition to those of metarules, and traditional commentators have often remarked suggesting that certain recurring expressions are uttered with the svarit́á accent. Like nasalization mentioned in 2 above this accental system must have continued in the oral transmission and been lost in later times. Interpretation (vyākhyāna) is the main alternate authority for indicating where this accent is employed. Two guiding rules generally referred to in this connection: prtiññāunāsikyāḥ pāṇinfyāḥ and pratijñā-svaritāḥ pāṇinfyāḥ.

### 1.3.12 anudātta-Ñ-ITa ātmanepadām

Ātmanepadā (= taÑ and āna 1.4.100) 1-substitute endings (3.4.78) are introduced after verbal stems marked by an ānudātta vowel or Ñ as IT.

1. édha vḥddhau I 2 is marked with ānudātta A as an IT and so takes the Ātmanepadā or middle endings: \*edhA+ŚaP (3.1.68)+ta = \*édhθ+a+ta (9 above) = édha-te (3.4.79) 'grows, increases'.
2. \*śfñ (II 22)+ŚaP+ta = \*śf+θ<sup>1</sup>+ta (2.4.72) = śé-te (3.4.79).

### 1.3.13 <sup>1</sup>bhāva-<sup>2</sup>karmāṇoḥ

[Ātmanepadā 1-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 12] when bhāvā- 'impersonal action' or kárman- 'passive action' is to be expressed.

The 18 1-substitutes (3.4.77-78) are divided into two sets of nine members each, the first nine designated Parasmaipadā and the next nine by the t.t. Ātmanepadā (1.4.99-100). Each of these is again subdivided into three triplets, representing the third, second and first persons respectively, in the order of singular, dual and plural for each triplet (1.4.101-2). These members are introduced under general meaning conditions relating to kárakas (1.4.23ff.) and time references. With reference to transitive verbal stems 1-members are introduced when either kártṛ-

‘active’ or kárman- ‘passive’ construction is to be expressed, and in the case of intransitive verbal stems either kártṛ- or bhāvā- ‘action in progress’ is to be denoted. Thus active and passive constructions are associated with transitive verbal stems and active and impersonal constructions with intransitive verbal stems.

1. bhāvā: ās- (II 11) +yáK (3.1.67) +te = ās-yá-te ‘sitting down takes place’.
2. kárman: kṛ (VIII 10) +yáK+te = kri-yá-te (7.4.28) káṭaḥ ‘the mat is being made’.

### 1.3.14 kartari karma-vyatiare

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] to denote the agent (kártári) provided [the agent performs the action with another agent] reciprocally (karma-vy-ati-hāre).

\*vy-āti-lū (IX 13)+Śná (2.1.81)+jha = vy-āti-lu-nṅ+ate (7.1.5) = vy-āti-lu-n-ate ‘they reap (corn, etc.) reciprocally (for one another).

### 1.3.15 ná <sup>1</sup>gati-<sup>2</sup>himsā=arthebhyaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes 12] are not (ná) introduced after verbal stems denoting the sense of gāti ‘movement’ or of himsā ‘injury’ [to express reciprocal action 14].

1. \*vy-āti-gam (I 1031)+ŚaP+jhi = vy-āti-gacch-anti (7.2.77) ‘they go against each other’.
2. \*vy-āti-hisI (VII 19)+ŚnáM (7.1.78)+jhi = \*vy-āti-hi-nṅ-s+ (6.4.23) anti (7.1.3,58) = vy-āti-hims- anti ‘they injure each other’.

### 1.3.16 itaretara=anyonyá=upapadāt=ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes 12 are not 15] introduced after verbal stems which have anyonyá- or itaretará ‘one another’ as complementary words (upapadā 3.1.82) [to express reciprocal action 14].

anyonyásya / itaretarásya vy-āti-lu-n-anti ‘they reap each other’s grain’.

### 1.3.17 nér viśaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-sustitutes 12] are introduced after the verbal stem viś- ‘enter’ (VI 130) co-occurring with preverb ní- °.

viś+Śa+tiP = viś-á-ti : ní+viś+Śa+ta = ní-viś-a-te ‘enters in’.

### 1.3.18 <sup>1</sup>pári-<sup>2</sup>ví=<sup>3</sup>avébhyaḥ kriyaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krī- ‘buy’ (IX 1) when co-occurring with preverbs pári- °, ví- ° and ava- °.

\**pári-krī+Śná+ta* = *parí-krī-nī-te* (6.4.113, 3.4.79), *áva-krī-ñī-te* ‘buys, purchases’; *vi-krī-ñī-te* ‘sells’. Since the verbal stem is ḌU-krī-Ñ dravya-vinimayé, Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced when the fruit of the action is accruing to another; the present rule is when the fruit accrues to the agent himself.

### 1.3.19 <sup>1</sup>ví-<sup>2</sup>parā-bhyām je-ḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jí- ‘win, conquer, overcome’ (I 593, 993) when co-occurring with preverbs ví- ° and parā- °.

\**jí=ŚaP+tiP* = *jáy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) : *vi-jay-a-te* / *parā-jay-a-te* ‘vanquishes, conquers, is victorious’.

### 1.3.20 áÑo daḥ=án-āśya-viharaṇe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] dā- ‘give’ (III 9) co-occurring with preverb áÑ except when expressing the sense of ‘opening the mouth (wide)’ (an-āśya-viharaṇe).

\**dā+Ślu+tiP/tá* = *dádā+tiP/tá* (6.1.10) = *dádā-ti* / *dat-té* (= *dadḥ+té* 6.4.112; 8.4.55) : *á-dat-te* ‘acquires, gains’, but *vy-á-dadā-ti* ‘opens the mouth wide’ (contra 72 below).

### 1.3.21 kríḍaḥ=<sup>1</sup>ánu-<sup>2</sup>sám-<sup>3</sup>páribhyaś ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kríḍ- ‘play, sport’ (I 373) when co-occurring with preverbs ánu- °, sám- °, pári- ° and (ca) [áÑ- ° 20].

*kríḍ-a-ti* : *á-kríḍ-a-te*, *ánu-kríḍ-a-te*, *sám-kríḍ-a-te*, *pári-kríḍ-a-te* ‘sports’.

### 1.3.22 <sup>1</sup>sám=<sup>2</sup>áva-<sup>3</sup>prá-<sup>4</sup>víbhyaḥ shtaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] sthā- ‘stand, stay, abide’ (I 975) co-occurring with preverbs sám- °, áva- °, prá- ° or ví- °.



*sthā+ŚaP+tiP* = *tīṣṭh-a-ti* (3.1.137) : *sām-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'stays with'; *āva-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'stands or waits patiently'; *prā-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'sets out or forth'; *vi-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'stands apart'.

### 1.3.23 <sup>1</sup>*prakāśana*=<sup>2</sup>*stheya*=*ākhyāyoh*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-* 22] when expressing the sense of (1) 'disclosing one's intention' (*prakāśana*) or (2) resorting to some one as an arbitrator (*stheya*=*ākhyā*).

*jāyā pātye tīṣṭh-a-te* 'the wife discloses her inner feelings to the husband'.

*tvāyī tīṣṭh-a-te* 'he chooses you as an arbitrator'.

### 1.3.24 *ūdaḥ*=*ān-ūrdhva-karmaṇi*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-* 22] co-occurring with preverb *ūd-* ° except when expressing the sense of 'arising' (*ān-ūrdhva-karmaṇi*).

*gehe ūt-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'strives in the house', but *śsanād ūt-tīṣṭh-a-ti* 'rises or gets up from the seat'.

### 1.3.25 *ūpāt*=*mantra-karaṇé*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-* 22] when co-occurring with the preverb *ūpa-* ° to denote the sense of 'adore with the recitation of sacred hymns (*mantra-karaṇé*)'.

*aindryā gārhapatyam ūpa-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'worships the Gārhapatya Fire with Aindri hymns', but *bhārtāram ūpa-tīṣṭh-a-ti yauvanéna* 'approaches the husband with her youth'.

### 1.3.26 *a-karmākāt*=*ca*

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 *sthā-* 22 co-occurring with the preverb *ūpa-* ° 25] when it is intransitive also (*akarmākāt*=*ca*).

*yāvad-bhuktām ūpa-tīṣṭh-a-te* 'is present at every meal', but *rājānam ūpa-tīṣṭh-a-ti* 'approaches the king'.

### 1.3.27 <sup>1</sup>úd-<sup>2</sup>víbhyām tapaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] tap- 'shine upon, heat' (I 1034), co-occurring with the preverbs úd-<sup>o</sup>, ví-<sup>o</sup> [when it is intransitive 26].

*táp-a-ti* : *út-tap-a-te*, *ví-tap-a-te* 'shines', but *út-tap-a-ti pṛsthām raviḥ* 'the sun warms up the back'.

### 1.3.28 áÑo <sup>1</sup>yama-<sup>2</sup>hanah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] yam- 'restrain, stretch' (I 1033) and han- 'kill, injure' (II 2), co-occurring with the preverb áÑ-<sup>o</sup> [as intransitive verbal stems 26].

Both verbs belong to the Parasmaipadā class: \*yam+Śap+tiP = *yácch-a-ti* (7.3.77) : *á-yacch-a-te* 'extends, spreads, stretches'; \*han+θ<sup>1</sup>+ta = *á-haθ+te* (6.4.37) *á-ha-te* 'strikes, injures' (when no object follows). But when they are transitive: *á-yacch-a-ti kúpād rájñm* 'draws up the rope from the well'; *á-han-ti vṛṣalám padéna* 'kicks the thief with the foot'.

### 1.3.29 sám<sup>o</sup> gami=<sup>2</sup>ḡcchi-<sup>3</sup>pracchi-<sup>4</sup>svárat<sup>i</sup>=<sup>5</sup>árti-<sup>6</sup>śru-<sup>7</sup>vídi bhyah

[Ātmanepadā endings are introduced after the verbal stems 12] gam- 'go' (I 1031), ḡch- 'go, faint, become hard or stiff' (VI 15), prach- 'ask' (VI 120), svṛ- 'sound' (I 979), ḡ- 'go' (III 16), śru- 'listen' (I 989) and víd- 'know' (II 55) when co-occurring with the preverb sám-<sup>o</sup>

The original reading of this sūtra is [sám<sup>o</sup> gami=ḡcchibhyām] while the additions have been made by a vārttika to this rule; the present reading is according to Kāśikā.

1. *gácch-a-ti* : *sám-gacch-a-te* 'joins, goes together'.
2. *ḡcch-a-ti* : *sám-ḡcch-a-te* 'goes, faints'.
3. *pṛcch-a-ti* (6.1.16) : *sám-pṛcch-a-te* 'asks' [when not followed by an object 26].
4. *svár-a-ti* : *sám-svar-a-te* 'sounds, afflicts'. *śyar-ti* (3.1.29) : *sám-ar-anta* 'they attained'. *śṛ-ṇó-ti* : *sám-śṛ-ṇu-te* (3.1.74) 'hears'. *vét-ti* : *sám-vid-ate* 'they realize'.

### 1.3.30 <sup>1</sup>ní-<sup>2</sup>sám-<sup>3</sup>úpa-<sup>4</sup>víhhyo hvah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] hve(Ñ) ‘challenge, call’ (I 1057) when co-occurring with the preverbs ní-°, sám-°, úpa-° and ví-°.

This verbal stem, with marker Ñ as IT belongs to the special class of stems after which Atm. l-substitutes are introduced when the result of the action is intended for the agent (72 below), but by this rule, when co-occurring with these preverbs, Atm. l-substitutes are introduced even when the fruit of the action is not so intended.

*hváy-a-ti/hváy-a-te* : but *ní-hvay-a-te* ‘invokes’; *sám-hvay-a-te* ‘shouts together’; *úpa-hvay-a-te* ‘invites’; *ví-vhya-a-te* ‘invites’.

### 1.3.31 spardhāyām āÑah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 hve(Ñ) 30] co-occurring with the preverb āÑ-° to denote ‘a challenge’ (spardhā).

*ā-hvay-a-te* ‘challenges’.

### 1.3.32 <sup>1</sup>gāndhana=<sup>2</sup>avakṣépaṇa-<sup>3</sup>sévana-<sup>4</sup>sāhasikya-<sup>5</sup>pratiyatná-<sup>6</sup>prakāthana=<sup>7</sup>upayogéṣu kṛÑah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṛÑ ‘do, make, perform’ (VIII 10) when it expresses the sense of (1) divulging (gāndhana), (2) reviling (avakṣépaṇa), (3) serving (sévana), (4) violent action (sāhasikya), (5) transformation (pratiyatná), (6) recitation (prakāthana) and (7) performance of a religious action (upayogá).

Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced without exception even when the result of the action is not intended for the agent.

1. *út-kur-u-te* (3.1.79; 6.4.110) ‘informs or divulges against’.
2. *éyenó vārtikām úd-ā-kur-u-te* ‘the hawk overcomes the quail’.
3. *upādhyāyám úpa-kur-u-te* ‘serves the teacher’.
4. *paradārān prá-kur-u-te* ‘outrages the modesty of another’s wife’.
5. *édho dakásya úpa-s-kur-u-te* (6.1.139) ‘the fuel transforms the quality of water’.
6. *gāthāḥ prá-kur-u-te* ‘recites the Gs.’
7. *śatām prá-kur-u-te* ‘donates a hundred (pieces for charity to earn religious merit)’.

### 1.3.33 ádhēḥ prasāhane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kṛÑ 32] co-occurring with the preverb ádhi-° to express the sense of 'overcoming' (prasāhane).

*tām ádhi-kur-u-te* 'overcomes him', but *ártham ádhi-kar-o-ti* 'learns the meaning'.

### 1.3.34 véḥ śábda-karmaṇaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kṛÑ 32] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° when denoting 'sound' for its object (śábda-karmaṇaḥ).

*kroṣṭā ví-kur-u-te svarān* 'the jackal howls'. In this rule [śábda] stands for its synonyms and not for itself as required by 1.1.68. Counter-example: *ví-kar-o-ti páyaḥ* 'curdles milk'.

### 1.3.35 akarmákāt=ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 kṛÑ 32, co-occurring with the preverb ví=° 34] when it is intransitive (akarmákāt) also (ca).

*saindhaváh=ví-kur-v-ate*; 'the steeds move gracefully'.

### 1.3.36 <sup>1</sup>sammānana=<sup>2</sup>utsāñjana=<sup>3</sup>ācāryakāraṇa-<sup>4</sup>jñāna-<sup>5</sup>bhṛtī-<sup>6</sup>vigaṇana-<sup>7</sup>vyayéṣu niyaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] nī(Ñ) 'lead' (I 950) when it expresses the sense of (1) honor (sam-mānana), (2) lifting up (utsāñjana), (3) make one a spiritual guide (ācārya-kāraṇa), (4) knowledge (jñāna), (5) hiring for wages (bhṛtī), (6) repayment of a debt (vigaṇana) and (7) giving a donation to charity (vyayá).

*náy-a-ti/náy-a-te* 'leads' but:

1. *śāstré náy-a-te* 'demonstrates the truth of science'.
2. *daṇḍám ún-nay-a-te* 'lifts up or raises the staff'.
3. *māṇavakám úpa-nay-a-te* 'initiates the pupil so as to make him a teacher'.
4. *tattvám náy-a-te* 'arrives at the truth'.
5. *karmakārám úpa-nay-a-te* 'hires a servant'.
6. *kārám ví-nay-a-te* 'pays taxes'.
7. *śatám ví-nay-a-te* 'donates a hundred (pieces) in charity'.

### 1.3.37 kartṛsthé ca=á-sārīre kármaṇi

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 nī(Ñ) 36] also (ca) when the incorporeal (á-sārīre) direct object (kármaṇi) resides in the agent (kartṛsthé).

*kródham ví-nay-a-te* 'subdues (one's own) anger'; but *devadattáḥ=yajnadattásya*  
*kródham ví-nay-a-ti* 'D. pacifies the anger of Y.'

### 1.3.38 <sup>1</sup>vṛtti-<sup>2</sup>sárga-<sup>3</sup>tátyaneṣu krámah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] krám- 'step up, walk' (I 562) to express the sense of (1) continuity (vṛtti), (2) ardor (sárga) and (3) growth, development (tátyana).

1. *ṛcí krám-a-te búddhiḥ* 'the intellect moves unobstructed in the Ṛgveda'.
2. *adhyáyanāya krám-a-te* 'shows ardor in study'.
3. *krámante asmín śāstrāṇi* 'sciences flourish in him'.

### 1.3.39 <sup>1</sup>úpa-<sup>2</sup>pārābhyām

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám- 38] co-occurring with preverbs úpa- ° and pārā- ° [to express the sense of (1) continuity, (2) ardor and (2) growth, development 38].

1. *ṛcí úpa-kram-a-te/pārā-kram-a-te búddhiḥ* 'the intellect moves unobstructed in the Ṛgveda' as above.
2. *adhyáyanāya úpa-kram-a-te/pārā-kram-a-te*.
3. *úpa-kram-ante/pārā-kram-ante asmín śāstrāṇi*.

The scope of 38 above is extended by this rule only to these two preverbs and confined to the meanings indicated therein; elsewhere the forms are *úpa-krām-a-ti/pārā-krām-a-ti* (7.3.75) and in these and other senses as well: *śam-krām-a-ti* 'transits'.

### 1.3.40 āÑa udgámāne

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám- 38] co-occurring after the preverb āÑ- ° to express the sense of 'rising (of a celestial body)' (udgámāne).

*á-kram-a-te ādityáh* 'the sun rises'; but *á-krām-a-ti harmya-talát dhūmáh* 'smoke rises up from the roof of the house'.

### 1.3.41 véḥ pāda-viharaṇé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám-38] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° when expressing the sense of 'treading, placing the footstep' (pāda-viharaṇé).

*dāvah sādhu ví-kram-a-te* 'the horse paces well'.

### 1.3.42 <sup>1</sup>prá=<sup>2</sup>úpābhyām sám-arthā-bhyām

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám-38] co-occurring with preverbs prá-°, úpa-° which have the same significance (sámarthābhyām : i.e., incipient action).

*bhóktum prá-kram-a-te/úpa-kram-a-te* 'begins to eat'.

### 1.3.43 án-upasargād vā

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 krám-38] optionally (vā) when it is not co-occurring after a preverb (an-upasargāt).

*krám-a-te/krám-a-ti* (7. 2.75-6).

### 1.3.44 apahnavé jñah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36) to express the sense of 'denying' (apahnavé).

*jā-nā-ti* 'knows', but *āpa-jā-ni-te* 'denies' as in *sahāśram āpa-jā-ni-te* 'denies (the debt of) a thousand (pieces)'; counter-example: *nā tvām kīm āpi jā-nā-si* 'you do not know anything'.

### 1.3.45 a-karmākā=ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 jñā-44] also (ca) when it is intransitive (a-karmākāt).

*sarpīṣo jā-ni-té* 'performs a sacrifice with clarified butter'; (2.3. 51 for the use of genitive for instrumental). This is a prior exception to 76 below where these l-substitutes are introduced when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and the verbal stem does not co-occur with a preverb. Counter-example: *svarēṇa putrām jā-nā-ti* recognizes the son by (his) voice'.

### 1.3.46 <sup>1</sup>sám-<sup>2</sup>prátibhyām án-ā-dhyāne

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 jñā-44] co-occurring with the preverbs sám-°, prāti-°, except when expressing the sense of 'remembrance with anger' (án-ā-dhyāne).

*śatam sám-jā-nI-te* 'seeks after a hundred (pieces)'; *sahásram prát-jā-nI-te* 'promises a thousand (pieces)', but *mātúḥ sám-jā-nā-ti* 'remembers the mother with regret'.

### 1.3.47 <sup>1</sup>bhāsana=<sup>2</sup>upasambhāṣā-<sup>3</sup>jñāna-<sup>4</sup>yatná-<sup>5</sup>vimatí-<sup>6</sup>upamántraṇeṣu vadaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] vad-'speak' (I 1058) to express the sense of (1) be brilliant (bhāsana), (2) conciliate (upasambhāṣā), (3) know (jñāna), (4) exert (yatná), (5) disagreement (vimatí) and (6) coaxing in secret (upamántraṇa), seduction.

1. *śāstré vād-a-te* 'excels in learning'.
  2. *bhṛtyān úpa-vad-a-te* 'conciliates the servants'.
  3. *śāstré vād-a-te* 'knows or understands the sciences'.
  4. *kṣétre vād-a-te* 'exerts in the field'.
  5. *kṣétre vā-vad-ante* 'they quarrel in the field'.
  6. *paradārān úpa-vad-a-te* 'seduces another's wife in secret'.
- But *kīmcit=vād-a-ti* 'says something'.

### 1.3.48 vyaktāvācām samuccāraṇe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-74] to express the sense of 'simultaneously utter' (samuccāraṇe) in articulate speech (vyaktā-vācām).

*sam-prá-vad-ante brāhmaṇāḥ* 'the brahmins chant in chorus', but *váratānu sam-prá-vad-anti kukkutaḥ* 'Oh lovely one, the fowl are clucking simultaneously'.

### 1.3.49 ánor a-karmákāt

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-47] co-occurring with the preverb ánu-° when it is intransitive (a-karmákāt) [to denote the sense of 'simultaneously uttering articulate speech' 48].

*ānu-vad-a-te kathāḥ kalāpasya* 'the Kathā expert chants in chorus with the Kalāpā expert', but *ānu-vad-a-ti vīṇā* 'the Vīṇā reverberates', or *pūrvam eva yajur uditām ānu-vad-a-ti* 'repeats the chanting of the Yajus, chanted earlier'.

### 1.3.50 vibhāṣā vi-pra-lāpé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 vad-47] optionally (vibhāṣā) when expressing the sense of 'contradiction' (vi-pra-lāpé) [while simultaneously uttering articulate speech 48].

*vi-prā-vad-ante/vi-prā-vad-anti vaidyāḥ* 'the doctors simultaneously contradict one another', i.e., express different diagnoses. When contradiction is not involved only Ātm. l-substitutes are introduced.

### 1.3.51 ávād graḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] gṛ-'swallow' (VI 117) co-occurring with the preverb áva-°.

*gir-á-ti* (7.1.100) : *áva-gir-a-te* 'swallows down'.

### 1.3.52 sámah pratijñāne

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] gṛ-51] co-occurring with the preverb sám-° when expressing the sense of promise (pratijñāne).

*sahásram sám-gir-a-te* 'promises to pay a thousand (pieces)'; but *sám-gir-a-ti grāsám* 'swallows a mouthful'.

### 1.3.53 údaś cāraḥ sa-karmákāt

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] cár-'move, graze' (I 591) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° when it is transitive (sakarmákāt).

*kuṭumbam úc-car-a-te* 'deserts the family'; *guru-vacanám úc-car-a-te* 'transgresses the precepts of the teacher'. But *bāṣpám úc-car-a-ti* 'tear emerges'.



### 1.3.54 sámas tṛtīyā-yuktāt

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12 cār-52] after the preverb sám-°, co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā-yuktāt = instrumental case).

*ráthena sám-car-a-te* 'rides in a coach', but *ubhaú lokau sám-car-a-ti* 'moves in both worlds'.

### 1.3.55 dāNás ca sã cét=caturthy-arthé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem] dāN 'give' (I 97) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in) the third sUP triplet 54] provided (céd) it is used in the sense of the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy-arthé: dative case).

*dāsyā sam-prā-yacch-a-te* (7.2.78) 'proffers money to the maid-servant (in order to seduce her)'. Here normally the dative is expected as the indirect object, but in this special sense the instrumental is used. When the instrumental does not have the sense of the dative we have: *pāṇīnā sam-prā-yacch-a-ti* 'gives with the hand'.

### 1.3.56 úpād yamaḥ sva-karaṇé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yam- 'hold, restrain, check' (I 1033) co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° to express the sense of 'espousal' (sva-karaṇé).

*bhāryām úpa-yacch-a-te* (7.3.77) 'he espouses a wife', but *devadattāḥ=yajnadattāśya bhāryām úpa-yacch-a-ti* 'D. has illicit relations with Y.'s wife'.

### 1.3.57 <sup>1</sup>jñā-<sup>2</sup>śru-<sup>3</sup>smṛ-<sup>4</sup>drśām saNah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36), śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989), smṛ- 'recollect', remember' (I 845) and drś- 'see, perceive' (I 1057) when co-occurring with the desiderative marker saN.

1. *jñā+saN+ŚaP+te* = *jñā-jñā+saN+a+te* (6.1.9) = *jñā-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.59) = *ñā-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.60) = *jí-jñā-sa+a+te* (7.4.79) = *jí-jñā-sa-te* (6.1.97) 'desires to know', contra *jā-nā-ti*. *dhārman jí-jñā-sa-te* 'wishes to know the law'.
2. *gurúm sú-érū-ṣa-te* 'desires to serve the teacher', contra *śṛ-ṇó-ti* (3.1.74) 'listens'.
3. *naṣṭām sú-smūr-ṣa-te* (6.4.16; 7.1.102; 8.2.77) 'wishes to remember (one's) loss' contra *smār-a-ti* remembers.

4. *nṛpām di-dṛk-ṣa-te* (8.2.36,41) 'desires to see the king'. This is a prior exception to 62 below.

### 1.3.58 ná=ánor jñah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes 12] are not (ná) introduced after the verbal stem jñā- 'know' (IX 36) co-occurring after the preverb ánu- ° [(and) the desiderative marker saN 57].

*putrām ánu-jī-jñā-ṣa-ti* 'wishes to inquire after the son', but *dhārmam jí-jñā-ṣa-te* (57).

### 1.3.59 <sup>1</sup>prati=<sup>2</sup>āÑbhyām śruvaḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes 12 are not 58] introduced after the verbal stem śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989) co-occurring with the preverbs prāti- °, āÑ- ° [and the desiderative marker saN 57].

*prāti-śuśrū-ṣa-ti* / *ā-śuśrū-ṣa-ti* 'promises'; when [prāti-, āÑ] are karmavacanīyas and not preverbs, this rule does not apply (1.4.84-6,92): *devadattām prāti śuśrū-ṣa-te* 'desires to serve D.'

### 1.3.60 śadeḥ Ś-IT-aḥ

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] śad- 'fall, perish, decay' (VI 134) when it co-occurs with an affix with marker Ś (sārvadhātuka 3.4.113).

By 7.3.78 [śad-] is replaced by [śiy-] before Ś-IT affixes: *śad+Śa+te* (3.1.77) = *śiy-ā-te*, but before non-Ś-IT affixes: *śad+syā+ti* (3.1.33) = *śat-syā-ti* (8.4.55), *ā-śat-sya-t*, *śī-śat-sa-ti*.

### 1.3.61 <sup>1</sup>mriyater <sup>1</sup>IUÑ-<sup>2</sup>IINóś ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verb stem 12] mṛ(Ñ) 'die' (VI 116) [co-occurring with Ś-IT affixes 60] and (ca) also with l-substitutes of Aorist (IUÑ) and Precative (IIN).

In this rule IIN represents the Precative or Benedictive mood as it is ārdhadhātuka (3.4.116) and therefore not Ś-IT while l-substitutes of Optative (IIN) are Ś-IT and covered by the preceding rule.

By its marker [Ñ] mṛÑ prāṇa-tyāgé it functions with the Ātm. l-substitutes, but

this rule restricts this operation only when the verbal stem co-occurs with  $\acute{S}$ -IT affixes and with the non- $\acute{S}$ -IT affixes of the Aorist and Precative.

1.  $m\check{r}+\acute{S}\acute{a}+te\ mriy\acute{a}-te$  (7.4.28).
2.  $m\check{r}+IU\check{N} = m\check{r}+ta = m\check{r}+Cl_i+ta$  (3.1.43) =  $m\check{r}+siC+ta$  (3.1.44) =  $\acute{a}T+m\check{r}+\emptyset+ta$  (6.4.71; 8.2.27) =  $\acute{a}-m\check{r}-ta$ .
3.  $m\check{r}+IU\check{N} = m\check{r}+t\acute{a} = m\check{r}+si\check{y}uT+suT+t\acute{a}$  (3.4.102,107) =  $m\check{r}-s\check{y}\emptyset-s-t\acute{a}$  (8.1.66) =  $m\check{r}-sI-s-t\acute{a}$  (8.3.59; 4.41) but *mar-i-syá-ti*, *á-mar-i-sya-t*.

### 1.3.62 pūrvavát saNah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] co-occurring with the desiderative marker saN under the same conditions that apply to the primitive stem which precedes it (pūrvavát).

This is a general rule valid for the whole group of verbal stems, the exceptions having been noted in specific rules; thus *ās-té* 'sits' generates the desiderative form *ās+iT-saN+ŚaP+te* = *ās-iṣ-iṣ-a-te* (6.1.2; 8.3.59) 'wishes to sit', but from *pác-a-ti* : *pí-pak-ṣa-ti* (8.2.30; 3.59) 'desires to cook'.

### 1.3.63 ām-pratyayavát kṛÑah=anuprayogásya

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after 12] the auxiliary verbal stem (anuprayogásya) kṛÑ 'do, perform, make' (VIII 10) [under the same conditions that apply to the (principal) verbal stem 62] co-occurring with the affix °-ām (ām-pratyayavát).

By interpretation [kṛÑ] here is regarded as a siglum representing the verbal stems kṛÑ-, bhū- and as- which serve as auxiliary verbs in generating the Periphrastic Perfect forms, with the principal verbal stem with affix °ām and the voice associated with that stem determines the voice of the Periphrastic Perfect form. Thus from *édh-a-te*: *edh-/ām+kṛ+UIT* = *edh-ām+cakr-é* 'has increased'; but from *oṣ-a-ti* : *oṣ-ām+cakār-a* 'has burnt'.

### 1.3.64 <sup>1</sup>pra=<sup>2</sup>upābhyām yujer á-yajña-pātreṣu

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yuj- 'join' (VII 7), co-occurring with the preverbs prá-°, úpa-° except when co-occurring with (words signifying) sacrificial vessels (yajña-pātrá).

This is a prior exception to 72 below which allows both sets of Parasmaipadā and Ātmanepadā l-substitutes under the conditions stated there. Those conditions do not obtain here. *prá-yuj+SnáM+té* (3.1.78) = *prá+yu-na-j+te* = *prá-yunḥj+te* (6.4.111) *prá-yuñk-te* (8.2.30) 'joins'; *úpa-yuñk-te* 'uses'; but *yajña-pātrám úpa-yunak-ti* 'uses a sacrificial vessel'.

### 1.3.65 sámah kṣṇúvah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṣṇú- 'whet, sharpen, hone' (II 28) co-occurring with the preverb sam= °.

*kṣṇú+Ø<sup>1</sup>+ti = kṣṇáu-ti* (7.3.89) : *sám-kṣṇu-te śástram* 'sharpens the weapon'.

### 1.3.66 bhujah=án-avane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] bhuj- 'protect; eat' (VII 17) except when expressing the sense of protection (án-avane).

*bhunk-te* 'eats' : *bhundák-ti* 'protects'.

### 1.3.67 Ner áṆau yát kárma Ṇáu cét sá kartá ánādhyaṇe

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] co-occurring with the causative marker Ṇí ( 1.4.52) provided the direct object (kárman) of the primitive stem (áṆi) has become the agent (kartá) of the (derived) stem with marker Ṇí and does not signify 'remember with regret' (án-ā-dhya-ne).

Exception to 72 below. *ā-roh-anti hastínam hasti-pakáh* 'the elephant riders mount the elephant' transforms itself into the passive construction: *ā-roh-ya-te hastí hasti-pakán*.

### 1.3.68 <sup>1</sup>bhī-<sup>2</sup>smyor hetu-bhayé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] bhī- 'fear, be afraid' (III 2) and smi- 'smile' (I 996) [co-occurring with causative marker Ṇí 67] for expressing the fact that the fear or astonishment arises from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhayé 1.4.55).

Exception to 72 below. [Ṇi-bhī-] normally takes the active while [smiṆ] takes the middle voice.

1. In the example *muṇḍó bhī-ṣ-áy-a-te* 'the shaved head frightens', *muṇḍáh* is the causative agent [hetú- 1.4.55] and is the source of the fear generated, but in *muṇḍáh kúñcikayā bhāy-áy-a-ti* 'the shaved head frightens with a bamboo shoot', the source of fear lies in the bamboo shoot and not in the shaved head. The form *bhī-ṣ-áy-a-te* is generated by 7.3.40.
2. Similarly in *jaṭiló vī-smāp-ay-a-ti* (6.1.57; 7.3.36) *rúpeṇa* 'the person with matted hair astonishes with his appearance' the word *rúpa-* is the source.

### 1.3.69 <sup>1</sup>gḍdhī-<sup>2</sup>vancyoh pralámbhane

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 12] gḍdh- ‘covet’ (IV 136) and vānc- ‘go’ (I 204) [co-occurring with the causative marker Nī 67] to express the sense of ‘deceit’ (pralámbhane).

1. *māṇavakám gardh-áy-a-te* ‘deceives the boy’.
2. *śísúm vañc-áy-a-te* ‘deceives the child’.
3. Exceptions: *śvānam gardh-áy-a-ti* ‘makes the dog bark’, *āhim vañc-ay-a-ti* ‘avoids the snake’.

### 1.3.70 liyah <sup>1</sup>sam-mānana-<sup>2</sup>śālinī-kāraṇayoś ca

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] ḥ- ‘melt, cling’ (IV 31, IX 31) [co-occurring with the causative marker Nī 67] to express the senses of ‘honor, respect’ (sam-mānana) or ‘subdue, humiliate’ (śālinī-kāraṇa) and (ca) [deceit 69].

1. *jaṭābhīr ā-lāp-ay-a-te* (6.1.51; 7.3.3) ‘respects on account of matted hair’.
2. *śyenó vārtikām ūl-lāp-ay-a-te* ‘the hawk subdues the quail’.
3. *kās tvām ūl-lāp-ay-a-te* ‘who is deceiving you?’.
4. counter-examples: *bālakām ūl-lāp-ay-a-ti* ‘makes the child lie down’.

### 1.3.71 mithyópadāt kṛÑḥ=abhyāśé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] kṛÑ ‘do, make, perform’ (VIII 10) [co-occurring with the causative marker Nī 67] and having the complementary word (upapadā) mithyā ‘incorrect, false’ to express the sense of ‘repetition’ (abhyāśé).

Exception to 72 below. *padām mithyā kār-áy-a-te* ‘repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly’; but *suṣṭhu kār-ay-a-ti*.

### 1.3.72 svaritá-Ñ-ITaḥ kartr=abhiprāyé kriyā-phalé

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] marked with a svaritá accent or Ñ as IT, if the result of the action is intended for the agent (kartr abhiprāyé).

*yáj-a-te* ‘performs a sacrifice for oneself’, but *yáj-a-ti* ‘performs a sacrifice for some one else’; similarly *pác-a-te* ‘cooks for oneself’, but *pác-a-ti* ‘cooks for another’.

Verbal stems have either (1) exclusively Parasmaipadā l-substitutes introduced after them or (2) Ātmanepadā l-substitutes or (3) have either of them optionally. 12

above defines the class after which  $\tilde{A}tm.$  l-substitutes are introduced exclusively, while the present rule specifies stems after which both sets are optionally introduced, subject to the conditions stipulated: viz. whether the action is intended for the agent or someone else. 78 below defines the class of stems after which  $Paras.$  l-substitutes are introduced exclusively. The set of rules 13-71 are exceptions to 72 where the stem is marked either with svaritá or  $\tilde{N}$  as IT, and to 78 which is not so marked.

### 1.3.73 $\acute{a}p\acute{a}d\ vadaḥ$

[ $\tilde{A}tmanepad\acute{a}$  l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] vad- 'speak' (I 1058) co-occurring with the preverb  $\acute{a}pa-$  ° [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*dhána-kāmo nyāyám ápa-vad-a-te* 'the wealth-seeker abuses the law (in order to gain wealth for himself)', but *ápa-vad-a-ti* (when the fruit of the action is intended for someone else).

### 1.3.74 $\tilde{N}iCaś\ ca$

[ $\tilde{A}tmanepad\acute{a}$  l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 12] co-occurring with the causative marker  $\tilde{N}iC$  also (ca) [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*odanám pāc-áy-a-te* 'causes food to be cooked (for himself)', but *pāc-áy-a-ti* when it is intended for others.

### 1.3.75 $^1sám-^2úd=^3\acute{a}\tilde{N}bhyah=yamaḥ=\acute{a}-granthe$

[ $\tilde{A}tmanepad\acute{a}$  l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] yam- 'restrain, check' (I 1033) co-occurring with the preverbs  $sám-$  °,  $úd-$  °,  $\acute{a}\tilde{N}-$  °, except to designate a text ( $\acute{a}-granthe$ ) [when the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

1. *indriyāṇi sám-yacch-a-te* 'restrains his sense organs'.
2. *bhārám úd-yacch-a-te* 'lifts up his load'.
3. *vāstram á-yacch-a-te* 'draws out (= extends) the cloth (for himself)'.
4. counter-example: *á-yacch-a-ti cikitsám vaidyaḥ* 'the physician diligently studies (the text) on treatment (= pharmacology) [intended for others]'.

### 1.3.76 án-upasargāt=jñah

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 12] jñā- 'know' (IX 36) when not co-occurring with preverbs (án-upa-sargāt) [and the result of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*dévam jā-nī-te* 'recognizes (his) horse', but *devadattāsyā gām jā-nā-ti* 'recognizes D.'s cow'.

### 1.3.77 vibhāṣā=upapadéna pratīyāmāne

[Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are introduced after a verbal stem 12] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when the fact that the action is intended for the agent 72] is indicated (pratīyāmāne) by a complementary word (upa-padéna).

*svām kṛtām kur-u-té/kar-ó-ti* 'makes his own mat'. This optional rule applies to all the preceding five rules 71-76.

### 1.3.78 séṣāt kartāri parasmaipadām

After the remaining verbal stems (séṣāt), when the agent (kartāri) is to be denoted, Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced.

Such verbal stems are indicated in the Dhātupāṭha either with the udātta accent as an IT marker or by the absence of the markers Ṇ or Ñ if no reciprocal action is denoted (14). In the case of stems marked by svaritá or Ñ as IT these endings occur only when the fruit of the action is intended for others and not the agent. In all cases where particular rules have not been formulated Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced. Now follow the particular rules regarding Ubhayapadāns or Ātmanepadān stems after which Paras. l-substitutes alone are introduced.

### 1.3.79 <sup>1</sup>anu-<sup>2</sup>pārābhyām kṛÑah

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] kṛÑ- 'do, make, preform' (VIII 10) co-occurring with the preverbs ánu- ° or pārā- ° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*ánu-kar-o-ti* 'imitates'; *pārā-kar-o-ti* 'does well, excels'.

### 1.3.80 <sup>1</sup>abhí-<sup>2</sup>práti=<sup>3</sup>átibhyaḥ kṣipah

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] kṣip- 'toss' (VI 5) co-occurring with the preverbs abhí-°, práti-° or áti-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*abhí-kṣip-a-ti* 'throws on'; *práti-kṣip-a-ti* 'turns away'; *áti-kṣip-a-ti* 'throws beyond'.

The verbal stem is [kṣipÀ pré raṇe] with svaritá as IT marker (VI 5).

### 1.3.81 prād vahaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] vah- 'bear, carry' (I 1053) co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*prá-vah-a-ti* 'flows', but *á-vah-a-te* 'brings for oneself'.

### 1.3.82 párer mṛṣaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] mṛṣ- 'endure, bear' (IV 55) co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*párt-mṛṣ-ya-ti* 'endures', but *á-mṛṣ-ya-te* 'bears patiently'.

### 1.3.83 <sup>1</sup>ví-<sup>2</sup>āN-<sup>3</sup>páribhyaḥ=ramah

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78] ram- 'sport, play' (I 906) co-occurring with the preverbs ví-°, āN-°, or pári-° [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*rám-a-te*: *ví-ram-a-ti* 'rests'; *á-ram-a-ti* 'delights'; *pári-ram-a-ti* 'sports', but *abhí-ram-a-te* 'reposes, dwells in, delights in'.

### 1.3.84 úpāt=ca

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78 ram- 83] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-° also (ca) [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

*devadattám úpa-ram-a-ti* 'causes D. to refrain' (= *úpa-ram-ay-a-ti* with implied causative sense).



### 1.3.85 vibhāṣā=a-karmākāt

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stem 78 ram- 83] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with the preverb úpa- ° 84] and is intransitive (akarmākāt).

*bhójanād úpa-ram-a-ti/úpa-ram-a-te* 'stops eating'.

### 1.3.86 <sup>1</sup>búdhÁ-<sup>2</sup>yudhA-<sup>3</sup>naśÁ-<sup>4</sup>jána-<sup>5</sup>iÑ-<sup>6</sup>pru-<sup>7</sup>dru-<sup>8</sup>sru-<sup>9</sup>bhyo Ñeḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after the verbal stems 78] búdh- 'perceive' (I 911), budh- (IV 63), yudh- 'fight' (IV 64), naś- 'disappear' (IV 85), jan- 'be born' (IV 41), iÑ- 'study' (II 37, co-occurring with preverb ádhi- °), pru- 'spring up' (I 1006), dru- 'run' (I 992) and sru- 'flow' (I 987), co-occurring with the causative marker Ñi [even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

An exception to 74 above.

1. *bodh-áy-a-ti pádmam* 'makes the lotus bloom'.
2. *kāṣṭhām yodh-áy-a-ti* 'makes the bundles of firewood to strike against one another'.
3. *duḥkhām nāś-áy-a-ti* 'dispels unhappiness'.
4. *jan-áy-a-ti sukhām* 'brings in happiness'.
5. *vyākaraṇam adhy-āp-áy-a-ti* (6.1.48; 7.2.26) 'teaches grammar'.
6. *drāv-áy-a-ti* 'causes to run or melt'.
7. *srauv-áy-a-ti* 'causes to flow'.

### 1.3.87 <sup>1</sup>nigāraṇa-<sup>2</sup>cālana=arthebhyaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 78] denoting 'swallowing' (nigāraṇa) or moving' (cālana=arthebhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the causative marker Ñi 86, even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72].

1. *āś-áy-a-ti* 'causes to eat'.
2. *kamp-áy-a-ti* 'causes to tremble, shakes'.

### 1.3.88 áÑau=a-karmākāt=cittavát-kartṛkāt

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes are introduced after verbal stems 78, co-occurring with the causative marker Ñi 86, even when the fruit of the action is intended for the agent 72], provided the primitive stem without

the causative marker *Ńi* (áŃau) is intransitive (akarmákāt) and the agent of the action is an intelligent being (cittavāt-kartṛkāt).

*śetē devadattah* 'D. sleeps', but *śáy-áy-a-ti devadattam* 'causes D. to sleep'; *ās-tē devadattah* 'D. sits', but *ās-áy-a-ti devadattam* 'makes D. sit'.

### 1.3.89 ná <sup>1</sup>pā-<sup>2</sup>dāmi=<sup>3</sup>āŃ-yamA-<sup>4</sup>āŃ-yasa-<sup>5</sup>pāri-muha-<sup>6</sup>rúci-<sup>7</sup>nṛti-<sup>8</sup>vadA-<sup>9</sup>vasaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78] are not (ná) introduced after the verbal stems *pā-* 'drink' (I 872), *dām-* 'subdue' (IV 94), *ā+yam-* 'extend' (I 1033), *ā+yas-* 'exert oneself' (IV 101), *pāri+muh-* 'be bewildered' (IV 89), *rúc-* 'shine' (I 781), *nṛt-* 'dance' (IV 9), *vad-* 'speak' (I 1058) and *vas-* 'dwell, abide' (I 1054) [co-occurring with the causative marker *Ńi*C 86].

Exception to 87-88 above.

*pāb-a-ti* (7.3.78) : *pā-y-áy-a-te* (7.3.37) 'causes to drink, makes one drink'; *dām-áy-a-te* 'causes to subdue': *ā-yām-áy-a-te* 'causes to extend'; *pāri-moh-ay-a-te* 'entices'; *roc-áy-a-te* 'makes agreeable'; *nart-áy-a-te* 'makes (one) dance'; *vād-áy-a-te* 'makes (one) speak'; *vās-áy-a-te* 'causes to reside'.

### 1.3.90 vā KyáṢaḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78] are optionally (vā) introduced after verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the affix *KyáṢ* (3.1.13).

*lohita+KyáṢ+ŚaP+ti/te* = *lohitā-yá-a-ti/te* (7.4.25) 'becomes red'.

### 1.3.91 dyudbhyo IUŃi

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced after the verbal stem class] whose first member is *dyút-* 'shine' (= I 777-99) co-occurring with the marker of the Aorist (IUŃi).

*dyót-a-te* : *dyut+IUŃ* = *dyut+aŃ+t* (3.1.43) = *āT+dyut-a-t* (6.4.71) = *ā-dyut-a-t*, but before *Ātmanepadā* l-substitutes *ā+dyut+iT-siC+ta* (3.1.44; 7.2.35) = *ā-dyot-i-s-ṭa* (8.3.59; 4.41).

### 1.3.92 vṛdbhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>syā-<sup>2</sup>saNoḥ

[Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced after the class of verbal stems] whose first member is *vṛt-* 'exist' (= I 795-8) co-occurring with the markers *syá* and *saN* (respectively of the Future/Conditional and the desiderative derived stem).

*várt-a-te* : *vart-i-syá-te/ti*; *á-vart-i-sya-ta/t*; *vrt+saN+ŚaP+ti/ta* =  
*ví-vrt-sa-ti/vfvart-i-ṣa-te* (1.2.10; 7.2.59).

### 1.3.93 IUṬi ca kṛp-aḥ

[Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 78 are optionally 90 introduced] after the verbal stem kṛp- ‘be able’ (I 799) co-occurring with the marker of IUṬ (= tās 3.1.33) and (ca) [markers syá and saN 92].

1. *kṛp+tās+miP/iT* = *kalp-tās-mi/* ‘*tāh-é*.
2. *kṛp+syá+tiP/te* = *kalp-syá-ti/-te*; *á-kalp-sya-t/ta*.
3. *kṛp+saN+ŚaP+tiP/te* = *cí-kṛp-sa-ti/cíkalp-i-ṣa-te*.

### 1.4.1 ā kāḍārāt=ékā saṁjñā

(In this section, beginning with this sūtra) and ending with [kāḍārāḥ karmadhārayé 2.2.38] only one (ékā) technical term (saṁjñā) applies (to a given item).

Thus 10 below defines the t.t. [laghú-] as a short vowel (hrasvá) (1.2.28) but the t.t. [gurú-] is defined as a long vowel (12) as well as a short vowel followed by a consonant nexus (11). Since two t.t. now apply to a short vowel, viz. [laghú-, gurú-] only one of them can apply. This is provided by the following sūtra.

### 1.4.2 vipratishedhé páram kāryam

When there is incompatibility (vipratishedhé) [between two rules which can equally apply in a given domain] what is provided by the subsequent rule (páram) should operate (kāryam).

1. Since the short vowel has the option of two technical terms, a short vowel followed by a consonant nexus is uniquely [gurú] by this rule. The normal procedure adopted in framing the rules is to state the general rule (utsargá) first and the exception (apavādá) next, which blocks the utsargá within its particular domain.
2. There has been much discussion about the domain of this metarule as governed by the preceding rule. Patañjali and the later Pāṇiníyas extend this metarule over the whole of the corpus of Aṣṭ., and not up to the end of the second pādā of the second chapter (i.e., from 1.1.1 to 8.1.74), and where this fails in a few instances, the word [pára-] is rendered by interpretation to mean [istá- 'desired'] as leading to realizing the correct surface form.
3. 6.1.77 [iKo yaN aCi] rules in that the vowels [i,u,ɛ,ɪ] are replaced by the corresponding semi-vowels [y,v,r,l] before a vowel (aCi), while 6.1.101 [aKaḥ sávarṇe dīrgháh] rules in that the vowels [a,i,u,ɛ,ɪ] and the following homogeneous vowels are both replaced by the corresponding long vowel. In the example *dádhi+idám* both 77 and 101 situations apply equally since the bracketed word homogeneous (sávarṇe) is not a part of the utsargá or general rule 77, but by this metarule 101 uniquely applies.

### 1.4.3 yū strī=akhyaú nadí

(The t.t. [saṁjñā 1]) nadí designates uniquely feminine (strī=ākhyau) nominal stems (ending in 1.1.72) the long vowels -ī or -ū.

1. As a t.t. occurs in 5.4.153; 6.1.173; 2.109; 3.44; 7.1.54,80; 3.107,112,116.
2. In its non-technical sense of 'river' occurs in 2.1.20; 4.7; 4.1.113; 2.88,97.
3. Examples of nadí type feminines: *nadí* 'river', *vadhú* 'daughter-in-law' which are uniquely feminine; exceptions are *grama-ñí* m.f. 'village head', *khala-pú* m.f. 'sweeper' which are not uniquely feminine.

#### 1.4.4 ná=iyāÑ=uvāÑ-sthānau=ā-strī

[The t.t. nadí 3] does not (ná) denote [uniquely feminine stems ending in long vowels -ī or -ū 3] if these endings are subject to replacement by -iy and -uv (respectively 1.3.10) [iyāÑ=uvāÑ-sthānau] with the exception of the nominal stem strī.

śrī f. 'glory', bhrū f. 'eye-brow' are examples of this class: nom. voc. sing. śrīḥ, voc. sing. bhrūḥ, nom. voc. acc. dual śrīy-au, bhrūv-au contra nadí+sU = nadí+∅ (6.1.68); nadí+au = nady-au; nadí+sU (voc.) = nádi+sU (7.2.107) = nádi+∅ (6.1.69) = nádi. Similarly voc. sing. (he) strī.

#### 1.4.5 vā=āmi

[The t.t. nadí 3] optionally (vā) denotes [uniquely feminine stems ending in -ī or -ū 3] which are subject to replacement by -iy, -uv respectively 4] before the sUP triplet ām (6th or genitive plural).

śrī+ām = śrīy-ām / śrī-nuM+ām (7.1.54) = śrī-ñ-ām (8.4.2). bhrū+ām = bhruv-ām / bhrū-ñ-ām.

#### 1.4.6 ÑIT-i hrasvās ca

[The t.t. nadí 3 optionally 5 denotes uniquely feminine stems (ending in 1.1.72)] short vowels [-i, -u 3] and (ca) [those which end in long -ī, -ū 3] and are subject to replacement respectively by -iy, -uv 4] before sUP triplets with marker Ñ as IT (= Ñe, ÑasI, Ñas and Ñi).

1. gāti- f. 'movement', dhenú- f. 'cow': gāti+Ñe = gāte+e (7.3.111) = gātay-e (6.1.78) / gāti+āT+Ñe (7.3.112) = gāty-ai (6.1.88); similarly gāti+Ñas(I) = gāte+as = gāteḥ (6.1.110) / gāty-āḥ; gati+Ñi = gāta+au (7.3.118-19) gāt-au / gāti+āT+ām (7.3.112,116) = gāty-ām; dhenáv-e, dhenóḥ, dhenáu / dhenv-aí, dhenvāḥ, dhenv-ām.

2. śrīy-é/śrīy-aí.

#### 1.4.7 séṣo GHI=ā-sakhi

(The t.t.) GHI denotes the remainder (séṣaḥ) [= stems (ending in 1.1.72) short -i, -u which are not uniquely feminine, as well as uniquely feminine stems which are not covered by the t.t. nadí] with the exception of sákhi- 'companion'.

agní- m. 'fire', vāyú- m. 'wind' are examples of this class, while gāti-, dhenú- which

are feminine but not members of the nadí-class, are also members of this class, but , optionally belong to the nadí-class before Ñ-marked sUP triplets.

#### 1.4.8 pátiḥ samāśé=evá

[The t.t. GHI 7] denotes the nominal stem páti- ‘protector’ when it occurs (at the end of) a compound (samāśé) only (evá).

*páti+Ñe = páty-e (6.1.77) prajā-patí+Ñe = prajā-paté+Ñe = prajā-patáy-e (6.1.78);*  
*páti+Tā = páty-ā; prajā-patí+Tā = prajā-patí-nā (7.3.120).*

#### 1.4.9 ṣaṣṭhī-yuktaś chándasi vā

[The t.t. GHI 7] optionally (vā) denotes [the nominal stem páti-] co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī-yuktaḥ) in the domain of Chándas.

*kuluñcā-n-ām pátay-e nāmaḥ* ‘homage to the lord of Kuluñcás’; *kṣétrasya páti-nā vayám* ‘we, with the master of the field’.

#### 1.4.10 hrasvám laghú

(The t.t.) laghú denotes a short (hrasvá) vowel (1.2.28).

1. A distinction is made here between a short (hrasvá) vowel and a metrically light (laghú) vowel. Whereas the absolute values of the vowel class are defined as one mora for the short, two for the long and three for the prolated, the concept of light (laghú) and heavy (gurú) has relevance only to the context of situation.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 5.1.131; 6.4.56-61; 7.2.7,94; 3.86; 4.93; 8.3.18.

#### 1.4.11 saṁyogé gurú

(The t.t.) gurú denotes [a short vowel (hrasvá) 10] before a cluster (of consonants 1.1.7 saṁyogé).

1. The word [gurú] indicates a metrically heavy syllable. In the expression *agní-* m. ‘fire’, the initial phoneme (vowel) is gurú since it is followed by two consonants; similarly in the expression *mitrá-* n. ‘friend’ and in *yuddhá-* n. ‘war strife’ , *vṛddhá-* mfn. ‘grown’, *kṛptá-* mfn. ‘formed, effected’, the short vowels (hrasvá) are metrically heavy (gurú) in the context of being followed by consonant nexi.

### 1.4.12 dīrghām ca

[The t.t. gurú 11] also (ca) denotes a long (dīrghá) vowel (1.2.28).

In the expression *īhā* f. 'desire' both vowels are metrically heavy (gurú) as the sonant vowel is in *pitṛñ*.

1. As a t.t. occurs in 3.3.103; 4.1.78; 5.1.132; 8.2.86.

### 1.4.13 yásmāt pratyaya-vidhís tát-ādi pratyayé=āṅgam

In a unit after which (yásmāt) an affix is introduced (pratyaya-vidhíḥ), the unit beginning with that is denoted by the t.t. āṅga before that affix (pratyayé).

1. In the three-fold set-up of the Aṣṭ. consisting of nominal and verbal stems [prātipadiká 1.2.45, dhātu 1.3.1; 3.1.32 and affixes (pratyayá) 3.1.1ff.] the nominal or verbal pre-affixal stem after which the affixes are introduced is defined by this t.t. Since a sentence (vākyà), the unit of thought in articulate speech, is analyzed into its component units consisting of a concatenation of stems and affixes, the pre-affixal base (whether nominal or verbal) requires a single t.t. for indicating the morpho-phonological processes needed to generate the sentences. It will be seen that these stems, under defined situations, have technical terms associated with them; besides [āṅga] defined here, we have [padá 14] and [bhá 18] below.
2. The 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative (IAT) form *su-nó-ti*, dual *su-nu-tás*, *su-* 'distil' is an āṅga before the class marker [Śnú] (= nú-), and the theme *su-nú-* is also an āṅga before the sUP triplets [tiP, tás].
3. As a t.t. occurs in 4.2.72; 6.4.1-7.4.97; 8.2.27; 3.78.

### 1.4.14 sUP-tiñ=antam padám

[The t.t. 1] padá denotes an item terminating in (°-antam) (nominal ending) sUP or (l-substitute) tiñ triplet.

1. In *hára+sU*, *hára+s* is a [padá], and so also *hará+am* = *harám*, *haréṇa*, *haréṣu* etc.
2. In *bhú+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhó+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *bháv-a-ti* (6.1.78), *bháv-a-ti* is a padá, and so also *bháv-a-tas*, *bháv-a+anti* = *bháv-a-nti* (6.1.97) are padás.
3. As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.1; 3.1.119; 8.1.16; 3.57; 4.1.38.

### 1.4.15 naḥ Kyé

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] denotes an item (ending in 1.1.72) the phoneme n before affix Kyá (= Kyáñ 3.1.11, KyáC 3.1.8 and KyáṢ 3.1.13).

1.  $r\acute{a}jan+Ky\acute{a}\acute{N}+\acute{S}aP+t\acute{a} = r\acute{a}ja\emptyset+y\acute{a}+t\acute{a}$  (8.2.7) =  $r\acute{a}j\bar{a}-y\acute{a}+ta$  (7.4.25) =  $r\acute{a}j\bar{a}-y\acute{a}-te$  (3.4.79). By 18 below, normally a pre-affixal stem is defined as BHA before initial [y- °] of an affix, so this is a prior exception to that rule.
2.  $r\acute{a}jan+Ky\acute{a}C+\acute{S}aP+tiP = r\acute{a}ja\emptyset+y\acute{a}-ti$  (8.2.7) =  $r\acute{a}j\bar{i}-y\acute{a}-ti$  (7.4.23) 'treats like royalty'.
3.  $v\acute{a}rman+Ky\acute{a}S+\acute{S}aP+tiP = varma\emptyset+y\acute{a}+ti$  (8.2.7) =  $varm\acute{a}-ya-ti$  (7.4.25) 'becomes like a coat of mail'.

#### 1.4.16 S-IT-i ca

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] also (ca) denotes an item before an affix with marker S as IT.

$bh\acute{a}vat+chaS$  (4.2.115) =  $bhavat+\acute{f}ya-$  (7.1.2) =  $bhavad-\acute{f}ya-$  'your honor's'; voicing of an unvoiced consonant can only take place at the end of a padá (8.2.39).

#### 1.4.17 sŪ=ādiṣu=á-sarvanamasthāne

[The t.t. 1 padá 14] denotes an item before the class of affixes whose first member is the sUP triplet sU (4.1.2) excluding those denoted by (the t.t. 1) sarvanāma-sthānā (= sUṬ 1.1.43 and Śi 1.1.42 = strong case affixes).

1. All affixes are dealt with in the three chapters of Aṣṭ. (3-5) and this class of affixes benning with sU (4.1.2) extends up to affix kaP (5.4.151).
2.  $r\acute{a}jan+bhy\bar{a}m = r\acute{a}ja\emptyset+bhy\bar{a}m$  (8.2.7) =  $r\acute{a}ja-bhy\bar{a}m$ .

#### 1.4.18 y-aCi BHAm

[The t.t. 1] BHA denotes an item before an affix with initial semivowel [y- °] or any vowel (aC).

1.  $r\acute{a}jan+\acute{S}as = r\acute{a}j\bar{n}+as$  (6.4.134) =  $r\acute{a}j\bar{n}-\acute{a}s = r\acute{a}j\bar{n}-aḥ$  (8.3.15); similarly  $r\acute{a}jan+\acute{N}e = r\acute{a}j\bar{n}-e$ ,  $r\acute{a}jan+\acute{N}as(I) = r\acute{a}j\bar{n}-as = r\acute{a}j\bar{n}-aḥ$ .
2.  $kata+ya\bar{N}$  (4.1.105) =  $kāt\emptyset-ya-$  (6.4.148) 'gotra descendant of Kata'; since [t of kāt\emptyset] is not at the end of a padá by its being a BHA 8.2.39 is blocked.
3. As a t.t. occurs in 6.4.22-128; 129-75; 7.1.88; 8.2.79.

#### 1.4.19 <sup>1</sup>tā-<sup>2</sup>sau matU=arthe

[The t.t. 1 BHA 18] denotes an item (ending in 1.1.72) the phonemes ( °-t, °-s) before an affix having the meaning of affix matU(P) (5.2.94).

$vidy\acute{u}t+matUP = vidy\acute{u}t+vatUP$  (8.2.10) =  $vidy\acute{u}t-vat-$  'possessed of lightning'; note that the stem-final unvoiced stop is not replaced by the voiced as required by 8.2.39 because the preaffixal stem is BHA and not a padá.



*yásas+vin-* (5.2.121) = *yaśas-vín-* ‘glorious’ where stem-final [s] is not replaced by [rU] (according to 8.2.66).

#### 1.4.20 ayasmaya=ādīni chándasi

[The t.t. 1 BHA 18] denotes the stem in the class of expressions whose first member is *ayas-máya-* ‘made of metal (or iron)’ before affixes introduced after them, in the domain of Chándas.

Some of these function as though both t.t. apply to the pre-affixal stem: in [*ayas-máya-*] the pre-affixal stem functions like a BHA while in *ḥc+vatUP* = *ḥk-vat-* ‘praising’, the pre-affixal stem functions first as a *padá* in replacing the palatal stop by the corresponding velar unvoiced stop: *ḥc+vat-* = *ḥk-vat-* (8.2.30) and it then functions like a BHA stem in blocking out the operation of 8.2.39 which would have required *ḥk* : *ḥg* transformation.

#### 1.4.21 bahúṣu bahu-vacanám

[The t.t. 1] *bahu-vacaná* ‘plural’ denotes plurality (*bahúṣu*) of units [functioning as subjects (*kartṛ-*) or objects (*kárman-*)].

1. As a t.t. occurs in 1.4.102; 4.3.100; 6.2.34; 7.3.103; 8.1.21; 2.28; 1.2.58,63.
2. By 4.1.2 a set of 21 affixes are introduced after nominal stems, divided into seven triplets; similarly by 3.4.78 a set of 18 affixes are introduced as replacements for the l-members (denoting tenses and moods), consisting of two sets of three triplets each. 102 below uses the three t.t. [*ekavacaná* ‘singular’, *dvi-vacaná* ‘dual’ and *bahuvacaná* ‘plural’] to denote the three members of each of these triplets. The present and the following *sūtras* define the meaning of these terms; [*bahuvacaná*] here denotes the third member of each of these triplets. Sanskrit is the only Indo-European language to maintain the system of three numbers throughout its history. Ex. *brāhmaṇá+Jas véda+am páth+ŚaP+jhi* = *brāhmaṇás* (6.1.102) *védam* (6.1.107) *páth-a-anti* (7.1.2) = *páthanti* (6.1.97) = *brāhmaṇá(ḥ)* (8.2.66; 2.17,22) *védam páth-anti* ‘brahmins recite the Veda’.

#### 1.4.22 <sup>1</sup>dvi=<sup>2</sup>ekáyor <sup>1</sup>dvi-vacana=<sup>2</sup>eka-vacané

[The t.t. 1] *dvi-vacaná* ‘dual’ and *eka-vacaná* ‘singular’ respectively (1.3.10) denote duality and singularity of units [functioning as subjects or objects].

1. *dvi+au* = *dvá+au* (7.2.102) = *dvaú* (6.1.88,104) *hásta+au* = *hástau* (6.1.88,104) ‘two hands’.
2. *ekā+sU nāsikā+sU* = *ekā+ḥ nāsikā+ḥ* (6.1.68) = *ekā nāsikā* ‘one nose’.
3. *vidyút+sU pát+ŚaP+tiP* = *vidyút+ḥ pát-a-ti* = *vidyút pát-a-ti* ‘lightning falls’.
4. As a t.t. *dvivacaná* occurs in 1.1.11; 5.3.57; 7.1.77; 2.88,92; *ekavacaná* occurs in 1.2.61; 4.102; 2.3.49; 4.1; 5.4.43; 7.1.32; 2.87; 8.1.22.

### 1.4.23 kārake

In the domain of Kāraka.

1. This is an *adhikāra* (1.3.11) 'governing rule' beginning here and extending up to 55 below. Since the principal meaning of an utterance is an action denoted by a verbal stem, those things which bring about the development of that action are referred to by this term. Six of these are enumerated below: *apādāna* (24) 'point of departure'; *sampradāna* (32) 'point of arrival'; *kāraṇa* (42) 'instrument'; *adhikāraṇa* (45) 'locus, sub-stratum'; *kārman* (49) 'direct object' and *kartṛ* (54) 'agent' and *hetú* (55) as 'causal agent' as its sub-type. The relationship between two or more *kāra*kas can only occur through an action of which they are different *kāra*kas. Thus, with the exception of the sixth or genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) case, all the remaining sets of sUP triplets are *kāraka*-forming affixes.
2. By the fact of this being a governing rule, the word [*kārake*] will recur in all subsequent rules of this sub-section.

### 1.4.24 dhruvām apāyē=apādānam

[The t.t. 1] *apādāna* 'ablation' denotes [that *kāraka* 23] which functions as a stable point (*dhruvām*) with respect to a movement away from itself (*apāyē*), i. e., a point of departure.

*grāma+NasI* = *grāma+āt* (7.1.12) = *grām-āt ā-gacch-a-ti* 'comes from the village';  
*pārvat-āt=āva-roh-a-ti* 'descends from the hill'.

### 1.4.25 <sup>1</sup>bhī-<sup>2</sup>trā=arthānām bhaya-hetúḥ

[The t.t. 1] *apādāna* 24 *kāraka* 23] denotes a cause of fear (*bhaya-hetúḥ*) with reference to actions denoted by the verbal stems expressing fear (*bhī-*) or protection (*trā=arthānām*).

1. *vṛka+bhyas* = *vṛke-bhyas* (7.3.103) *bī-bhe-ti* 'is afraid of wolves, fears from wolves'.
2. *vṛke-bhyas trāy-a-te* 'protects from wolves'.

### 1.4.26 pārā-jer ā-sodhah

[The t.t. 1] *apādāna* 24 *kāraka* 23] denotes what is unbearable (*asodhah*) with reference to the verbal stem *pārā+ji-* 'overcome'.

*adhyāyanāt pārā-jay-a-te* 'is overwhelmed by study', but *sātrūn pārā-jay-a-te* 'overcomes enemies'.

#### 1.4.27 vāraṇa=arthānām īpsitāḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes what [an agent desires to reach (īpsitāḥ)] by means of actions meaning 'ward off' (vāraṇa-arthānām).

*gāvebhyo gām vār-āy-a-ti* 'wards off the cow from the barley (field)', but *gām vār-ay-a-ti kṣētre* 'wards off the cow in the field'.

#### 1.4.28 antardhaú yéna á-darśanam icchāti

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes (the person) by whom (yéna) the agent wishes not to be seen (á-darśanam icchāti) when concealment (antaradhaú) is indicated (by the verbal stem).

*upādhyāyāt antárdhatte/nī-lī-ya-te* 'hides from the teacher'.

#### 1.4.29 ākhyātā=upayogé

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes a reciter (ākhyātā) where instruction is signified (upayogé) (by the verbal stem).

*upādhyāyād ādhī-te/ā-gam-ay-a-ti* 'learns from the teacher'.

#### 1.4.30 janī-kartúḥ prakṛtiḥ

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes the source (prakṛtiḥ) from which the agent (kārtṛ) of the verbal stem jan- 'be born' (IV 41) evolves.

*śṅgāt śaró jā-yá-te* 'the arrow is produced from the horn'.

#### 1.4.31 bhuváh prabhaváh

[The t.t. 1 apādāna 24 kāraka 23] denotes the source (prabhaváh) of the [agent 30] of the verbal stem bhū- 'become' (I 1).

*himávato gāngā prá-bhav-a-ti* 'the river Ganges originates in the snow-clad mountain'.

As a t.t. apādāna occurs in 3.4.52,74; 5.4.45; 8.2.48.

### 1.4.32 kármaṇā yám abhi-praṭi sá sampradānam

[The t.t. 1] sampradāna [kāraka 23] denotes one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient (abhi-praṭi-ti) through the object (kármaṇā) of the action (of giving).

*devadattāya gām dá-dā-ti* 'gives a cow to D.' Here the object of the verb is the cow and the goal is Devadattā; in general sampradāna is the indirect object.

### 1.4.33 rúci=arthānām prīyāmāṇaḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one who is pleased (prīyāmāṇaḥ) in relation to the verbal stem having the sense of 'to please' (rúci=arthānām).

*devadattāya módako róc-a-te* 'D. likes sweetmeats'.

### 1.4.34 <sup>1</sup>ślāgha-<sup>2</sup>hnuṅ-<sup>3</sup>sthā-<sup>4</sup>śapām jñīpsyāmāṇaḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one who is to be informed (jñīpsyāmāṇaḥ) in relation to the verbal stems ślāgh- 'praise' (I 118), hnuṅ 'hide' (II 72), sthā- 'express one's desire' (I 975) and śap- 'swear, curse' (I 1049).

1. *devadattāya ślāgh-a-te* 'praises D. (and shows it to him)'.
2. *gopī kṣṇāya hnu-té* 'the gopī hides K. (from his co-wives and shows it to him)'.
3. *tīsth-a-te* (1.3.23) *kanyā chāttrāya* 'the maiden reveals (her desires) to the pupil'.
4. *devadattāya śap-a-ti* 'swears at or reviles D.'

### 1.4.35 dhārér uttamarnāḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes a creditor (uttamarnāḥ) in relation to the causative verbal stem dhār-í- 'owe' (VI 119+NíC).

*devadattāya śatám dhār-áy-a-ti* 'owes D. a hundred pieces'.

### 1.4.36 sprhér īpsitáh

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes the object desired (īpsitáh) in relation to the verbal stem sprh- 'yearn for' (X 325).

*phálebhyaḥ sprh-áy-a-ti* 'yearns for fruit'.

#### 1.4.37 <sup>1</sup>krudhÁ-<sup>2</sup>druhÁ-<sup>3</sup>īṣyÁ=<sup>4</sup>asūyānām

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one towards whom (yām prāti) anger (kópa) is felt in relation to the verbal stems krudh- 'feel anger' (IV 82), druh- 'injure' (IV 88), īṣy- 'not tolerate' (I 544) and asūy- 'find fault with'.

1. *devadattāya krudh-yā-ti* 'is angry with Devadatta'.
2. *devadattāya druh-yā-ti* 'injures D.'
3. *devadattāya īṣy-a-ti* 'does not tolerate D.'
4. *yajñadattāya asūy-a-ti* 'finds fault with Y.'

#### 1.4.38 <sup>1</sup>krudhÁ-<sup>2</sup>druhor úpasṛṣṭayoh kárma

[The t.t. 1] kárman (49 below) [kāraka 23] denotes one [towards whom anger is felt 37] in relation to verbal stems krudh- 'feel anger' and druh- 'injure' when they co-occur with preverbs (úpasṛṣṭayoh).

- devadattām abhí-krudh-ya-ti* 'is angry towards D.'  
*yajñadattām abhí-druh-ya-ti* 'injures Y.'

#### 1.4.39 <sup>1</sup>rādh-<sup>2</sup>īkṣyor yásya vipraśnāḥ

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes one about whom (yásya) there is a questioning or inquiry (vipraśnāḥ) in relation to the verbal stems rādh- 'satisfy' (IV 71) and īks- 'look' (I 641).

1. *devadattāya rādh-yā-ti* 'casts D's horoscope'.
2. *yajñadattāya īkṣ-a-te* 'looks into Y's horoscope'.

#### 1.4.40 <sup>1</sup>prāti=<sup>2</sup>āNbhyām śruvāḥ pūrvasya kartā

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes the agent (kartā) of the previous act (pūrvasya) (of requesting) in relation to the verbal stems śru- 'listen, hear'; (I 989) co-occurring with preverbs prāti-° or āN-° (and meaning 'promise').

- The agent of the previous act (of requesting) is one who makes the request or demand, in response to which the subsequent promise is made. *devadattāya gām prāti-śṛ-ṇo-ti/ā-śṛ-ṇo-ti* '(on demand or request) promises a cow to D.'

#### 1.4.41 <sup>1</sup>anu-<sup>2</sup>prati-gr̥ṇas ca

[The t.t. 1 sampradāna 32 kāraka 23] denotes also (ca) [the agent of the previous act 46] (of uttering a praise) in relation to the verbal stem gṛ̥- (IX 28) co-occurring with the preverbs ānu-° and prāti-° meaning ‘answer or respond to praise’.

*hótre ānu-gr̥ṇā-ti/prāti-gr̥ṇā-ti* ‘he responds to the Hótr̥ by praising in chorus’.

As a technical term occurs in 2.3.13,61; 3.4.73.

#### 1.4.42 sād̥hakatamam káraṇam

(The t.t. 1) káraṇa (kāraka 23) denotes the means par excellence (sād̥haka-tamam) (in relation to the verbal stem).

*asiṇḍ vyāghrām hán-ti* [*asi+Tā* = *asi+nā* 7.3.120] ‘kills a tiger with a sword’;  
*paraśú-nā kṣāṭhām chí-nát-ti* ‘cuts the log with an axe’.

#### 1.4.43 diváh kárma ca

[The t.t. káraṇa 43 kāraka 23] as well as (ca) kárman (49 below) [kāraka 23] denote [the means par excellence 42] in relation to the verbal stem dív- ‘gamble, sport’ (IV 1).

*akṣaṇh/akṣán dív-ya-ti* ‘gambles with dice’.

#### 1.4.44 pari-kráyaṇe sampradānan anyatárasyām

[The t.t. 1] sampradāna [kāraka 23] optionally (anya-tarásyām) denotes [the means par excellence 42] in relation to the act of hiring (pari-kráyaṇe).

When this option is not operating the normal káraṇa kāraka prevails:  
*śatā-ya/śaténa pári-kr̥ṇah* ‘hired for a hundred pieces’.

As a t.t. occurs in 3.1.102; 2.45,56,85,182; 3.82,117; 4.37; 4.4.97; 6.1.20; 4.27; 8.4.10; 2.3.18,33,51,63; 2.1.32; 4.1.50.

#### 1.4.45 ādhārāḥ=adhikáraṇam

[The t.t. 1] adhikáraṇa [kāraka 23] denotes the locus or substratum (ādhārāḥ).

*kāta+Ñi* = *kāte=ās-te* ‘sits on the mat’; *sthālī+Ñi=sthālī+aT+ām* (7.3.112,116) = *sthāly-ām pác-a-ti* ‘cooks in the pot’.

#### 1.4.46 <sup>1</sup>ádhi-<sup>śī</sup>Ñ-<sup>2</sup>sthā=<sup>3</sup>āsām kārma

[The t.t. 1] kārman (49 below) [kāraka 23] denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stems śīÑ- , 'lie down, sleep' (II 22), sthā- 'stay, stand' (I 975) and ās- 'sit' (II 11) all co-occurring with the preverb ádhi- °.

*grāmam ádhi-śē-te* 'lies down in the village'.

*grāmam ádhi-tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'remains in the village'.

*grāmam ádhy-ās-te* 'settles in the village'.

#### 1.4.47 abhi-ní-viśaś ca

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] also (ca) denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stem viś- 'enter' (VI 136) co-occurring with the preverb abhi-ní- °.

*grāmam abhi-ní-viś-a-ti* 'enters the village'.

#### 1.4.48 <sup>1</sup>úpa=<sup>2</sup>ánu=<sup>3</sup>ádhi-<sup>4</sup>āÑ-<sup>5</sup>vasaḥ

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] denotes [the locus or substratum 45] in relation to the verbal stem vas- 'dwell, abide' (I 1054) co-occurring with the preverbs úpa- °, ánu- °, ádhi- ° or āÑ- °.

*grāmam úpa-vas-a-ti / ánu-vas-a-ti / ádhi-vas-a-ti / ā-vas-a-ti sēná* 'the army remains at the village'.

#### 1.4.49 kartúr īpsitátamam kārma

[The t.t. 1] kārman (kāraka 23) denotes what the agent (kartúr) most desires to reach (īpsitá-tamam) (through his action).

1. *kāta+am = kátam* (6.1.97) *kar-ó-ti* 'makes a mat'; *pátram likh-á-ti* 'writes a letter'.

#### 1.4.50 tathā-yuktám ca=án-īpsitam

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] also (ca) denotes what is so connected (tathā-yuktám) (with the agent's action like kārman) whether the agent wishes to reach or not (án-īpsitam).

*viṣam bhakṣ-āy-a-ti* 'eats poison'; *caurān pāśy-a-ti* 'sees the thieves'; *grāmam gacchan vṛkṣa-mūlāni ūpa-sarp-a-ti* 'going to the village, meets with (protruding) roots of trees'.

#### 1.4.51 á-kathitaṁ ca

[The t.t. 1 kārman 49 kāraka 23] also (ca) denotes [that kāraka to which no other kāraka name 23] is assigned (á-kathitaṁ) [from 24ff.].

In the example *gām dóg-dhi páyaḥ* [*duh*+θ<sup>1</sup>+*ti* = *dogh*+*ti* 8.2.32 = *dogh*+*dhi* 8.2.40 = *dog*+*dhi* 8.4.53] 'milks the cow', the cow is an optional object to which no other kāraka name such as [apādāna 24] etc, has been assigned, and therefore is assigned to this kāraka, while the word for milk is what the agent most wishes to reach. This sentence can alternatively be expressed by \**gó+NasI* = *gó+aṣ* = *gós* (6.1.110) = *gōḥ* (8.3.15) *páyo dóg-dhi*.

Verbs of this type are designated [dvi-karmá-ka] 'having two objects (kārman)'; in addition to [*duh*-] 'milk' (II 4), we have the following stems belonging to this category: [*yác*-] 'beg' (I 916), [*pác*-] 'cook' (I 187), [*daṇḍ*-] 'punish' (X 381), [*rudh*-] 'obstruct' (VII 1), [*prach*-] 'ask' (VI 120), [*ci*-] 'gather' (V 5), [*brū*-] 'speak' (II 35), [*śās*-] 'instruct' (II 66), [*jí*-] 'conquer' (I 593,993), [*máth*-] 'churn' (I 901), [*muṣ*-] 'steal' (IX 58), [*nī*-] 'lead' (I 950), [*hṛ*-] 'carry' (I 947), [*kṛṣ*-] 'draw, drag' (I 1039, VI 6), and [*vah*-] 'carry' (I 1053).

Exx.: (a) *balīm yāc-ā-te vasudhām* 'begs Bali for the earth'; (b) *taṇḍulān odanām pác-a-ti* 'cooks rice'; (c) *gargān śatām daṇḍ-āy-a-ti* 'punishes the descendants of Garga a hundred pieces'; (d) *vrajām āva-ru-ṇad-dhi gām* 'confines the cow to the pen'; (e) *māṇavakām pánthān-am pṛcch-a-ti* 'asks the lad about the route'; (f) *vṛkṣām āva-ci-no-ti phālāni* 'picks fruit from the tree'. (g) *māṇavakām dhárma-m brū-té* 'instructs the pupil in law'; (h) *māṇavakām dhármam śās-ti* 'teaches the pupil law'; (i) *sátām jáy-a-ti deva-dattām* 'wins a hundred pieces from D.'; (j) *sudhām kṣīra-nidhīm math-nā-ti* 'churns the milky ocean for ambrosia'; (k) *devadattām śatām muṣ-ṇā-ti* 'steals a hundred pieces from D.'; (l) *grāmam ajām náy-a-ti/hár-a-ti/káṛṣ-a-ti/váh-a-ti* 'leads/carries/leads/carries the goat to the village'. In the case of the first twelve verbal stems (a-1), when the passive construction is employed, the accusative of the second object is replaced by the nominative: *gām dóg-dhi páyaḥ* : *gauḥ duh-yá-te páyaḥ*, and in the case of verbal stems referred to in (l) above, the principal object is replaced by the nominative: *ajām grāmam náy-a-ti* : *ajá-ḥ grāma-m nī-yá-te*.

#### 1.4.52 <sup>1</sup>gáti-<sup>2</sup>búddhi-<sup>3</sup>pratyavasāna=artha-<sup>4</sup>śábda-karma=<sup>5</sup>a-karmákāṇām áNi kartá sá Nau

[That kāraka 23] which is called the agent (kartá 54) in relation to verbal stems which denote movement (gáti=artha), 'perception'



(búddhi=artha) or 'eating' (pratyavasāna-artha), or stems whose object is 'sound' (śabda-karman) and intransitive verbal stems, not co-occurring with the marker NíC (of the causative) becomes the [kárman 49 kāraka 23] of the causal action (Naú) denoted by these stems co-occurring with the causative marker Ní(C).

1. *gáčch-a-ti devadattó grāmam* 'D. is going to the village', but *yajñadattó devadattám grāmam gam-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. go to the village'.
2. *devadattó dhármam budh-yá-te* 'D. understands the law', but *yajñadattó devadattám dhármam bodh-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. understand the law'. Similarly for the other categories.

#### 1.4.53 <sup>1</sup>hṛ-<sup>2</sup>kror anyataráśyām

[That kāraka 23 which is called the agent (kartā) 52] in relation to the verbal stems hṛ- 'take, remove' (I 942) and kṛ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10) [when not co-occurring with (causative marker) Ní(C) 52] is optionally (anyataráśyām) [the kárman 49 kāraka 23 of the causal action 52] (denoted by these stems) [co-occurring with the (causative marker) Ní(C) 52].

1. *devadattó bhārám hār-a-ti* 'D. fetches the load' but *yajña-dattó devadattám/devadatténa bhārám hār-áy-a-ti* 'Y. makes D. fetch the load'.
2. *devadattáh kátam kar-ó-ti-* 'D. makes a mat', but *yajñadattó devadattám/devadatténa kátam kār-áy-a-ti* 'Y. causes D. to make a mat'.
3. As a t.t. kárman- occurs in 1.4.32,38,43; 1.3.13,37,67; 2.2.14; 3.2,12,14,17,22,52ff.,65ff.; 3.1.7,15,66,67; 2.1ff.,86,92ff.,100,181; 3.12,93,116,127; 4.25,29,45; 6.2.48,150; 4.62.

#### 1.4.54 svatantráh kartā

[The t.t. 1] kartṛ 'agent' denotes [that kāraka 23] which is independent (sva-tantráh) (relative to others).

*devadattá+sU* = *devadattáh* (8.3.15) *pác-a-ti* 'D. is cooking'; *sthálf pác-a-ti* 'the pot is cooking'.

#### 1.4.55 tat-prayojakó hetús ca

[The t.t. 1] hetú and (ca) [the t.t. kartṛ 54 kārakas 23] denote the instigator (tat-prayojaká = kartṛ- °) of that agent.

Here [hetú] is the technical term for the agent of the causative stem-form, which

permits the derivation of such forms as  $kṛ + N[C + ŚaP + tiP = kār-áy-a-ti$  in which the agent affix [tiP] and the causal marker [N[C] are both introduced: [kurvāṇám prá-yuñk-te] 'instigates the agent'.

- (a) The t.t. kartṛ occurs in 1.3.14,37,67,78; 4.30,40,49; 2.1.32; 2.15,16; 3.18,24,71; 3.1.11,18,48,62,68; 2.19,21,57,79,86,186; 4.43,67,71; 5.4.50; 6.1.195,207.

The t.t. hetú occurs in 1.3.68; 6.1.56; 7.3.40. As a non-technical term it occurs in 1.4.25; 2.3.23; 3.2.20,126; 3.156 etc.

### 1.4.56 prāk=iśvarāt=nipātáh

[The t.t. 1] nipātá 'particle' denotes elements specified in the subsequent rules [in the sub-section beginning here and] preceding (prāk) (the sūtra) [ádhir-iśvaré 1.4.97 below].

This is an adhikārá or governing rule and the word nipātá will recur in all subsequent rules prior to 97.

### 1.4.57 ca=ādayo=á-sattve

[The t.t. 1 nipātá 56] denotes members of the group beginning with ca 'and' when they do not signify things (á-sattve).

These are listed in the Gaṇapāṭha.

### 1.4.58 prá=ādayaḥ

[The t.t. 1 nipātá 56] denotes the class of (preverbs or prepositions 59) beginning with prá-° 'forth'.

The separate mention of this group of particles is in relation to the subsequent rules 59-60 which apply only to this group and not to the earlier group (57). Members of this group are: [pra-°] 'forth', [pārā-°] 'away', [āpa-°] 'away', [śam-°] 'with', [ānu-°] 'after', [áva-°] 'off, down', [nís-°] 'away', [nir-°] 'away', [dús-°, dúr-°] 'bad, difficult, hard', [ví-°] 'apart, asunder', [āñ-°] 'near', [ní-°] 'down', [ádhi-°] 'over', [ápi-°] 'proximate', [áti-°] 'beyond', [sú-°] 'good, excellent', [úd-°] 'up(wards)', [abhi-°] 'to, towards', [práti-°] 'against', [pári-°] 'round, around' and [úpa-°] 'towards, near'. The list is given here because of its importance arising from the subsequent two sūtras. Verbal stems by themselves have a variety of denotations, but they can be significantly modified by this class co-occurring with them.

### 1.4.59 upasargāḥ kriyā-yogé

[The t.t. 1] upasargá 'preverb, preposition' denotes [the group of particles (nipātá) 56 beginning with prá- ° 58] when there is connection with the action (kriyā-yogé = 'co-occurrence with a verb').

[kriyā] 'action' here stands for the verbal stem denoting an action: *gacch-a-ti* 'goes', but *ā-gacch-a-ti* 'comes'; *nīr-gacch-a-ti* 'sets out', *ānu-gacch-a-ti* 'follows', *sām-gacch-a-ti* 'goes with, joins', *abhi-gacch-a-ti* 'goes towards'.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.3.43; 2.3.59; 3.1.71; 2.61,99,147; 3.22,59,92,106; 5.1.118; 4.85,119; 6.1.91; 2.154,177; 3.122; 4.96; 7.1.67; 4.24,47; 8.2.19; 3.65.

### 1.4.60 gátis ca

[The t.t. 1] gáti also (ca) denotes [the group of particles 56 beginning with prá- ° 58 when there is co-occurrence with the action 59].

1. A separate enumeration has become necessary because this t.t. includes much more than the [prá- °]-class of particles as indicated in the subsequent sūtras.
2. As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.18; 6.2.49,139; 7.3.63; 8.3.40.
3. The two t.t. [upasargá] and [gáti] as applied to this class are never in competition since they are distinct.
4. *prá-kr-ta-* is a tatpuruṣa compound by virtue of 2.2.18 and bears the udātta accent on *prá-* °, proper to a member of the [gáti]-class according to 6.2.49. Similarly in *prá-kar-o-ti*, *pra-* ° is an [upasargá] preceding the stem [kr- °] and retains its accent (8.1.28), but in *sam-ud-ā-nay-a-ti* 'assembles' *nay-a-ti* loses its accent (8.1.28) while both preverbs *sām-* °, *úd-* ° lose theirs by virtue of being assigned simultaneously the t.t. [gáti] and [upasargá] by 8.1.70.

### 1.4.61 ūrī=ādi-Cvī-ḌāCās ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also (ca) denotes the class [of particles 56] beginning with ūrī- ° 'assent' and items (ending in 1.1.72) affixes Cvī (5.4.50) and ḌāC (5.4.57).

1. *ūrī+kr+Ktvā* = *ūrī+kr-t+LyaP* (6.1.71; 7.1.37).
2. *śuklā+Cvī+kr+Ktvā* = *śuklī+kr+LyaP* (7.4.26) = *śuklī-kṛt-ya* 'having made white (what was not white before)'.
3. *paṭapaṭat+Ḍā+kr+Ktvā* = *paṭapaṭā-kṛt-ya* 'having made the sound "pat, pat"'.

#### 1.4.62 anukáraṇam ca=án=iti-param

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also (ca) denotes an expression imitating (anukáraṇam) (natural sound), provided it is not followed by the particle iti (án-iti-param).

*khāt+kr+Ktvā = khāt-kr+LyaP = khāt-kr̥t-ya* 'having made the sound "khāt"' but  
*khāt=iti kr+Ktvā = khād̥ iti kr-tvā.*

#### 1.4.63 <sup>1</sup>ādará=<sup>2</sup>án-ādarayoh <sup>1</sup>sát-<sup>2</sup>ásat-ī

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] denotes the particles sát- and ásat- when they (respectively 1.3.10) denote respect (ādará) and disrespect (án-ādarā).

*sát+kr+Ktvā = sat+kr+LyaP = sat-kr̥t-ya* 'having shown respect'.  
*asat-kr̥t-ya* 'having shown disrespect'.

#### 1.4.64 bhūṣaṇe=álam

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] denotes the particle 56] álam used in the sense of 'adornment' (bhūṣaṇe).

*álam+kr+Ktvā = alam-kr+LyaP = alam-kr̥t-ya* 'having adorned', but *álam bhuktvā odanám gatāh* 'went away after eating sufficient (álam) rice'.

#### 1.4.65 antár á-parigrahe

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] denotes the particle 56] antár used in the sense of 'non-acceptance' (á-parigrahe).

*antár+han+Ktvā = antar+hañ+LyaP (6.4.24) = antar-hāt-ya* 'having abandoned',  
but *antár hat-vā mūsikām éyenó gatāh* 'the hawk went away after seizing the mouse'.

#### 1.4.66 <sup>1</sup>kāṇe-<sup>2</sup>mānas-ī śraddhā-pratīghāté

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] denotes the particles 56] kāṇe and mānas used in the sense of 'quenching (pratīghāté) of desire (śraddhā-°) (by full satisfaction)'.

*kāṇe+han+Ktvā = kāṇe-hāt-ya / mano-hāt-ya páyaḥ pib-a-ti* 'drinks milk (or water) till one's desire is quenched', but *kāṇe ha-tvā gatāh* where [kāṇa- m.] denotes 'grain'.

#### 1.4.67 purás=ávyayam

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] purás when it is indeclinable (ávyayam) (meaning 'in front').

*purás+kr+Ktvá* = *purás+kr+LyaP* = *purás-kr+ya* 'having placed in front' (= honored). The indeclinable [purás] is derived from the word [púrva- 'front'] with affix [-ás] 5.3.39; the word ávyaya is used to separate the nom. acc. pl. *pur-ás* from the fem. stem *púr-* 'fortified city' and so block the operation applicable to a gáti.

#### 1.4.68 ástam ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] also denotes [the indeclinable 67 particle 56] ástam 'setting, disappearance'.

*ástam+gam+Ktvá* = *ástam+ga+LyaP* = *ástam-gát+ya* 'having set or disappeared' where [ástam] is an indeclinable ending in °-m. while *astá-* (as+Ktá) is the passive past participle of [as= 'toss, throw' IV 100].

#### 1.4.69 áccha <sup>1</sup>gáti=artha-<sup>2</sup>vadéṣu

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the indeclinable 67 particle 56] áccha, used in the sense of 'movement' (gáty-artha) and 'speak' (vadá).

*áccha+gam+Ktvá* = *áccha-gát+ya* 'having gone towards'.

*áccha+vad+Ktvá* = *áccha-uad+LyaP* (6.1.15) = *acchód+ya* 'having saluted or greeted'. When it is not an indeclinable [áccha-] means 'pure' as a qualifying word (adjective).

#### 1.4.70 adáh=án-upa-deśe

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the indeclinable 67 particle 56] adás when no communication to another (án-upadeśe) is implied.

*adáh+kr+Ktvá* = *adáh+kr+LyaP* = *adáh-kr+ya* 'having reflected that', but *adáh kr+tvá* 'having done that', where [adáh] is the neut. nom. acc. sing. of the pronominal base *adás-*.

#### 1.4.71 tiráh=antardhaú

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] tirás used in the sense of 'disappearance' (antardhaú).

*tirás+bhū+Ktvā* = *tiras+bhū+Lyap* = *tiro-bhū-ya* 'having disappeared', but *tiró bhū-tvā* 'having gone aside'.

#### 1.4.72 vibhāṣā kṛÑ-i

[The t.t. gāti 60] optionally (vibhāṣā) [denotes the particle 56 *tirás* 71] co-occurring with the verbal stem *kṛÑ* 'do' (VIII 10).

*tirás-kṛ+Ktvā/tiras+kṛ+LyaP* = *tiras-kṛ-tvā/tiras-kṛt-ya* 'having disappeared' (8.3.42), with alternative forms *tiraḥ-kṛ-tvā/\*-kṛt-ya* but *tiráḥ kṛ-tvā* 'having set aside'.

#### 1.4.73 upājé=anvājé

[The t.t. gāti 60 denotes the particles 56] *upājé*, *anvājé* 'support, aid, assist' [optionally 72 when co-occurring with verbal stem *kṛÑ* 72].

*upājé+kṛ+Ktvā* = *upāje+kṛ+LyaP* = *upāje-kṛ-tvā/\*-kṛt-ya* 'having supported' and similarly *anvāje-kṛ-tvā/\*-kṛt-ya*.

#### 1.4.74 sāksāt-prabhṛtīni ca

[The t.t. gāti 60 denotes the class of particles 56] beginning with *sāksāt* 'before one's eyes' also (ca) [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem *kṛÑ* 72].

*sāksāt-kṛ-tvā/\*-kṛt-ya* 'having made apparent before one's eyes'.

#### 1.4.75 ān-atyādhāne=<sup>1</sup>úrasī-<sup>2</sup>mānāsī

[The t.t. gāti 60 denotes the particles 56] *úrasī* 'in the chest or heart', *mānāsī* 'in the mind' except when used in the sense of 'placing upon' (ān-atyādhāne) [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem *kṛÑ* 72].

*urasi-kṛ-tvā/\*-kṛt-ya* 'having assented', but *úrasī kṛtvā pāṇīm śé-té* 'lies down (or sleeps), having placed one's hands on the chest'.

*manasi-kṛ-tvā/\*-kṛt-ya* 'having taken to heart', but *mānāsī kṛ-tvā* 'having grasped in the mind'.

#### 1.4.76 <sup>1</sup>mádhye-<sup>2</sup>padé-<sup>3</sup>nivácane ca

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particles 56] mádhye ‘in the middle’, padé ‘in the foot’ and nivácane ‘leading to obstructing speech’ [optionally when co-occurring with verbal stem  $kṛ\tilde{N}$  72 except when used in the sense of ‘placing upon’ 75].

1. *madhye-kṛ-tvá/madhye-kṛt-ya* ‘having placed in the middle (i.e., made an intermediary)’.
2. *pade-kṛ-tvá/pade-kṛt-ya* ‘ib.’, but *padé kṛ-tvá śīrah śe-té* ‘having placed one’s head under (the elephant’s) foot’.
3. *nivacane-kṛ-tvá/nivacane-kṛt-ya* ‘having ceased to speak’.

#### 1.4.77 nítýaṁ háste pāṇau=upayámāne

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60] necessarily (nítýam) [denotes the particles 56] háste and pāṇau ‘in the hand’ [when co-occurring with verbal stem  $kṛ\tilde{N}$  72] to denote ‘espouse, take a wife’ (upayámāne).

*haste-kṛt-ya/pāṇau-kṛt-ya* ‘having espoused’, but *háste kṛ-tvá kārṣāpaṇam gatáh* ‘has departed, palming off a kārṣāpaṇa (coin)’.

#### 1.4.78 prādhvám bāndhane

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56] prādhvám ‘favorably’ [co-occurring with verbal stem  $kṛ\tilde{N}$  72] when expressing the sense of ‘bondage’ (bāndhane).

*prādhvám+kṛ+Ktvá* = *prādhvam-kṛ+LyaP* = *prādhvam-kṛt-ya* ‘having bound’, but *prādhvam kṛ-tvá śakaṭam gatáh* ‘has departed after making the cart suitable (for the road)’.

*prādhvám* is an indeclinable in the above sense as a gáti, ending in the phoneme [‘-m] by 1.1.39, but *prādhva-* is a tatpuruṣa compound (2.2.18), in the counter-example.

#### 1.4.79 <sup>1</sup>jīvikā-<sup>2</sup>upaniṣádau=aúpamye

[The t.t. 1 gáti 60 denotes the particle 56 expressions] jīvikā- ‘means of livelihood’ and upaniṣád- ‘the concluding part of a Vedic text’ [co-occurring with verbal stem  $kṛ\tilde{N}$  72] when denoting comparison (aúpamye).

*jīvikā+kṛ+Ktvá* = *jīvikā+kṛ+LyaP* = *jīvikā-kṛt-ya* ‘having made it as though a

means of livelihood', but *jīvikāṇ kṛ-tvā gatāḥ* 'has left after earning his livelihood'.

*upaniṣad+kr+Ktvā* = *upaniṣad+kr+LyaP* = *upaniṣat-kr̥t-ya pāth-a-ti* 'recites as though it were an upaniṣad'.

#### 1.4.80 té prāg dhātoḥ

Those (té) [= upasargá 59 and gáti 60] occur before the verbal stem (with relation to which they have the status of upasargá or gáti).

Examples cited under sūtras 59ff., already illustrate this.

#### 1.4.81 chándasi páre=ápi

In the domain of Chándas [those gáti 60 and upasargá 59] also (ápi) occur after (the verbal stem with relation to which they have the status of gáti or upasargá).

*vāyav indras ca sunvatá ā yātam úpa niskṛtām* (RV 1.2.6) 'O Vāyu and Indra, approach the rendezvous for the Soma pressing' where the preverb *úpa* follows the verbal stem *yā-tam*.

#### 1.4.82 vyāvahitās ca

[In the domain of Chándas 81 they (= gáti 60 and upasargá 59)] occur separated (vyāvahitāḥ) (from the verbal stem with relation to which they have the status of gáti or upasargá).

*ā mandraír indra háribhir yāhí* 'Come, O Indra, with the charming horses' (RV 3.45.1) where the preverb occurs before, but with intervention of three words.  
*gámad vājebhir ā sá naḥ* 'may he come with gifts hither to us' (RV 1.5.3) where *ā* occurs after the verbal stem with intervention of one word.

#### 1.4.83 karma-pravacanīyāḥ

(Here begins the section on) karma-pravacanīya-s.

This section covers subsequent rules up to 97 below. The t.t. [karmapravacanīya] denotes particles (nipātá 56) mentioned in the following sūtras. They are truly governing prepositions (modifying substantive nominal stems) and modify a verbal stem, but differ from both upasargá and gáti. This is a governing rule, and the word [karma-pravacanīya] will recur in all subsequent rules up to 97 below.



#### 1.4.84 ánur lākṣaṇe

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] ánu when a characteristic (lākṣaṇe) is to be indicated.

Here the word [lākṣaṇa] does not signify a mere characteristic, but 'cause' (hetú), cf. 90 below. *parjanya jāpam ánu prā-varṣ-a-t* 'rain began falling after (= as a result of) muttering prayers'. The accusative of [jāpa] is ruled in by 2.3.8.

#### 1.4.85 tṛtīyā=arthe

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56 ánu 84] when it has the value of the third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā=arthe).

*nadīm ánu=avasitā sēnā* 'the army is situated (= encamped) by the river'. The meaning of *ánu* here is equivalent to that of *sahá* which governs the instrumental case.

#### 1.4.86 hīné

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56 ánu 84] when it is used to indicate 'inferior' (hīné).

*ánu śākaṭāyanám vaiyākaraṇāḥ* '(all) grammarians are inferior to Ś.';  
*ánu=árjunam yóddhārah* 'all warriors are inferior to A.'

#### 1.4.87 úpaḥ=ádhiḥ ca

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] úpa when used to indicate 'superior' (ádhiḥ) as well as (ca) ['inferior' 86].

(a) superior: *úpa niṣké kārṣāpaṇam* 'the k. is superior to n.' and in this sense governs the locative case (2.3.9).

inferior: *úpa śākaṭāyanám vaiyākaraṇāḥ*.

#### 1.4.88 <sup>1</sup>ápa-<sup>2</sup>pārī vārjane

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particles 56] ápa and pārī when they are used in the sense of 'exclusion' (vārjane).

*ápa<sup>2</sup>/pārī<sup>2</sup> trīgartebhyo vṛṣṭó devāḥ* 'it rained (everywhere) except in the region of Trīgarta', but *odanám pārī-ṣiñcati* 'sprinkles rice (with water)' where the retroflexion of verb-initial by 8.3.59 indicates that [pārī] here is not a karmapravacanīya. The ablative case is used by virtue of 2.3.10 and reduplication of the particles by 8.3.5.

### 1.4.89 áÑ maryādā-vacané

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] áÑ when it is used to show a limit (maryādā-vacané).

Normally two types of limits are involved: [maryādā] 'exclusive limit' and [abhividhī] 'inclusive limit', but by using the compound expression [maryādā-vacané] both types of limits are included here. *á pātaliṣṭhā vṛṣṭo devāḥ* 'it rained up to (but excluding) Pāṭaliṣṭha; ablative by 2.3.10.

### 1.4.90 <sup>1</sup>lākṣaṇa=<sup>2</sup>ittham-bhūta=ākhyānā-<sup>3</sup>bhāgā-<sup>4</sup>vīpsāsu <sup>1</sup>prāti-<sup>2</sup>pāri-<sup>3</sup>ānavah

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particles 56] prāti, pāri and ānu when they are used to indicate (a) characteristic (lākṣaṇa), (b) statement of fact (ittham-bhūta=ākhyānā), (c) division (bhāgā) and (d) distributive function (vīpsā).

1. *vṛkṣam prāti/pāri/ānu vī-dyot-a-te vidyūt* 'the lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.
2. *sādhū devadattō mātaram prāti* 'D. is good towards his mother'.
3. *yād ātra mām prāti/pāri/ānu syāt* 'that it may fall to my share'.
4. *vṛkṣām vṛkṣām prāti siñc-ā-ti* 'sprinkles tree after tree (= every tree with water)'.

Since [ānu] here is denoted by the t.t. karmapravacanīya as well as 84 above, the special meaning of [lākṣaṇa] is [hetú] 'reason, cause' and not a mere characteristic, and in this sense the kāraka would be the instrumental case (2.3.23) which, though subsequent to (2.3.8) ruling in the accusative with karmapravacanīya, becomes inoperative by the force of 1.4.84.

### 1.4.91 abhīr ā-bhāge

[The t.t. karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] abhī when it is used to indicate [(a) a characteristic (lākṣaṇa), (b) statement of fact (itthambhūta=ākhyānā) and (c) distributive function (vīpsā) 90] excluding 'division' (ābhāge).

Exx. as in 90 above, but when division (bhāgā) is denoted: *yād ātra mām abhī-syāt* 'whatever falls to my share, let that be given'; since [abhī-°] functions here as a preverb (upasargā), by 8.3.87 the initial [s] of the verbal stem is replaced by the retroflex sibilant.

#### 1.4.92 <sup>1</sup>prátiḥ <sup>1</sup>pratinidhí-<sup>2</sup>pratidānayoḥ

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *prāti* when it is used in the sense of ‘representative’ (*pratinidhí*) or ‘exchange’ (*pratidāna*).

1. *abhimanyúr arjunatāḥ prāti* ‘Abh. is the representative of Arj.’
2. *māṣān asyā tilēbhyaḥ prāti yacch-á-ti* ‘he exchanges (= barter) his māṣa beans for sesame seeds’; [*prāti*] in these meanings governs the ablative case (2.3.11).

#### 1.4.93 <sup>1</sup>ádhi-<sup>2</sup>pári ánarthakau

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particles 56] *ádhi*, and *pári* when they do not convey any meaning (*án-arthakau*).

*kútó yám ádhi/pári á-gacch-a-ti* ‘whence has he come?’. By being assigned this t.t. these particles are not subject to operations associated with them otherwise as *upasargás* [e.g., 8.3.87: *adhí-ḡyāt* or loss of accentuation 8.1.70].

#### 1.4.94 súḥ pūjāyām

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *sú* when it indicates ‘excellence, praiseworthiness’ (*pūjāyām*).

*sú siktám bhávata* ‘has been well sprinkled by you (honorific)’; *sú stu-tám bhávata* ‘has been praised well by your honor’; replacement of dental sibilant by the retroflex of the initial of the verbal stem after the particle is debarred (8.3.65).

#### 1.4.95 átir atikrámaṇe ca

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *áti* when it indicates ‘overstepping, exceeding’ (*atikrámaṇe*) and also (*ca*) [excellence 94].

1. *áti siktám evá bhávata* ‘you have only over-sprinkled’.
2. *áti stutám bhávata* ‘been praised well by your honor’.

#### 1.4.96 ápiḥ <sup>1</sup>padārthá-<sup>2</sup>sambhāvana=<sup>3</sup>anvavasargá-<sup>4</sup>garhá-<sup>5</sup>samuccayēṣu

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] *ápi* when it indicates: (a) paucity of a substance (*padārthá*), (b) possibility or assumption

tion (sambhāvana), (c) permission to do as one likes (anvavasargá), (d) censure (garhā) or (e) aggregation (samuccayá).

1. *sárpisah=ápi syát* 'may be a drop of clarified butter'.
  2. *ápi siñc-ét mūlaka-sahasrām* 'may be possible to sprinkle a thousand radishes'.
  3. *ápi siñc-á* 'thou mayest sprinkle, if thou likest'.
  4. *ápi stu-yāt=vṛṣalám* 'he might even praise a low-caste person'.
  5. *ápi siñc-á ápi stu-hí* 'sprinkle as well as praise'.
- In all these examples, as in the preceding sūtras, the initial dental sibilant of the verbal stem is not replaced by the retroflex as required by 8.3.65.

### 1.4.97 ádhir īśvaré

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 83 denotes the particle 56] ádhi when it indicates 'master, lord, ruler' (īśvaré).

*ádhi pañclēṣu brahmadattáh/ádhi brahmadatté pañcalāḥ* 'Br. is the rule of P.' (locative by 2.3.9).

### 1.4.98 vibhāṣā kṛÑ-i

[The t.t. 1 karmapravacanīya 56] optionally (vibhāṣā) denotes [the particle 56 ádhi 97] co-occurring with verbal stem kṛÑ- 'do' (VIII 10).

*ádhi kṛ-tvā / adhi-kṛt-ya* [*\*adhi+kṛ+LyaP*] where it functions as a preverb, but in *yád átra mām ádhi kar-i-ṣyá-ti* if it is [karmapravacanīya] it does not lose its accent as when it is [gáti] 8.1.71.

### 1.4.99 laḥ parasmaipadám

[The t.t. 1] parasmaipadá denotes (the substitutes of) l-members.

1. The cover symbol [l] stands for various tenses and moods: (a) lAṬ 'present indicative'; (b) lIT 'perfect'; (c) lUT 'periphrastic future'; (d) lṚṬ 'sigmatic future'; (e) lET 'subjunctive mood'; (f) lOT 'imperative mood'; (g) laÑ 'imperfect tense'; (h) lIÑ 'optative or potential mood'; (i) lUÑ 'aorist'; and (j) lṛÑ 'conditional'. A sub-variety of lIÑ (= āśir-lIÑ) is the Benedictive or Precative mood.
2. The substitutes of l-members are by 3.4.77-8: tiP, tás, jhi; siP, thás, thá; miP, vás, mäs; tá, átām, jha; thás, áthām, dhvám; íT, váhi, máhiÑ, consisting of six triplets, each triplet representing in order the singular, dual and plural (1.4.101); the first and fourth belong to the third person (prathama-puruṣá), the second and fifth to the second person (madhyama-puruṣá) and the third and sixth to the first person (uttama-puruṣá) (1.4.102). This general rule (utsargá) stipulates that all these l-substitutes are denoted by the t.t. [parasmaipadá]. The following rule is an exception (apavádá) to this general rule.

#### 1.4.100 <sup>1</sup>táÑ-<sup>2</sup>āmaú=ātmanepadám

[The t.t. 1] ātmanepadá denotes [the substitutes of l-members 99] indicated by [the siglum] táÑ [= tá ātām jha, thās āthām dhvām, íT váhi máhiÑ] and the affix °-āná- [=ŚānáC KānáC].

This is an exception to the preceding rule which constitutes the general rule (utsargá). Since by 99 táÑ is included within the t.t. [parasmaipadá] while this assigns it to [ātmanepadá], by rules 1-2 of this pādá the t.t. [ātmanepadá] will uniquely or exclusively denote [táÑ, āná] while the rest of l-member substitutes are uniquely [parasmaipadá].

#### 1.4.101 tiÑas tríṇi tríṇi <sup>1</sup>prathamá-<sup>2</sup>madhyamá=<sup>3</sup>uttamáh

[The t.tt. 1] prathamá ‘third’, madhyamá- ‘second’ and uttamá ‘first’ respectively (1.3.10) denote the three (and) three triplets of tiÑ [parasmaipadá and ātmanepadá 99-100].

The repetition of the word [tríṇi] is to cover both [parasmaipadá and ātmanepadá] l-substitutes. It may be noted that what is ‘third person’ in western grammatical terminology is here prathamá (lit. ‘first’) while the ‘first person’ is [uttamá ‘highest’]. The word [púruṣa] associated with these triplets is considered by Pāṇiníyas as a pre-Pāṇinian technical term.

#### 1.4.102 táni=<sup>1</sup>ekavacaná-<sup>2</sup>dvivacaná-<sup>3</sup>bahuvacanāni ekaśáh

Those (táni) = [three and three triplets of tiÑ 101] taken one by one (ekaśáh) have the [t.tt. 1] ekavacaná ‘singular, dvivacaná ‘dual’ and bahuvacaná ‘plural’ to denote them respectively (1.3.10).

[ekavacaná] ‘denoting one’, [dvivacaná] ‘denoting two’ and [bahuvacaná] ‘denoting many’ are represented respectively as follows: singular: tiP, siP, miP; tá, thās, íT; dual: tás, thās, vās; ātām, āthām, váhi; plural: jhi, tá, mās; jha, dhvām, máhiÑ.

#### 1.4.103 sUpaḥ

[The triplets 101] of the affixes denoted by the siglum sUP [= sU au Jas, am auT Śas, Tā bhyām bhis, Ñe bhyām bhyas, ŅasI bhyām bhyas, Ņas os ām, Ñi os suP 4.1.2 taken one by one have the t.tt. ekavacaná, dvivacaná and bahuvacaná to denote them 102 respectively].

1. ekavacaná: sU, am, Tā, Ñe, ŅasI, Ņas, and Ñi.
2. dvivacaná: au, auT, bhyām, bhyām, bhyām, os, and os.

3. bahuvacanā: Jas, Śas, bhis, bhyas, bhyas, ām and suP.

4. These seven triplets of sUP have respectively been given the t.t. prathamā 'first' (nominative), dvitīyā 'second' (accusative), tṛtīyā 'third' (instrumental), caturthī 'fourth' (dative), pañcami 'fifth' (ablative), ṣaṣṭhī 'sixth' (genitive) and saptamī 'seventh' (locative) cases [vibhākti 104 below].

### 1.4.104 vibhāktiś ca

[Each set of three triplets 101] has [t.t. 1] vibhākti to denote it [for tiñ 101 as well as sUP 103].

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.38; 2.44,64; 3.4; 2.1.6;; 5.3.1-27; 6.1.168; 3.132; 7.1.73; 8.4.11.

### 1.4.105 yuṣmādi=upapadé samānā=adhikaraṇe sthānīny=āpi madhyamāḥ

Madhyamā (second person) triplets are introduced (after a verbal stem) when (the pronominal stem) yuṣmād 'you' co-occurs as an upapadā 'subordinate word' (= subjoined or complementary item) either expressed (sthānīni) (or implied) and denotes the same thing (samānā=adhikaraṇé) (= or is in general grammatical agreement).

Thus: (tvām) pāc-a-si, (yuvām) pāca-thas, (yūyām) pāc-a-tha 'thou art cooking, you two are cooking, all of you are cooking' respectively.

### 1.4.106 prahāsé ca mánya=upapade manyāter uttamā ekavát=ca

When irony (prahāsé) is indicated and the verbal theme mán-ya- 'think' (IV 97) co-occurs as an upapadā 'complementary word' [madhyamā triplets are introduced after (the principal) verbal stem 105] but the uttamā (first person) triplet singular (uttamā ekavát) is introduced after the verbal stem mán-ya.

*ehi mánye odanám bhok-syá-se* 'come, thou thinkest: "I will eat the rice" (but there is no rice, all of it has been eaten by the guests)'. When irony is not intended the phrase will read as *ehi mányse odanám bhok-sy-é* 'come, thou art thinking: "I will eat rice" (thou thinkest well)'. /

### 1.4.107 asmády uttamáh

Uttamá (first person) triplets are introduced [after a verbal stem] when (the pronominal stem) asmád- 'we' [co-occurs as a complementary word (upapadá) either expressed (or implied) and denotes the same thing 105].

(*ahám*) *gácch-ā-mi*, (*āvām*) *gácchā-vas*, (*vayām*) *gácch-ā-mas* respectively meaning 'I go, we two go, all of us go'.

### 1.4.108 śeṣe prathamáh

Prathamá (third person) triplets are introduced (after a verbal stem) when (a pronominal stem) other than (śeṣe) [yusmád 105 and asmád 107] co-occurs as a complementary word (upapadá) either expressed or implied and denotes the same thing [= or is in grammatical agreement 105].

*pác-a-ti*, *pác-a-tas*, *pác-anti* '(he, she, it) cooks, they two cook, they all cook' respectively.

### 1.4.109 páraḥ saṁnikarṣáh sāmhitā

[The t.t. 1] sāmhitā 'placing together' denotes the maximum contiguity (sam-nikarṣáh) [of phonemes].

An interval of half a mātrā is supposed to denote this maximum contiguity:  
*dádhi+átra* = *dádhy-átra* (6.1.77) 'curds here'.

As a t.t. occurs in 1.2.39; 6.1.72-157; 3.114-39; 8.2.108.

### 1.4.110 virāmáh avasānam

[The t.t. 1] avasāna denotes cessation (virāmá of articulation = pause, pausa).

As a t.t. occurs in 8.3.15; 4.56.

### 2.1.1 samarthāḥ pada-vidhīḥ

An operation (vidhī) on padās (1.4.14ff.) (takes effect) only when they are semantically and syntactically connected (samarthāḥ).

This is a metarule (paribhāṣā) and whenever such operations are involved, the word [samarthā] ‘semantically and syntactically connected’ is to be understood. The compound *rāja-puruṣā-ḥ* alternates with *rājñ-ah puruṣa-ḥ* and both derive from the underlying deep structure [*\*rājan+Ñas+puruṣa+sU*] denoting ‘servant of the king’; now in the string like *bhāryā rājñah, puruṣo devadattāśya* ‘wife of the king, servant of Devadatta’, although *rājñah puruṣah* are contiguous padās, the operation of compounding is blocked, despite 2.2.8, since there is no semantic relationship connecting these two. Similarly by 24 below we have the string *kaṣṭām śritāḥ* [*\*kaṣṭā+am+śritā+sU*] = *kaṣṭā-śri-tah*, but in the string *pasyā devadatta kaṣṭam, śritō viṣṇudatto gurukulām* ‘look at the trouble O Devatta, Viṣṇudatta has taken refuge in the teacher’s house’ there is not any semantic relationship between the two contiguous padās *kaṣṭām śritāḥ* in this string which will permit the derivation of a compound.

### 2.1.2 sUP āmantrite para=aṅgavát svāre

[An expression ending in 1.1.72] sUP triplets occurring before a vocative (āmantrite) [with which it is semantically and syntactically connected 1] is treated as an integral part of the subsequent pre-affixal stem (para=aṅgavát) with respect to accentuation (svāre).

By 6.1.198 the initial syllable of a vocative bears the udātta accent; thus in the expression *úrjo napāt sahasvan* ‘O mighty son of strength’ the pada [úrj+Ñas] precedes the vocatives *napāt sahasvan* and bears the udātta accent on its first syllable.

### 2.1.3 prāk kádārāt samāsāḥ

[The t.t.] samāsā ‘compound’ denotes (all items resulting from the application of subsequent rules in this section) prior to (prāk) [the sūtra (kádārāḥ karmadhārayé) 2.2.38].

This is a governing rule and the word [samāsā] recurs in the whole of this section.

### 2.1.4 sahá sUP-ā

[An item ending in (1.1.72) sUP triplets 2] combines with (sahá) another item (ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets [to generate a compound 3].

This is also a governing rule and the three words [sUP 2] and *śaha* sUP-ā will also



recur along with [samarthá 1 and samāsá 3] in the subsequent rules of this section. Thus in 14 below [dvitīyā śrita-atīta= ° etc.] the ellipsis is filled in by [dvitīyā(antam 1.1.72) sUP(antām 2) śritá=ādibhiḥ sUp(antaīḥ 1.1.72) samarthaiḥ 1 sahá 3 sāmasyate 3].

## 2.1.5 avyayī-bhāvāḥ

[The t.t.] avyayī-bhāvā [compound 2] denotes all items derived by the application of subsequent rules (up to 21 below).

This is also a governing rule. All such rules are deemed to have the svaritá accent (1.3.11). This t.t. will recur in all the rules from 6 to 21.

**2.1.6 ávyayam <sup>1</sup>vibhákṭi-<sup>2</sup>samīpá-<sup>3</sup>samṛddhi-<sup>4</sup>vy-ṛddhi-<sup>5</sup>artha=abhāvá=<sup>6</sup>atyayá-<sup>7</sup>á-samprati-<sup>8</sup>śabda-prādurbhāvá-<sup>9</sup>paścāt=<sup>10</sup>yáthā=<sup>11</sup>ānupūrvya-<sup>12</sup>yaúgapadya-<sup>13</sup>sādrśya-<sup>14</sup>sampátti-<sup>15</sup>sākalya=<sup>16</sup>antavacanēsu**

An indeclinable (ávyaya) [ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 2 combines with 4 a semantically and syntactically connected nominal padá (sUPā) 4 to form an avyayibhāvā 5 compound 3] if it is used to connote: (1) what is denoted by a nominal (sUP) triplet (vibhákṭi 1.4.104), (2) proximity (samīpá), (3) prosperity (samṛddhi), (4) adversity (vyṛddhi), (5) absence of an object (artha=abhāvá), (6) a passing (away) (atyayá), (7) now is not the proper time (á-samprati), (8) the appearance of a sound (śabda-prādurbhāvá), (9) posteriority (paścāt) (10) the sense of [yáthā], (11) sequence (ānupūrvya), (12) simultaneity (yaúgapadya), (13) similarity (sādrśya), (14) fulfilment (sampátti), (15) completeness (sākalya) and (16) end or terminus (antavacanā).

1. *striṣú ádhi-kr̥t-ya* = *adhi-stri* 'with reference to women'.
2. *kumbhásya samīpé* = *upa-kumbhám* 'near the pitcher'.
3. *samṛddhir madráṇām* = *su-madrām* 'things are prospering with the Madrá-s'.
4. *yávanānām vy-ṛddhiḥ* (= *ṛddher ábhāvah*) = *dur-yavanám* 'things are not prospering with the Yavana-s'.
5. *ábhāvo mákṣikāṇām* = *nir-makṣikám* 'absence from flies'.
6. *himásya atyayám* = *ati-himám* 'the time is now when snow is past'.
7. *nīdrá samprati ná* = *ati-nīdrám* 'not the proper time for sleep'.
8. *pānini-śabdó loké prá-kāś-a-te* = *iti-pānini* 'the name Pānini (is being spread)'.
9. *rāthānām paścāt (pādātám)* = *anu-rathám (pādātám)* '(the infantry) is behind the armed chariots'.
10. There are four meanings of [yáthā]: (a) fitness (*yogyatā*), (b) repetition (*vṛpsā*), (c) similarity (*sādrśya*) and (d) not going beyond (*án-ati-vṛtti*) of something

(padārthā). (a) *anu-rūpām* = *rūpa-yogyām* 'fittingly'; (b) *praty-arthām* = *artham artham prāti* 'object by object'; (c) *śāktim an-ati-kram-ya* = *yathā-śakti* 'not going beyond one's ability' and (d) *hāreḥ sādṛśyam* = *sa-harī* 'like Hari'.

11. *jyēṣṭhasya ānupūrvyeṇa* = *anu-jyēṣṭhām* 'in the order of seniority'.
12. *cakreṇa yugapād* = *sa-cakrām* 'simultaneously with the wheel'.
13. *sadṛśāḥ sākhy-ā* = *sa-sakhī* 'like a friend'. While normal similarity is already covered by the meaning (c) of [yāthā] under (10) above, [sādṛśya] here means non-essential secondary similarity.
14. *kṣatrānām sampātīḥ* = *sa-kṣatrām* 'as befitting a warrior'.
15. *tṛṇam āpi-ā-pari-tyaj-ya* = *sa-tṛṇām* 'right down to a blade of grass'.
16. *agni-grantha-paryantām ādhī-te* = *sāgnī-ādhi-te* 'studies up to the end of section on Agni'.

### 2.1.7 yāthā=ā-sādṛśye

[The indeclinable 6 nominal stem 2] yāthā [combines with a syntactically and semantically connected 1 nominal padā 4 to form an avyayībhavā 6 compound 3] except when it signifies 'resemblance' (ā-sādṛśye).

*yathā-vṛddhām brāhmaṇān ā-mantr-ay-a-sva* 'invite every old brahmin', but *yāthā devadattās tāthā brahmadattāḥ* 'B. resembles D'. In the compound *sa-harī* illustrating 6 (10 d) above, the meaning of [sādṛśya] in that compound is a property of [sahā] which is replaced by [sa-°] by 6.3.81 and not of [yāthā], since in this sense it is debarred from forming a compound.

### 2.1.8 yāvad avadhāraṇe

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padā 2] yāvat [combines with 4 a syntactically and semantically connected 1 nominal padā 4 to form an avyayībhavā 6 compound 3] when it is used to signify 'limitation' (avadhāraṇe).

*yāvad-amatrām brāhmaṇān ā-mantr-ay-a-sva* 'invite as many brahmins as there are pots', but *yāvad dattām tāvad bhuktām* 'it was eaten so long as it was served' (i.e., one had no idea of how much was actually eaten).

### 2.1.9 sUP pratinā mātrā=arthé

An item (ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets [combines with 4 the indeclinable nominal padā 2] prāti [to form an avyayībhavā 6 compound 3] when it indicates 'a bit' (mātrā=arthé).

*śāka-pratī* = *śākasya mātrā* 'a little (quantity) of vegetables'; *sūpa-pratī* 'a little of

soup', but *vṛkṣām prāti ví-dyot-a-te* 'lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.

The repetition of the word [sUP] here while it was recurring from 2 above is to block the recurrence of [ávyaya 6] in the following sūtras.

### 2.1.10 <sup>1</sup>akṣa-<sup>2</sup>śālākā-<sup>3</sup>saṁkhyāḥ páriṇā

[The nominal padás 2] akṣá- 'dice', śālākā 'a small ivory stick used in gambling' and numerals (saṁkhyā) [combine with 4 the indeclinable nominal padá 4] pári [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

This particular formation is restricted to gambling games and has relevance to a game known as Pañcikā in which five dice or ivory sticks are thrown; in a given throw when all five face upwards or downwards the player wins, otherwise he loses. Thus *akṣa-pari* 'unlucky throw of dice'; similarly *śālākā-pari* 'unlucky throw of sticks'; *eka-pari*, *dvi-pari* 'unlucky by one, two, etc.'

### 2.1.11 vibhāṣā

The word [vibhāṣā] 'optionally' (governs the subsequent rules beginning with this section and ending with 2.2.35).

This governing rule provides that compounds are hereafter formed by subsequent rules optionally which implies that compounds thus formed alternate freely with the uncompounded string of [padás] from which the compounds are derived. It also implies that the compounds generated by rules 6-10 are obligatory (nitya) compounds.

### 2.1.12 <sup>1</sup>ápa-<sup>2</sup>pári-<sup>3</sup>bahís=<sup>4</sup>áñcavaḥ pañcamyá

[The indeclinable nominal padás 2] ápa-°, pári-°, bahís-° and items (ending in 1.1.72) -°-añc- [optionally 11 combine with syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] (ending in 1.1.72) the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamyá) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

1. *apa-trigartám vṛstó deváh* 'it rained away from T.' or alternatively: *ápa trígartebhyo vṛstó deváh*.
2. *pari-trigartam/pári trígartebhyah* 'around Tr.'
3. *bahih-śālám/bahih śālāyāḥ* 'outside the school, extra-curricular'.
4. *prāg-grāmám/prāg grāmāt* 'east of the village'.

### 2.1.13 áÑ 'maryádā'abhividhyóh

[The indeclinable nominal padá 2] áÑ [optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 (ending in 1.1.72) the fifth sUP triplet 12 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when indicating exclusive (maryádā) or inclusive (abhividhī) limit.

1. *ā-pāṭaliputrām/ ā pāṭaliputrāt* 'up to (but excluding) P.'
2. *ā-kumarām/ ā kumārāt yásāh pāṇineh* 'P's fame has reached even the young boys'; ablative by 2.3.10.

### 2.1.14 lākṣaṇena='abhī-<sup>2</sup>prāti=ābhimukhye

[The indeclinable nominal padás 2] abhī-° and prāti-° [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when they denote a direction towards (ābhimukhye) and the nominal padás imply the goal of that direction (lākṣaṇena).

*abhy-agnī/agnīm abhī śalabhāḥ pāt-anti* 'moths fly in the direction of the fire'; similarly *praty-agnī/agnīm prāti* but *srughnam prāti gatāḥ* 'returning, he turned towards the direction of Sr.'

### 2.1.15 ánur yat-samayā

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padá 2] ánu-° 'after' [optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] whose proximity is indicated by it (yat-samayā) [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

*anu-vanám/vānam ánu aśánir gataḥ* 'the thunderbolt fell near the forest', but *vṛkṣám ánu ví-dyot-a-te vidyút* 'lightning flashes in the direction of the tree'.

### 2.1.16 yásya ca=āyāmāḥ

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padá 2 ánu-° 15 optionally 11 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] whose extent (āyāmā) is indicated by it [to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

*anu-gaṅgám/gaṅgām ánu vārāṇasī* 'V. extends along the river G.' But *vṛkṣám ánu vídyot-a-te vidyút*.

### 2.1.17 tiṣṭhad-gú-prabhṛtīni ca

The class of words whose first member is tiṣṭhad-gú are [avyayībhāvá 6 compounds 3] also (ca).

*tīṣṭhanti gávo yásmin kálé dóhanāya* = *tiṣṭhad-gú* 'time for milking when the cows stand to be milked'.

### 2.1.18 pāré mādhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā

[The indeclinable 6 nominal padás 2] pāré and mādhye (respectively denoting 'across' and 'amid') [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 (ending in 1.1.72)] the sixth sUP triplet [to form an avayayībhāvá 6 compound 3 optionally 11].

*pāre-gaṅgám/pāré gáṅgāyāḥ* 'across the river G.'; or by 2.2.28 *gaṅgā-pārám*; the operation of this would have been blocked by the present rule if the particle [vā] were not used. Similarly *madhye-gaṅgám/mādhye gáṅgāyāḥ/gaṅgā-madhyám* 'in the midst of the river Ganges'.

### 2.1.19 saṁkhyā vāmśyena

A numeral (saṁkhyā) [ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 2 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] denoting a 'lineal descendant' (vāmśyena) [to form an avayayībhāvá 6 compound 3 optionally 11].

[vāmśya] 'lineal descendant' pertains either to (1) consanguinous group or family or (2) an intellectual or spiritual one.

1. *ekaviṁśati-bhāradvājám* 'a lineage of Bh. consisting of 21 members'.

2. *tráyo múnayo vyākáraṇasya vāmśyāḥ* = *tri-muní vyākáraṇam* 'a grammar of three seers'.

### 2.1.20 nadíbhīś ca

[A numeral 19 ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 2 combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] denoting the name of a river (nadíbhīḥ) [optionally 11 to form an avayayībhāvá 6 compound 3].

*sapta-gaṅgám / saptānām gáṅgānām samāhārāḥ* 'at the confluence of seven G.s'; *dvi-yamunám, pañca-nadám* respectively denoting 'at the confluence of two Y.s/five rivers'.

### 2.1.21 anya-padārthé ca samjñāyām

[A nominal padá 2 combines with 4 a nominal padá 4 denoting a river 20 to form an avyayībhāvá 6 compound 3] when signifying something distinct from the constituent members (anya-padārthé) to designate a name (samjñāyām).

*un-matta-gaṅgám* = *unmattā gaṅgā yāmin pradēśe*; *lohita-gaṅgám* = *lohita gaṅgā yāmin pradēśe* are proper names of places where the river rages or is red in color.

### 2.1.22 tatpuruṣāḥ

[The t.t.] tatpuruṣā [samāsā 'compound 3] (denotes compounds formed by subsequent rules in the section beginning here and ending with 2.2.23 below).

This is also a governing rule and the words [tatpuruṣāḥ samāsāḥ 3] will recur in each of the following sūtras up to 2.2.23.

### 2.1.23 dvigús ca

[The t.t. tatpuruṣā 22 samāsā 3] also (ca) denotes [the compound 3] named Dvigú (52 below).

By thus including Dvigú in this section the samāsānta rules 5.4. 68-160 apply to it: *pañca-rājám* 'an aggregate of five princes' [*\*pañca+Jas+rājan+Jas* = *pañca+0+rājan+Jas* 7.1.22 = *pañca+rājan+TáC+0* 5.4.91 = *pañca-rāja+d* = *pañca-rājá-* 6.1.97 = *pañca-rājá+am* 2.4.1]

### 2.1.24 dvitīyā <sup>1</sup>śritá=<sup>2</sup>átīta=<sup>3</sup>patitá-<sup>4</sup>gatá=<sup>5</sup>átyasta-<sup>6</sup>prāpta=<sup>7</sup>āpannaiḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) [optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) śritá- 'resorted to, attained', (2) átīta- 'gone beyond', (3) patitá- 'fallen', (4) gatá- 'gone', (5) átyasta- 'thrown beyond', (6) prāpta- 'reached', (7) āpanna- 'arrived at, attained' [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. *kaṣṭám śritáh/kaṣṭá-śritah* 'fallen upon misfortune' (6.2.47 for accent).
2. *kāntāram átīnah/kāntārātīnāḥ* 'gone beyond the forest'.
3. *nárakam patitáh/náraka-patitah* 'fallen into hell'.
4. *grāmam gatah/grāma-gatah* 'gone to the village' (6.2.47 for accent).
5. *tarāṅgān átyastah/tarāṅgātyastah* 'thrown beyond the waves'.

6. *sukhām prāptah/sukhā-prāptah* ‘attained happiness’. *sukhām āpannah/sukhāpannah* ‘ibid.’ (Accent for 2, 3, 5, 6 by 6.2.144).

### 2.1.25 svayám Kténa

[The nominal *padá* 2] *svayám* ‘by oneself’ [optionally 11 combines with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72] the affix *Ktá* [to form a *tat-puruṣá* 22 compound 3].

*svayam-dhauṭaú/svayám dhauṭaú pādaú* ‘feet washed by oneself’.

### 2.1.26 khátvā kṣépe

[The nominal *padá* 2] *khátvā* ‘bed’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 combines with an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix *Ktá* 25 to form a *tatpuruṣá* 22 compound 3] to denote censure (kṣépe).

*khaṭvārūdhá-* ‘gone astray’, but *khátvām ārūdhah* ‘ascended the bed’ does not convey censure, and so when censure is to be implied, the compound is necessarily formed contra the governing rule 11 above. Cf. 6.2.147 for accent.

### 2.1.27 sāmí

[The indeclinable 6 nominal *padá* 2] *sāmí* ‘half’ [optionally 11 combines with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix *Ktá* 25 to form a *tatpuruṣá* 22 compound 3].

*sāmi-kṛtām / sāmí kṛtām* ‘half done’.

### 2.1.28 kālāḥ

[Nominal *padás* 2] denoting ‘time’ (*kālāḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 optionally 11 combine with 4 an expression ending in 1.1.72 the affix *Ktá* 25 to form a *tatpuruṣá* 22 compound 3].

*āhar-atisṛtaḥ (muhūrtāḥ)/āhar ātisṛtaḥ* ‘which has passed through the day’;  
*māsa-pramitāḥ/māsam pramitaḥ (candrāmāḥ)* ‘new moon, engaged in measuring out the month’.

### 2.1.29 atyanta-saṃyogé ca

[Nominal padás 2 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 24 optionally 11 combine with nominal padás 4] also (ca) when expressing a complete connection (atyanta-saṃyogé) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*muhūrtám sukhám/muhūrtā-sukham* ‘happiness lasting a muhūrtá’.

### 2.1.30 ṭṛtīyā tat-kṛtā=arthena guṇa-vācanena

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (ṭṛtīyā) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting a property (guṇa-vācanena) which is produced by what is signified by the prior member (tat=kṛtā=arthena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*śaṅkulāyā khaṇḍāḥ/śaṅkulā-khaṇḍāḥ* ‘cut by a pair of nippers’; *kirīṇā kāṇāḥ/kirī-kāṇāḥ* ‘blinded in one eye by a boar’.

### 2.1.31 <sup>1</sup>pūrva-<sup>2</sup>sadṛśa-<sup>3</sup>samā=<sup>4</sup>ūnā=artha-<sup>5</sup>kalahā-<sup>6</sup>nipuṇā-<sup>7</sup>miśrā-<sup>8</sup>ślakṣṇaiḥ

[A nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] pūrva- ‘previous, prior’, sadṛśa- ‘like’, samā- ‘same’, words denoting ‘lacking’ (ūnā=artha), kalahā- ‘strife, quarrel’, nipuṇā- ‘skilful’, miśrā- ‘mixed’ and ślakṣṇā- ‘polished’ [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *māsena pūrvah/māsa-pūrvah* ‘previous by a month’.
2. *mātrā sadṛśaḥ/mātrī-sadṛśaḥ* ‘resembling the mother’.
3. *pitṛā samāḥ/pitṛī-samāḥ* ‘equal to the father’.
4. *kārṣāpaṇena vikalam/kārṣāpaṇa-vikalam* ‘short by a k.’
5. *asīnā kalahāḥ/asī-kalahāḥ* ‘a fight with swords’.
6. *vācā nipuṇaḥ/vān-nipuṇaḥ* ‘skilful at words’.
7. *guḍēna miśraḥ/guḍā-miśraḥ* ‘mixed with molasses’.
8. *ācāreṇa ślakṣṇāḥ/ācārā-ślakṣṇāḥ* ‘polished in manners’.

### 2.1.32 <sup>1</sup>kartṛ-<sup>2</sup>kāraṇe kṛtā bahulām

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30] denoting the agent (kartāri) or the instrument (kāraṇe) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] a kṛt affix (primary derivative affix) in various ways (bahulām) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].



1. denoting an agent: *āhinā hatāḥ/āhi-hataḥ* ‘killed by a snake’.
2. denoting an instrument: *paraśúnā chinnāḥ/paraśúc-chinnaḥ* ‘chopped with an axe’.
3. compounds are not formed: *bhikṣābhir uṣitāḥ* ‘lives on alms’; *dātrena lū-navān* ‘has cut with a sickle’; *paraśúnā chinnāvān* ‘has chopped with an axe’.

### 2.1.33 kṛtyair adhika=ārtha-vacané

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 denoting the agent or instrument 32 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4 ending in 1.1.72] kṛtya (3.1.95-132) affixes when conveying the sense of exaggeration’ (adhika=artha-vacané) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. denoting an agent: *kākena péyā/kāka-peyā nadī* ‘a shallow river (which has so little water in it that it can only be drunk by a crow)’.
2. denoting an instrument: *vātena chedyām/vāta-c-chedyam tñnam* ‘grass (which is so tender that it) can be cut by the breeze’.

### 2.1.34 ānnena vyāñjanam

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a condiment (vyāñjana) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30 optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting food (ānnena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*dādhnā (úpasiktāḥ) odanāḥ / dādhy-odanah* ‘rice, (sprinkled with) curds’. The syntactic connection is provided by the alternative string of padás.

### 2.1.35 bhakṣyèṇa miśrīkāraṇam

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 30] denoting a ‘relish’ (miśrī-kāraṇam) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting an item of food (bhakṣyèṇa) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*guḍéna (miśrāḥ) dhānāḥ / guḍā-dhānāḥ* ‘barley mixed with molasses’; *guḍéna (miśrāḥ) pñthukāḥ* ‘fried rice mixed with molasses’ = *guḍā-pñthukāḥ*

### 2.1.36 caturthī <sup>1</sup>tad-artha=<sup>2</sup>artha-<sup>3</sup>bali-<sup>4</sup>hita-<sup>5</sup>sukha-<sup>6</sup>rakṣitaiḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthī)

[optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] (1) signifying something for what is denoted by the prior member (tád-ārtha) or with (2) ártha- 'purpose', (3) balí- 'sacrificial offering', (4) hitá- 'beneficial', (5) sukhá- 'agreeable', and (6) rakṣitá- 'reserved, protected' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *yūpāya dāru/yūpa-dāru* 'wood for sacrificial post'; *kuṇḍalāya hiraṇyam/kuṇḍala-hiraṇyām* 'gold for ear-rings', but not from *rāndhanāya sthālī* 'pot for cooking'.
2. By an interpreting vārttika an obligatory compound is enjoined: *brāhmaṇārthām pāyaḥ* 'milk (or water) for the brahmin'.
3. *kūberāya balīḥ/kubera-balīḥ* 'a sacrificial offering to K.'
4. *góbhyo hitám/gó-hitam* 'beneficial to cattle' (6.2.45 for accent).
5. *ásve-bhyaḥ sukhám/aśva-sukhám* 'agreeable or conducive to the happiness of horses'.
6. *gó-bhyaḥ rakṣitám/gó-rakṣitam* 'reserved for cattle' (6.2.45).

### 2.1.37 pañcamī bhayéna

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) [optionally 11 combines with a nominal padá 4] bhayá- 'fear' [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*vṛke-bhyo bhayám/vṛka-bhayám* 'fear of wolves'; *caurē-bhyo bhayám/caura-bhayám* 'fear of thieves'. This rule also applies to synonyms of [bhayá] such as [bhītá-] 'was afraid of', [bhīti-, bhī] 'fear'.

### 2.1.38 <sup>1</sup>apetá=<sup>2</sup>ápoḍha-<sup>3</sup>muktá-<sup>4</sup>patitá=<sup>5</sup>apatrastáir alpaśáh

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 37 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) apetá- 'parted', (2) ápoḍha- 'carried away', (3) muktá- 'released', (4) patitá- 'fallen' and apatrastá- 'afraid of', in a very few cases (alpaśáh) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *sukhád apetáh/sukhāpetáh* 'parted from happiness'.
2. *kālpanāyāḥ=ápoḍhah/kalpanāpoḍháh* 'carried away by imagination'.
3. *akráta=muktáh/cakra-muktáh* 'released from the wheel'.
4. *svargāt patitáh/svarga-patitáh* 'fallen from paradise'.
5. *taraṅgē-bhyaḥ=apatrastáh/taraṅgāpatrastáh* 'afraid of waves'.

Governing rule 11 operates here.

### 2.1.39 <sup>1</sup>stoká=<sup>2</sup>antiká-<sup>3</sup>dūrā=<sup>4</sup>artha-<sup>4</sup>kṛcchrāṇi Kténa

[Nominal padas 2] denoting the sense of (1) stoká- ‘a little’, (2) antiká- ‘near’ (3) dūrā- ‘far’ and (4) the expression kṛcchrā- ‘difficulty’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 37 optionally 11 combine with the nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Kta [to form a Tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

1. *stok-āt=muk-tá-h/stokān-muk-tá-h* ‘barely released’.
2. *antik-āt=ā-ga-tá-h/antik-ād-ā-ga-tá-h* ‘come from near’.
3. *dūr-āt=ā-ga-tá-h/dūr-ād-ā-ga-tá-h* ‘come from far’.
4. *kṛcchr-āt=lab-dhá-h/kṛcchr-āl-lab-dhá-h* ‘obtained with difficulty’.

These expressions constitute what are known as [a-luK-samāsas] (6.3.2) where the sUP triplet of the first member is not replaced by Ø<sup>1</sup> (luK) as required by 2.4.71.

### 2.1.40 saptamī śauṇḍāśh

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) [optionally 11 combines with the nominal padá 4 class] whose first member is śauṇḍá- ‘adroit, skilful’ [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

*akṣe-su śauṇḍāśh/akṣá-śauṇḍāśh* ‘skilful at dice’. The list of words headed by [śauṇḍá] forms part of the Gaṇapāṭha.

### 2.1.41 <sup>1</sup>siddhá-<sup>2</sup>śuṣká-<sup>3</sup>pakvá-<sup>4</sup>bandhaś ca

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4] (1) siddhá- ‘perfected’, (2) śuṣká- ‘dried’, (3) pakvá- ‘cooked’ and (4) bandhá- ‘binding, combination’ [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

1. *sāṁkāśye siddháśh/sāṁkāśya-siddhaśh* ‘perfect in S.’
2. *ātapé śuṣkáśh/ātapá-śuṣkaśh* ‘sun-dried’.
3. *śthalyām pakváśh/sthālī-pakvaśh* ‘cooked in a pot’.
4. *cakré bandháśh/cakrá-bandhaśh* ‘bound on the wheel’.
5. A separate rule is necessary since these are not included in the śauṇḍá-list of Gaṇapāṭha.

### 2.1.42 dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣépe

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4] denoting the sense of dhvāṅksa- ‘crow’ when expressing the sense of ‘derision, contempt’ (kṣépe) [to form a tatpuruṣa 22 compound 3].

*tīrthē dhvāṅkṣa (iva) = tīrthā-dhvāṅkṣaḥ/tīrthā-kākāḥ, tīrthā-vāyasah* ‘an unstable person (lit. a crow in a sacred bathing place)’, but *tīrthē dhvāṅkṣas tīstḥ-a-ti* ‘a crow is remaining in the sacred bathing space’.

### 2.1.43 kṛtyair ṛṇé

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 optionally 11 combines with nominal padás 4 ending in 1.1.72] kṛtya affixes [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when signifying a debt (ṛṇé).

*māsē déyam/māsā-deyam ṛṇām* ‘a debt to be paid within a month’. The word [ṛṇé] by implication extends the scope of this rule to other situations when an obligation of time is involved; thus *purvāḥṇé-geyam/pūrvāḥṇá-geyam sāma* ‘a sáman that is to be recited in the morning’ in which the prior member retains its sUP triplet by 6.3.14.

### 2.1.44 samjñāyām

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when denoting a name (samjñāyām).

*drāṇye-tilakāḥ* ‘wild sesamum’ with non-replacement of sUP triplet of the prior member by 6.3.9.

### 2.1.45 Kténa=<sup>1</sup>aho-<sup>2</sup>rātra=avayavāḥ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40] denoting the divisions of day (áhan) and night (rātrí) [combines with a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*pūrvahṇé kṛtām/pūrvāḥṇá-kṛtam* ‘accomplished in the day’; *aparāḥṇé kṛtām/aparāḥṇá-kṛtam* ‘accomplished in the afternoon’; similarly: *purvarātré kṛtām/pūrva-rātrá-kṛtam* ‘performed in the first half of the night’; *apara-rātré kṛtām/apara-rātrá-kṛtam* ‘done in the second half of the night’; but *dhani bhuktām* ‘eaten in the morning’.

### 2.1.46 táttra

[The nominal padá 2] táttra [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 (5.3.10) combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 45 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*táttra-kṛtam* ‘done there’, *táttra-bhuktam* ‘eaten there’.

### 2.1.47 kṣépe

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 40 combines with a nominal padá 4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 45 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] when indicating censure (kṣépe).

*ávatapte-nakula-sthitam* ‘inconstancy (like that of mangoose on a hot plate)’; non-elision of the seventh sUP triplet by 6.3.14. Similarly *bhásmani-hutam* ‘fruitless action (like offering an oblation in ashes)’.

### 2.1.48 pátre-samita=ādayas=ca

The class of expressions beginning with pátre-samita- ‘constantly present at meals’ (= a parasite) are [tatpuruṣá 22 compounds 3 when indicating blame or censure (kṣépe) 47].

### 2.1.49 <sup>1</sup>pūrva-kālá=<sup>2</sup>éka-<sup>3</sup>sarvá-<sup>4</sup>járat-<sup>5</sup>purāṇá-<sup>6</sup>náva-<sup>7</sup>kévalāḥ samāná=adhikaraṇena

[A nominal padá 2] denoting something which precedes in time (pūrva-kālá) [and nominal padás 4] éka- ‘one’, sárva- ‘all’, járat- ‘old’, purāṇá- ‘ancient’, náva- ‘new’ and kévala- ‘sole, alone’ [combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4] having a common frame of reference (samāná=adhikaraṇéna) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. The word [pūrva-kālá] ‘previous time’ is relative to the time referred to by the second member: *pūrvam snātāḥ paścāt=ánuliptaḥ = snātānuliptāḥ* ‘first bathed and then perfumed’; the intention is to settle the order of these nominal padás in composition where the previous action becomes the prior member.
2. *ékā* (evá) *śātī* = *eka-sātī* ‘one (sole) skirt’; *ékā bhikṣá* = *eka-bhikṣá* ‘(only) one alms (in a day)’.
3. *sárve devāḥ* = *sarva-devāḥ* ‘all divinities’
4. *járan hastī* = *jarad-dhastī* ‘old elephant’.
5. *purāṇám āvasathám* = *purāṇāvasathám* ‘ancient habitation’.
6. *návam annám* = *navānnám* ‘new rice’.
7. *kévalam annám* = *kevalānnám* ‘mere or only rice’.
8. *kévalo vaiyākaraṇāḥ* = *kevala-vaiyākaraṇāḥ* ‘unique grammarian’.

### 2.1.50 <sup>1</sup>dík-<sup>2</sup>saṁkhyé saṁjñāyām

[Nominal padās 2] denoting directions (dís) or numbers (saṁkhyā) [combine with 4 syntactically connected nominal padās 4, having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] provided the compound denotes a name (saṁjñāyām).

1. *pūrvā ca=asaú iṣukāma-śamī ca = purveṣukāmaśamī* 'East Iṣukāmaśamī (n.pr. of a village)'; similarly *apareṣukāma-śamī* 'Western Iṣukāmaśamī'.
2. *saptā ṛṣayaḥ = saptarṣayāḥ* 'Ursa Major (n.pr. of a constellation: Great Bear)'.

### 2.1.51 <sup>1</sup>taddhita=arthá-<sup>2</sup>uttara-padá-<sup>3</sup>saṁhāré ca

[Nominal padās 2 denoting direction (dís) or number words (saṁkhyā) 50 optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having a common frame of reference with them 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3] provided (a) the meaning to be expressed is one for which a taddhitá affix is introduced or (b) the two constituent members occur before a subsequent member (uttara-padá) or (c) a collection (saṁhārá) is to be denoted.

1. *taddhita=arthá: pūrvasyām śālāyām bhávaḥ* = [*purva+θ+śāla+Ñā* (4.1.107)] = *paúrvā-śāl-a-ḥ* (7.2.117; 6.4.64) 'situated in the eastern house'; *pūrvā śālā priyā yásya* = *pūrvā-śālā-priyaḥ* results in a bahuvrīhi compound 'to whom the eastern house is dear' and the prior member *pūrvā-śālā* 'eastern house' constitutes a tatpuruṣá compound and is accented on the final syllable.
2. *ṣaṇṇām mātṛóṇām ápatyam* = [*ṣaṭ+θ<sup>1</sup>+mātr+áN* 4.1.115 = *ṣāṭ+mātur+áN* 1.1.51] = *ṣāṇ-mātur-á-ḥ* (7.1.117; 8.4.45) 'descendant of six mothers', where the nominal stem *ṣaṭ+mātr* 'six mothers' forms a tatpuruṣá compound. *pāñca gávō dhānam ásyā* = [*pañca+θ<sup>1</sup>+go+θ<sup>1</sup>+dhana*] resulting in a bahuvrīhi compound *pañca-gavā-dhanaḥ* 'whose wealth consists of five cows', before the final member *-dhana-*, *pañca-gavā-* constitutes a tatpuruṣá compound.
3. *pañcānām gáv-ām saṁhāráḥ* = [*pañca+θ<sup>1</sup>+go+θ<sup>1</sup>+TáC* (5.4.92)] = *pañca-gav-á-m* (6.1.78) is accented on the final syllable (6.1.163), where *pañca+go* forms a Dvigu compound (52 below) and is assigned the singular sUP triplet (2.4.1) which is neuter (2.4.17). Similarly *aṣṭānām adhyāyānām saṁhāráḥ* = *aṣṭa+adhyāya+ÑiP* (4.1.21)+sU = *aṣṭādhyaýf* (6.4.148)+θ (6.1.68): 'collection of eight chapters, title of the present work'.

### 2.1.52 saṁkhyā-pūrvo dvigúḥ

(The t.t.) dvigú denotes [a compound 3] whose first member is a number word (saṁkhyā) [optionally 11 combining with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having a common frame of reference 49 provided (a) the meaning to be expressed is one for which a taddhita affix is introduced (taddhita=arthá) or (b) the two constituent members occur before a subsequent member (uttarapadá) or (c) a collection is to be denoted 51].

1. *pañcasu kapāleṣu sámskṛtaḥ* 'a sacrificial offering prepared in five vessels' = [pañca+ $\emptyset^1$ +kapāla+áN (4.1.16) = pañca-kapāla+ $\emptyset^1$  (4.1.88)] = pañca-kapāla-ḥ (6.2.29); since the affix replacement is by luK (=  $\emptyset^1$ ) the operation of 7.2.117 is blocked out and there is no vṛddhi replacement of the vowel of the initial syllable of the compound expression.
2. *pañca návaḥ priyáḥ=ásya* = [pañc+ $\emptyset^1$ +nau+ $\emptyset^1$ +priya- = pañca+nau+TáC (5.4.99)+priya-] since by this rule, before the posterior member °priya-, panca+nau- is defined as a dvigú: = pañca-nāvá-priya-ḥ.
3. *pañcānām púlānām samāhāraḥ* = pañca+ $\emptyset^1$ +púlā+sU (2.4.1) = pañca-púlā+am (2.4.17) = pañca+púlā+ÑP (4.1.21)+ $\emptyset$  (6.4.68) = pañca-pūlf 'a collection of five bunches of grass'.

### 2.1.53 kutsitānai kútsanaīḥ

[Nominal padás 2] denoting despicable or contemptible objects (kutsitāni) [combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having the same frame of reference 49] denoting reproach (kútsanaīḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*vaiyākaraṇás ca=asaú khasūcíś ca* = *vaiyākaraṇa-khasūcí-ḥ* 'stupid grammarian'; the expression kha-sūcí- 'one who looks vacantly at the sky (when a response to a question is sought)' = 'a stupid or ignorant person' is indicative of contempt.

### 2.1.54 <sup>1</sup>pāpá=<sup>2</sup>aṇaké kutsitaíḥ

[The nominal padás 2] pāpá- 'bad, evil' and aṇaka- 'insignificant' [denoting reproach 53 combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] denoting what is despised (kutsitaíḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

By the preceding rule these nominal padás would have been posterior members of compounds, but the present rule reverses the order and they occur as prior members. *pāpás ca=asaú nāpitás ca* = [pāpa+ $\emptyset^1$ +nāpita+sU] = pāpa-nāpitá-ḥ 'an incompetent barber'; *aṇakás ca=asaú kúlāláś ca* = aṇaka-kulālá-ḥ 'an inefficient potter'.

### 2.1.55 upamānāni sāmānya-vacanañḥ

[A nominal padā 2] denoting an upamāna ‘object of comparison’ [optionally 11 combines with nominal padās 4] denoting objects possessing a shared feature (sāmānya-vacanañḥ) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

*ghanā iva śyāmāḥ* = *ghanā-śyāma-ḥ* ‘dark as a cloud’; similarly *kúmuda iva śyenī* = *kúmuda-śyenī* ‘lily-white’ (6.2.2 for accent).

### 2.1.56 upamitām vyāghrá=ābibhiḥ sāmānya=a-prayogé

[A nominal padā 2] denoting an upamitā ‘subject compared’ [optionally 11 combines with the class of nominal padās 4] beginning with vyāghrá- ‘tiger’ [as objects of comparison 55] provided an expression implying that common feature (sāmānya) is not employed (á-prayoge) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

This is a prior exception to rule 57 below. *púruṣo vyāghrá iva* = *puruṣa-vyāghráḥ* ‘strong like a tiger’ but not when we have a string like *púruṣo vyāghrá iva śū-rah* ‘a person strong as a tiger’.

### 2.1.57 viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyèṇa bahulám

[A nominal padā 2] denoting a qualifier (viśeṣaṇam) [optionally combines with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4, having the same frame of reference 49] and denoting the item qualified (viśeṣyèṇa) [to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3] variously (bahulám).

*nīlam utpalám* = *nīlotpalám* ‘blue lotus’; the word [bahulám] implies that in certain cases the compound is obligatory, despite the governing rule 11 above: *kṛṣṇa-sarpá-* ‘cobra’, and in others like *rāmó dāśarathiḥ* ‘Rama, son of Daśaratha’ no composition takes place.

### 2.1.58 <sup>1</sup>pūrva=<sup>2</sup>āpara-<sup>3</sup>prathamá-<sup>4</sup>caramá-<sup>5</sup>jaghanyà-<sup>6</sup>samāná-<sup>7</sup>mádhya-<sup>8</sup>madhyamá-<sup>9</sup>vīrás ca

[The nominal padās 2] *pūrva-* ‘prior’, *āpara-* ‘another’, *prathamá-* ‘first’, *caramá-* ‘last’, *jaghanyà-* ‘hindermost, lowest’, *samāná-* ‘equal’, *mádhya-*, *madhyamá-* ‘middle’ and *vīrás-* ‘hero’ also (ca) [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].



1. *pūrva-vaiyākaraṇā-ḥ* = *pūrvāś ca=asaú vaiyākaraṇās ca* ‘ancient or older grammarian’.
2. *apara-puruṣā-ḥ* ‘another person, successor’. *carama-puruṣā-ḥ* ‘last person’. *jaghanya-puruṣā-ḥ* ‘lowest person’. *samāna-puruṣā-ḥ* ‘equal person’. *madhya-puruṣā-ḥ/madhyama-puruṣāḥ* ‘middle person’ and as a t.t. for the second person. *vīra-puruṣā-ḥ* ‘heroic person’.

### 2.1.59 śréṇi=ādayaḥ kṛtá=ādibhiḥ

[The class of nominal padás 2] beginning with śréṇi- ‘line’ [optionally 11 combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padá class 4] beginning with kṛtá- ‘fashioned, made’ [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

By a vārttika this usage is restricted to indicate the meaning of affix Cvī (5.4.50):  
*á-srenayaḥ śréṇayaḥ kṛtāḥ* = *śréṇi-kṛtāḥ* ‘arranged in a line or tier’ (6.2.46 for accent).

### 2.1.60 Kténa náÑ-viśiṣṭena=á-naÑ

[A nominal padá 2 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá not co-occurring with particle náÑ [optionally 11 combines with the same nominal stem 4 ending in 1.1.72] affix Ktá co-occurring with particle náÑ [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*kṛtām ca tad ákṛtam ca* = *kṛtākṛtām* ‘partially done’ and similarly *bhuktābhuktām* ‘partially eaten’, but no composition takes place from the string *siddhām ca tād ábhuktām ca* ‘prepared but not eaten’.

### 2.1.61 <sup>1</sup>sát=<sup>2</sup>mahát=<sup>3</sup>paramá=<sup>4</sup>úttama=<sup>5</sup>útkṛṣṭāḥ pūjyāmanaiḥ

[The nominal padás 2] sát- ‘good’, mahát- ‘great’, paramá- ‘highest’, úttama- ‘best’ and útkṛṣṭa- ‘eminent, excellent’ [optionally 11 combine with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having the same frame of reference 49] and denoting persons deserving of respect (pūjyāmānaiḥ) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *sán vaidyāḥ* = *sad-vaidyāḥ* ‘good physician’.
2. *mahāmś ca=asaú vaiyākaraṇās ca* = *mahā-vaiyākaraṇāḥ* (6.3.46) ‘great grammarian’.
3. *paramāś ca=asaú haṁśaś ca* = *parama-haṁśā-ḥ* ‘highest swan’, a designation of the highest class of monks.

4. *uttama-puruṣá-h* 'highest person' and as t.t. 'first person'.
5. *ut-kṛṣṭa-puruṣá-h* 'most eminent or excellent person'.

### 2.1.62 <sup>1</sup>vṛndāraka-<sup>2</sup>nāgá-<sup>3</sup>kuñjaraiḥ pūjyámānam

[A nominal padá 2] denoting a person deserving of respect (pūjyámānam) [combines with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] vṛndāraka- 'excellent', nāgá- 'elephant' and kuñjara- 'elephant' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *go-vṛndāraká-h* 'excellent bull'.
2. *go-nāgá-h/go-kuñjará-h* 'excellent bull'.

### 2.1.63 <sup>1</sup>katará-<sup>2</sup>katamaú jāti-pari-praśné

[The nominal padás 2] katará- 'which of two' and katamá- 'which of many' with reference to a question regarding genus or class (jāti-pari-praśné) [combines with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *anáyoh káḥ katháḥ* = *katará-kathá-h* (for alternate accentuation cf. 6.2.57: *ka-tará-katha-h*?) 'which of these two is an adept in the Kathá school of Vedic studies?'.
2. *eṣám káḥ kalāpáḥ* = *katama-kalāpá-h* 'which among these many is an adept of the Kalāpá school of Vedic studies?'.

### 2.1.64 kím kṣépe

[The pronominal padá 2] kím 'who, what, which', when indicating censure (kṣépe) [combines with 1 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padá 4 having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*kutsitó rájā* = *kim-rājá* (*yó ná ráks-a-ti*) a bad king (who does not protect his subjects). Here the samāsānta affix [TáC] introduced by 5.4.91 is blocked by 5.4.70, thus generating the compound stems like *kṛm-rājan-*, *kim-sakhi-* 'a vile friend (who hates)', *kṛm-go-* 'an ox (who does not carry)' etc. Here the word [kím] functions like an indeclinable, but *kásya rájā* = *kim-rājá-h*, *kásya sákhā* = *kim-sakhá-h*, *kásya gauḥ* = *kim-gavá-h*.

**2.1.65** <sup>1</sup>poṭā-<sup>2</sup>yuvatī-<sup>3</sup>stokā-<sup>4</sup>katipayā-<sup>5</sup>gr̥ṣṭī-<sup>6</sup>dhenú-<sup>7</sup>vaśā-<sup>8</sup>vehát-<sup>9</sup>baṣkayaṇī-<sup>10</sup>pravaktī-<sup>11</sup>śrótṛiya-<sup>12</sup>adhyāpaka-<sup>13</sup>dhūrtāīr jātiḥ

[A nominal padá 2] denoting species (jātiḥ) [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] poṭā ‘hermaphrodite’, yuvatī- ‘young female’, stokā- ‘a little’, katipayā- ‘some’, gr̥ṣṭī- ‘a cow which has had only one calf’, dhenú- ‘milch cow’, vaśā- ‘barren cow’, vehát- ‘a cow that miscarries or aborts’, baṣkayaṇī ‘a cow that has a half adult calf’, pravaktī- ‘promulgator, expounder’, śrótṛiya- ‘a brahmin who studies the Veda’ (5.2.88), adhyāpaka- ‘teacher’ and dhūrtā- ‘clever’ [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

1. *ibhī ca asaú poṭā ca* = [*ibha*+*ŃṬ* (4.1.63)+*pottā* = *ibha*+*0*+*poṭā* (6.2.34)] = *ibha-poṭā* ‘a hermaphrodite elephant’.
2. *ibha-yuvatī-ḥ* ‘a young female elephant’.
3. *agni-stokā-ḥ* ‘a little fire’.
4. *udaśvit-katipayā-m* ‘a little buttermilk’.
5. *go-gr̥ṣṭī-ḥ* ‘a cow having a single calf’.
6. *go-dhenú-ḥ* ‘milch cow’.
7. *go-vaśā* ‘a barren cow’.
8. *go-vehát* ‘a cow that miscarries’.
9. *go-baṣkayaṇī* ‘a cow having a half adult calf’.
10. *kāṭha-pravaktī-* ‘propagator of Kāthá’.
11. *kalāpa-śrótṛiyā-* ‘a student of Kalāpá’.
12. *kāṭhādhyāpakā-* ‘a teacher of Kāthá’.
13. *kāṭha-dhūrtā-* ‘clever in Kāthá’.

**2.1.66** praśaṁsā-vacanaís ca

[A nominal padá 2 denoting species (jāti) 65 optionally 11 combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4 having the same frame of reference 49] and signifying praise (praśaṁsā) [to form a tatpuruṣá 22 compound 3].

*matallikā- ca asaú gaúś ca* = *go-matallikā* ‘an excellent cow; similarly *aśva-prakāṇḍām* ‘an excellent horse’.

**2.1.67** yúvā <sup>1</sup>khalatī-<sup>2</sup>palitā-<sup>3</sup>valina-<sup>4</sup>jāratībhiḥ

[The nominal padá 2] yúvan- ‘young, youthful’ [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 nominal padás 4] khalatī- ‘bald’, palitā- ‘grey-haired’,

valina- 'wrinkled' and jārati 'old' (f.) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. *yūvā khalatī-h* = *yuva-khalatī-h* 'a bald youth', similarly *yuvatīḥ khalatī* = *yuva-khalatī* 'a bald maiden'.
2. *yuva-palitā-h*, *yuva-palitā* 'grey-haired young person'.
3. *yuva-valinā-h*, *yuva-valinā* 'a wrinkled young person'.
4. *yuva-jarān*, *yuva-jaratī* 'prematurely old young person'.

Note: By using the form [jārati] in the sūtra the following maxim of interpretation is introduced: "When a nominal padā is introduced it includes all the genders associated with it".

## 2.1.68 <sup>1</sup>kṛtya-<sup>2</sup>tūlya=ākhyā á-jātyā

[Nominal padās 2 ending in 1.1.72] kṛtya (3.1.95ff.) affixes as well as synonyms of tūlya- 'equivalent' [optionally 11 combine with 4 a syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] not denoting a species (á-jātyā) [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

1. *bhojyām ca tād uṣṇām ca* = *bhojyoṣṇām* 'hot food'; *pānīyam ca tat śītām ca* = *pānīya-śītām* 'cold drink'.
2. *tulya-śvetāḥ/sadṛśa-śvetāḥ* 'equally white'.
3. But *bhojyā odanāḥ* 'edible rice'.

## 2.1.69 várṇo várṇena

[A nominal padā 2] denoting a color (várṇaḥ) [combines with another nominal padā 4] denoting color (várṇena) [syntactically connected with it 1 and having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

*kṛṣṇás ca asaú sārāṅgás ca* = *kṛṣṇa-sāraṅgá-h* 'black and dappled, a spotted deer'..

## 2.1.70 kumārāḥ śramaṇā=ādibhiḥ

[The nominal padā 2] kumārā- 'lad, boy' [combines with 4 syntactically connected 1 class of nominal padās 4] beginning with śramaṇā 'lady ascetic' [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

*kumārī śramaṇā* = *kumāra+N̄IP+śramaṇā* = *kumāra+0+śramaṇā* (6.3.34) = *kumāra-śramaṇā* 'young lady ascetic or mendicant'.

### 2.1.71 cātuspādo garbhīṇyā

[Nominal padās 2] denoting quadrupeds (cātuspādaḥ) [combine with 1 syntactically connected 1 nominal padā 4] garbhīṇī ‘pregnant’ [having the same frame of reference 49 to form a tatpuruṣā 22 compound 3].

*garbhīṇī ca asaú gaús ca = go-garbhīṇī* ‘a pregnant cow’. Composition here is restricted to words denoting species (jāti), hence no composition takes place in the string *kālākṣī garbhīṇī* ‘the cow named Kālākṣī is pregnant’.

### 2.1.72 mayūra-vyaṁsakā=ādayaś ca

[The class of compound padās 2] beginning with mayūra-vyaṁsakā- are also (ca) designated [tatpuruṣā 22 compounds 3].

*mayūraś ca asaú vyāṁsakaś ca = mayūra-vyaṁsakā-ḥ* ‘a cunning peacock’.

## 2.2.1 <sup>1</sup>pūrva=<sup>2</sup>āpara=<sup>3</sup>ādharma=<sup>4</sup>úttaram ekadeśinā=eka=adhikarāṇe

[The nominal padās 1.2] pūrva- ‘front, fore’, āpara- ‘back’, ādhara- ‘lower’ and úttara- ‘higher’ [combine with a nominal padā 1.4] denoting a single substance (eka=adhikarāṇe) consisting of parts (eka-deśinā) [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

Since the single substance with parts is referred to as forming the posterior member of a compound, the sixth sUP triplets are introduced after it (technically known as [avayava-ṣaṣṭhī]). This rule is a prior exception to 8 below.

1. *pūrvam kāyāsya* = *pūrva-kāyā-h* ‘front of the body’.
2. *āparam kāyāsya* = *āpara-kāyā-h* ‘back of the body’.
3. *adhara-kāyā-h* ‘lower part of the body’.
4. *uttara-kāyā-h* ‘upper part of the body’.

In a Karmadhāraya compound *pūrvas ca asaú kāyās ca* = *pūrva-kāyā-h* the reference is not to a part of the body but to the whole body.

## 2.2.2 ardhām nápuṃsakam

[The nominal padā 1.2] ardhām (used as a neuter: nápuṃsakam) ‘half’ (but not as a qualifier) [combines with a nominal padā 1.4 denoting a single substance consisting of parts 1 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*ardhām pippalyāḥ* = *ardha-pippalī* ‘half a pepper’; when not neuter we have the string *grāmasya ardhāḥ* = *gramārdhā-h* ‘half the village’ where it is the posterior member.

## 2.2.3 <sup>1</sup>dvitīya-<sup>2</sup>tṛtīya-<sup>3</sup>caturthā-<sup>4</sup>túryāṇi anyatarāsyām

[The nominal padās 1.2] dvitīya- ‘second’, tṛtīya- ‘third’, caturthā- and túrya- ‘fourth’ optionally (anyatarāsyām) [combine with a nominal padā 1.4 denoting a single substance with parts 1 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*dvitīyam bhikṣāyāḥ* = *dvitīya-bhikṣā* ‘a second alms-giving’ or alternately *bhikṣā-dvitīyam*; similarly: *tṛtīya-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-tṛtīyam*; *caturtha-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-caturtham*; *turya-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-turyam* ‘third/fourth alms-giving’.

## 2.2.4 'prāpta=²āpanne ca dvitīyayā

[The nominal padās 1.2] prāpta- and ā-panna- 'gained, attained' also (ca) [combine with nominal padās 1.4] co-occurring with the second sUP triplets [optionally 3 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*prāpto jīvikām = prāpta-jīvikā-h/jīvikā-prāptāḥ* (1.24) 'who has gained his livelihood'; = *āpanna-jīvikā-h/jīvikāpannā-h*.

## 2.2.5 kālāḥ partimāṇinā

[Nominal padās 1.2] denoting time (kālāḥ) [combine with nominal padās 1.4] denoting objects which are measured (partimāṇinā) by time [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*māso jātāḥ=asyā = māsa-jātā-h* 'born a month back'.

## 2.2.6 náÑ

[The negative particle] náÑ [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*nā brāhmaṇā-h = ā-brāhmaṇa-h* (6.3.73) 'not a brahmin'; *nā kúśala-h = ā-kuśala-h* 'not dextrous or clever'.

## 2.2.7 Ṛṣāt=ā-kṛt-ā

[The indeclinable padā 1.2] Ṛṣāt 'a little, slightly' [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4] not (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛt (3.1.93ff.) affix [to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*Ṛṣat-piṅgalā-h* 'slightly brownish'; *Ṛṣat-kadāra-h* 'a little tawny'. (Cf. 6.2.54 for alternative accent *Ṛṣat-kadāra-*.)

Note: A vārttika modifies this rule by replacing [ā-kṛt-ā] by [guṇa-vācanena]: Pāṇini himself has the compound [Ṛṣad-a-samāpti] 'slight incompleteness' (5.3.67).

## 2.2.8 ṣaṣṭhī

[A nominal padā 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣā 1.22 compound 1.3].

*rājñah púruṣa-h* = *rāja-puruṣa-h* 'king's man, royal servant'.

## 2.2.9 yājaka=ādibhiś ca

[A nominal padá 1.2. ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 9] also (ca) [combines with 1.4 the class of nominal padás 1.4] beginning with yājaka- 'sacrificer' [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

Words forming this class end in the affix [ °-tṣC or °-aka-] and by 16 below do not combine with a prior member ending in the sixth sUP triplet, and so this rule is a prior exception to that: *brāhmaṇśsya yājaka-h* / *brāhmaṇá-yājaká-h* 'performer of a sacrifice for a brahmin'.

## 2.2.10 ná nirdhāraṇe

[A nominal padá 1.2. ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced (by 2.3.42) to denote a setting apart (nirdhāraṇe) does not (ná) [combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

*nṛ-ñám dvijáh śréṣṭhah* 'among men the twice-born is the best'; *kṛṣṇá gávāṃ sámpanna-kṣāra-tamā* 'the black cow is the most bounteous of milch-cows'.

By a vārttika an item ending in the sixth sUP triplet introduced by a rule other than 2.3.50 never combines to form a compound.

## 2.2.11 <sup>1</sup>pūraṇa-<sup>2</sup>guṇá-<sup>3</sup>súhita=artha-<sup>4</sup>SAT=<sup>5</sup>ávyaya-<sup>6</sup>távya-<sup>7</sup>samāná=adhikaraṇena

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4] consisting of (a) ordinals (pūraṇa), (b) qualifying expressions (guṇá), (c) a word denoting 'satisfaction' (súhita=artha), (d) a participle ending in the affix SAT (= ŚátR-, ŚānáC 3.2.127), (e) an indeclinable, (f) padás ending in °-távya- and (g) a padá having the same frame of reference (samāná=adhikaraṇena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

1. *chātrāṇām pañcamáh* 'fifth among pupils'.
2. *kákasya kārṣṇyam* 'blackness of the crow'.
3. *phālāṇām súhitah/tṛptáh* 'satisfied with fruit'.
4. *brāhmaṇásya kurván/kurvānáḥ* 'working for a brahmin'.
5. *brāhmaṇásya kṛ-tvā* 'having worked for a brahmin'.
6. *rājñah kar-távya-m* 'duty of a king'.



### 2.2.12 Kténa ca pūjāyām

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 7 does not 10] also (ca) [combine with 1.2 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktá denoting homage (pūjāyām 3.2.188) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

*rājñām matáh/buddháh/pūjítáh* ‘respected, honored or recognized by the king’.

### 2.2.13 adhikarana-vācínā ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10] also (ca) [combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktá 12] introduced as a locus signifier (adhikarana-vācínā 3.4.76) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

*idám eṣám bhuktám* ‘this is their place for eating’; *idám eṣám āsitám* ‘this is their place of sitting’.

### 2.2.14 kármaṇi ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced as an object marker (kármaṇi 3.26) also (ca) [does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

*āścaryò gávām dóhah á-gopālakena* ‘wonderful is the milking of cows by one who is not a cowherd’.

### 2.2.15 <sup>1</sup>tṛC=<sup>2</sup>akābhyām kartári

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] introduced as an agent marker (kartári 3.65) [does not 10 combine with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affixes °-tṛC- or °-aka- [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

*bhávataḥ śāyikā/āsikā* ‘your honor’s turn for sleeping/sitting’. The affix [°-aka-] is a replacement of [vu 7.1.1] occurring in the following affixes: [(a) kṛt: ṆvuC, ṆvuL, vuN<sup>1</sup>, vuN<sup>1</sup>, ṢvuN and (b) taddhita: ḌvuN, vuK, vuC, vuN<sup>2</sup> and vuN<sup>2</sup>]. All kṛt affixes are markers of the agent (3.4.76) and so do not enter into com-

position with a genitive having the value of an agent (16 below); its inclusion here is with reference to the taddhitá affixes only. Similarly [tṛC] is an agent marker (3.1.133) and has its domain in the subsequent sūtra.

## 2.2.16 kartári ca

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8 does not 10 combine with 1.4. syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padás 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes °-tṛC- or °-aka- 15] introduced as agent markers (kartári) [to form tatpuruṣá 1.22 compounds 1.3].

[°-tṛC] is a kṛt affix (3.1.133) as are [NvuC] and [NvuL], [vuÑ<sup>1</sup>], [vuN<sup>1</sup>] and [SvuN], and all kṛt affixes are agent markers (3.4.670).

1. *apām sraṣṭá* 'creator of waters'; *vájrasya bhartá* 'bearer of the thunderbolt'; *púrām bhettá* 'destroyer of fortified cities'.
2. *yávānām lāvakah* 'reaper of barley'; *odanásya pácakah* 'who cooks rice'.

## 2.2.17 nityam <sup>1</sup>krīḍá-<sup>2</sup>jīvikayoḥ

[A nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 8] necessarily (nityam) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes °-tṛC or °-aka 15 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3] when denoting a sport (krīḍá) or livelihood (jīvikā).

Since the affix [tṛC] does not occur in these two senses, the affix involved is [aka] only, though both are present by anuvṛtti.

1. sport: *úddālaka-puṣpa-bhañjikā* 'n.pr. of a sport in which Uddālaka flowers are crushed' (6.2.74 for accent).
2. livelihood: *danta-lekh-aká-ḥ* 'dentist', *nakha-lekh-aká-ḥ* 'manicurist'.

## 2.2.18 <sup>1</sup>kú-<sup>2</sup>gáti-<sup>3</sup>prá=ādayaḥ

[The indeclinable padá 1.2] *kú-* 'bad, worthless', items of the *gáti*-class (1.4.60ff.) and *prá*-class (1.4.58) [combine with 1.4 syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padás 1.4 necessarily 17 to form tatpuruṣá 1.22 compounds 1.3].

1. *kutsitáh púruṣaḥ* = *kú=puruṣaḥ* 'worthless person'.
2. *ūri-kṛt-ya* 'having accepted'.
3. *sú-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'worthy brahmin'; *āti-brāhmaṇaḥ* 'excellent brahmin', *á-kaḍāraḥ* 'slightly tawny'.

A set of vārttikas on this indicate the case relationship of the nominal padás co-occurring with the preverbs.:

- (a) first sUP triplet: *pra-gatá ācāryaḥ* = *prácāryaḥ* 'professor, excellent teacher'; *prāntevāsin-* 'excellent pupil'.

- (b) second sUP triplet: *atīkrāntaḥ khātvaṁ* = *āti-khaṭvah* ‘gone beyond the bedstead (i.e., able to do without one)’.
- (c) third sUP triplet: *áva-krustāḥ kokiláyā* = *áva-kokilaḥ* ‘announced by the song of the cuckoo’.
- (d) fourth sUP triplet: *pari-glānāḥ adhyāyanāya* = *pāry-adhy-ayanah* ‘weary of study’; *ālam kumaryāi* = *ālam-kumārīḥ* ‘suitable for the maiden’.
- (e) fifth sUP triplet: *niṣ-krāntāḥ kauśāmbiyāḥ* = *nīṣ-kauśāmbiḥ* ‘departed from Kauśāmbī’.

## 2.2.19 upapadām á-tiÑ

An upapadā (3.1.92) which does not terminate (1.1.72) in a verbal personal ending (I-substitute tiÑ) [combines with 1.4 a syntactically connected 1.1 nominal padā 1.4 necessarily 17 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

*kumbhām kar-ó-ti* = [*kumbhá+Ø+kṛ+áN* 3.2.1] = *kumbha-kār-á* ‘a potter’;  
*nagara-kār-á* ‘a builder of cities’.

## 2.2.20 amā=evá=ávyayena

[When an upapadā which does not terminate 1.1.72 in tiÑ 19 combines with 1.4] an indeclinable (ávyayena) [to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3] it does so only (evá) with one ending in (1.1.72) the affix °-am.

*svādúm+kṛ+NamuL* (3.4.26) = *svādum-kār-am bhunk-té* ‘eats making (one’s food) palatable’. *lavaṇam-kār-am bhunk-té* ‘eats after adding salt (to one’s food)’.  
 But *ágre bhū-tvá*.

## 2.2.21 ṭṛtīyā-prabhṛtīni=anyatárasyām

[Upapadās 19] introduced from 3.4.47 with those ending in the third sUP triplet (up to 3.4.64) optionally (anyataráśyām) [combine with 1.4 an indeclinable ending in 1.1.72. °am (=NamuL) 20 to form a tatpuruṣá 1.22 compound 1.3].

3.4.47: *mūlakena=upa-dāmś-am* = *mūlakopa-dāmś-am bhunk-té* ‘eats with radish as a relish’. 3.4.49: *pāśváyor upa-pīd-am* = *pāśvópa-pīd-am śe-té* ‘lies down pressing on one’s sides’.

### 2.2.22 Ktvā ca

[Upapadās 19] introduced from 3.4.47 with those ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (up to 3.4.64) 21 [combine with 1.4 an indeclinable 20 ending in 1.1.72] the affix Ktvā [to form a tatpuruṣa 1.22 compound 1.3] optionally (anyatāraśyam).

*uccaiḥ kṛ-tvā / uccaiḥ-kṛt-ya* 'loudly (with a high-pitched voice)'.

### 2.2.23 śéṣo bahuvrīhī

(The t.t.) bahuvrīhī denotes residual (śéṣaḥ) [compounds 1.3] (with respect to those provided by 2.1.6-2.22).

This is a governing rule up to 28 below. Since only padās ending in sUP triplets other than the first have been dealt with in the preceding section 2.1.6-2.22, the first sUP triplet constitutes this residue.

### 2.2.24 ānekam anya-pada=arthé

Two or more (ān-ekam) [nominal padās 1.2 can combine with 1.4 each other] to denote something distinct (from what is implied by the constituent padās) (anyapada=arthé) [to form a bahuvrīhī 23 compound 1.3].

1. *prāptam udakām yām grāmam = prāptodako grāmaḥ* 'an inundated village'; 2. *ūdho rātho yēna śa = ūdhā-rathaḥ (= anadṛvān)* 'a bull by which the chariot has been drawn'; 3. *ūpa-hṛtaḥ paśūḥ yāsmāi śa = ūpa-hṛta-paśuḥ (rudrāḥ)* 'Rudrá, to whom an animal has been offered as sacrifice'; 4. *ūdḍhṛtaḥ=odanó yasyāḥ śa = ūddhṛtaudanā sthālī* 'a vessel from which rice has been lifted'; 5. *citrā gāvo yāsya śaḥ = citrā-gur devadattāḥ* 'D. who owns brindled cows'; 6. *vīrāḥ pūruṣūḥ yāsmīn grāme sa = vīrā-puruṣa-ko grāmaḥ* (5.4.154) 'a village in which heroic persons live'.

### 2.2.25 saṁkhyāyā=¹ávyaya=²āsanna=³ádūra=⁴ádhika- ⁵saṁkhyāḥ saṁkhyéye

An indeclinable (ávyaya) and [the nominal padās 1.2] āsanna- 'near', ádūra- 'not distant', ádhika- 'surplus' and numerals (saṁkhyā) [combine with 1.4] another numeral (saṁkhyāyā) used for enumeration (saṁkhyéye) [to form a bahuvrīhī 23 compound 1.3].

1. indeclinable: *viṁśatēḥ samīpē ye = ūpa-viṁś-ā-h* 'about ten (= nine or eleven)'.
2. *viṁśatē āsannāḥ ye = tē āsanna-viṁśāḥ* (5.4.73; 6.4.142) 'near 20 (= 19 or 21)'.

3. *adūra-vimśāḥ* 'not far from 20 (= 19 or 21)'.
4. *vimśatér ádhikāḥ* = *adhika-vimśāḥ* 'exceeding 20'.
5. *dvaú vā tráyo vā* = *dvi-trāḥ* 'two or three'; *dvír āvṛttā daśa* = *dvī-dasāḥ* 'twice ten (= twenty)'.

## 2.2.26 díṇ-nāmāny antarālé

[Nominal padás 1.2] denoting names of directions (díṇ-nāmāni) [combine with one another 1.4 to form a bahuvrīhí 23 compound 1.3] denoting the intermediate (antarālé) direction.

*dásiṇasyāś ca pūrvasyāś ca díśoh=antarālm = dáśiṇa-pūrvā* 'south-east'.

## 2.2.27 tátra téna=idám iti sárūpe

Two identical (sárūpe) nominal padás 1.2 ending in the seventh or third sUP triplet (tátra, téna) [combine with (one another) 1.4 to form a bahuvrīhí 23 compound 1.3] to express the meaning 'in this'.

The expression [iti] in the sūtra indicates the meaning of the compound is to be understood from popular usage; these are seizing (grāhaṇa), striking (prahāraṇa) and fighting mutually (karma-vyatihāra in a yuddhá).

1. *keśeṣu keśeṣu gṛh-t-vā idám yuddhám pra-vṛttám* = *keśākeśí yuddhám* 'a fight in which there is mutual pulling of hair'.
2. *daṇḍaiś ca daṇḍaiś ca pra-gṛh-ya idám yuddhám pra-vṛttám* = *daṇḍādaṇḍí yuddhám* 'a fight in which there is mutual striking with staffs'. (Samāsānta íC 5.4.127).
3. In both cases the affix íC (5.4.127) is introduced at the end of the compound.

## 2.2.28 téna sahá=iti tulya-yogé

The indeclinable [padá 1.2] sahá 'with' [combines with a padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (téna) [to form a bahuvrīhí 13 compound 1.3] provided both the person accompanied and the accompanying person have the same relation to the action (tulya-yogé).

*sahá putréṇa ā-ga-tāḥ* = *sá-putra-ḥ=ā-ga-tā-ḥ* 'has come with (his) son' where [sahá] is replaced by [sa-°] in composition by 6.3.82. When [tulya-yogá] is not denoted no composition takes place: *sahaivá dásabhiḥ putraiḥ bhārám váhati gardabhí* 'the she-ass carries the load, accompanied by (her) ten sons'.

### 2.2.29 ca=arthé dvaṁdvāḥ

[An unrestricted number (áneka) 24 of nominal padás 1.2 combine with (one another) 1.4] to form a Dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] (and a part of the meaning is that expressed by) the particle [ca] ‘and’.

*plakṣás ca nyagródhás ca = plakṣa-nyagrodhaú* ‘the trees P. and Ny.’ *vák ca tvák ca = vāk-tvac-ám* ‘voice and skin’ [+TúC 5.4.106].

The meaning of particle [ca] is fourfold: (a) samuccayá ‘co-ordinate conjunction’, (b) anvācayá ‘subordinate conjunction’, (c) itaretara-yogá ‘mutual connection; and (d) samāhārā ‘aggregation’. Composition takes place only in the last two meanings.

### 2.2.30 upasárjanam pūrvam

An upasárana (1.2.43: an item indicated with the first sUP triplet in the section on compounds) occurs as the prior (pūrvam) member [in a compound 1.3].

1. 2.1.4: [dvitīyā] : *kaṣṭám śritá-ḥ = kaṣṭá-śrita-ḥ*.

2.1.6: [avyayam] : *adhi-śtrī = śtrīśú*.

2. This rule fixes the position of members constituting compounds like those following it below.

### 2.2.31 rāja-dantá=ādiṣu páram

In the class of [compounds 1.3] beginning with rāja-dantá- ‘principal tooth’ [the upasárjana 30] occurs as the posterior (páram) member [of a compound 1.3].

*dántānām rājā = rāja-dantá-ḥ* ‘chief or principal tooth’.

### 2.2.32 dvaṁdvé GHI

In a dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3 nominal padás 1.2] defined by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) occur [as prior members 30].

*háris ca harás ca = hari-haraú* ‘Hári and Hara’; *gurús ca śukrás ca = guru-śukraú* ‘the planets Gurú (Jupiter) and Sukrá (Venus)’.

### 2.2.33 áC=adi=áT=antam

[In a dvaṁdvá 32 compound 1.3 a nominal padá 1.2] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādi) and ending with a short vowel a(T=antam) occurs as a [prior member 30].

*úṣtraś ca khāraś ca = uṣtra-kharau* ‘the camel and the donkey’; *Íśás ca kṛṣṇás ca = Íśa-kṛṣṇau* ‘I. and K.’

### 2.2.34 álpa=aC-taram

[In a dvaṁdvá 32 compound 1.3 a nominal padá 1.2] containing the fewer number of vowels (álpa=aC-taram) occurs [as a prior member 30].

*plakṣás ca nyagródhaś ca = plakṣa-nygradhau* ‘the trees P. and Ny.’

### 2.2.35 <sup>1</sup>saptamī-<sup>2</sup>viśéṣaṇe bahvrīhaú

In a bahuvrīhí [compound 1.3 a nominal stem 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) or one denoting a qualifier (viśéṣaṇa) occurs [as a prior member 30].

Since the constituent members of such compounds are all upasárjanas, this rule provides for the regulation of their order: *kaṇṭhé káló yásya sá-h* = *kaṇṭhé-kāla-h* ‘(Śiva) on whose throat there is a black mark’ (cf. *nḥla-kaṇṭha-h*). *úrasi lómāni áśya = úrasi-lomā* ‘on whose chest there is hair’. *citrá gáv-aḥ=asyá = citrá-gu-h* ‘owner of brindled cows’.

### 2.2.36 niṣṭhá

[In a bahuvrīhí 35 compound 1.3 nominal padás 1.2 ending in 1.1.72] affixes designated by the t.t. niṣṭhá [Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26] occur [as prior members 30]

*kṛtáḥ káto yéna sáḥ = kṛtá-kaṭa-h* ‘who has made a mat’.

### 2.2.37 vā=āhita=agni=ādiṣu

[In the class of bahuvrīhí 35 compounds 1.3] beginning with āhita = agni- [a nominal padá 1.2 ending in 1.1.72 niṣṭhá affixes 36] optionally (vā) occurs [as a prior member 30].

*āhitā agnāyo yéna = āhitāgni-h/agny-āhita-h* ‘who has consecrated the (sacrificial) fires’.

### 2.2.38 káḍārāḥ karmadharāyé

[The class of nominal padás 1.2] beginning with káḍāra- ‘tawny’ [optionally 37 occurs as a prior member 30] in a karmadhārayá (1.2.42) [compound 1.3].

*káḍāras’ ca asaú jaiminis’ ca = kaḍāra-jaiminīḥ/jaiminī-kaḍārāḥ* ‘tawny Jaiminī’. But *káḍārah pūruṣāḥ yásmin grāme saḥ = káḍāra-puruṣ-o grāmaḥ* (35 above) ‘a village of tawny persons’.



### 2.3.1 á nabhihite

The expression án-abhi-hite ‘when unexpressed or unspecified’ (is a governing rule up to 70 below and recurs in every subsequent element in this section).

[án-abhi-hite] ‘when unexpressed or unspecified’ by tiñ ‘personal l-substitutes’, [kṛt] ‘primary affixes’, [taddhitá] ‘secondary nominal affixes’ and [samāsá] ‘compound forms’.

### 2.3.2 kármaṇi dvitīyā

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) is introduced [when not specified otherwise 1] to denote the object (kárman) [kāraka 1.4.23].

By 1.4.49 [kárman] is defined as what the agent [kartṛ] most desires to reach and corresponds to ‘direct object’.

*kāṭa+am kar-ó-ti = kāṭam (6.1.97) kar-ó-ti* ‘makes a mat’. *grāmam gacch-a-ti* ‘goes to the village’.

### 2.3.3 tṛtīyā ca hos chándasi

In the domain of Chándas (chándasi) the third sUP triplet, as well as [the second 2] are introduced [to denote the kárman 2 kāraka 1.4.23] of the verbal stem hu- ‘sacrifice’ (111 1).

*yavāgá+Tā/am = yavāgu-á/yavāg-á-m agnihotrám ju-ho-ti* ‘offers barley meal as an oblation to Agni’.

### 2.3.4 <sup>1</sup>antarā=<sup>2</sup>ántarena yukté

[The second sUP triplet 2] is introduced (after an item) [to denote the kárman 2 kāraka 1.4.23] when it is combined with the indeclinables antarā ‘between’ or ántarena ‘without or between’.

1. *antarā/ántarena tvám ca mām ca kamaṇḍaluḥ* ‘the water jug is between you and me’.
2. *ántarena puruṣakārám ná kíñcit=labh-yá-te* ‘without personal exertion nothing is gained’.

### 2.3.5 <sup>1</sup>kālā=<sup>2</sup>ádhvānor atyanta-saṁyogé

[The second sUP triplet 2 is introduced after] words denoting time (kālā) or distance (ádhvān) to express total connection (atyanta-saṁyogé).

1. *māsam adhī-té* 'studies during (the entire) month'.
2. *krósam kuṭilā nadī* 'the river is (entirely) crooked for the distance of a krośa'.
3. but *māsasya dvīr adhī-té* 'studies twice during the month'.

### 2.3.6 apavargé tṛtīyā

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) is introduced [after items denoting time or distance when there is total connection 5] and the action is completed within that (time or distance) (apavargé).

1. *māsena=anuvākāḥ=adhī-taḥ* 'studied (and learnt) the chapter within a month'.
2. *krósena=anuvākāḥ=ádhi-taḥ* 'studied (and learnt) the chapter within the distance of a krośa'.

### 2.3.7 <sup>1</sup>saptamī-<sup>2</sup>pañcamyaú kāraka-madhyé

The seventh (saptamī) or the fifth (pañcamī) sUP triplet is introduced [after items denoting time or distance 5] when these expressions occur between two kārakas (kāraka-madhyé).

1. *adyā bhuk-tvā dvy-ahé/dvy-ahāt bhok-tā* 'having dined today, will dine after two days'.
2. *ihasthāḥ=ayām iṣv-āśā-h króśe/króśāt lakṣyam vídh-ya-ti* 'the archer, standing here, strikes the target at a distance of a krośa'.

### 2.3.8 karmaṇavacanīya-yukte dvitīyā

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) is introduced [after an item] co-occurring with a karmaṇavacanīya (1.4.83ff).

*śākalyasya sāmhitām ānu prā-varṣ-a-t devā-h* 'immediately following upon (ānu 1.4.84) (the recitation of) the Sāmhitā of Śākalya it rained'. Here [ānu], the karmaṇavacanīya signifies [lākṣaṇa] or characteristic of the rain.

### 2.3.9 yásmād ádhikam yásya ca=īśvara-vācanam tātṛa saptamī

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) is introduced [after a nominal stem when it co-occurs with a karmapravacanīya 8] if it denotes something relative to which (yásmāt) there is an excess (ádhikam) or about which (yásya) rulership (īśvara-vācanam) is stated.

1. *úpa khāryám dróṇa-ḥ* 'a droṇa measure is greater than a khārf measure'; *úpa niṣké kārṣāpaṇam* 'a kārṣāpana is more than a niṣká'.
2. *ádhi pañcālēṣu brahmadattá-ḥ* 'Br. is the ruler of P.'

### 2.3.10 pañcamī=<sup>1</sup>ápa-<sup>2</sup>āN-<sup>3</sup>pári-bhiḥ

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) is introduced [after a nominal stem co-occurring with karmapravacanīyas 8] ápa, āN and pári.

1. *ápa trígarte-bhyaḥ=vr̥ṣṭó deva-ḥ* 'it rained up to (but excluding Trígarta)' (1.4.88).
2. *ā pāṭaliputrāt* 'up to (but excluding) P.'
3. *pári pāṭaliputrāt* 'around Pāṭaliputra'.

### 2.3.11 <sup>1</sup>pratinidhí-<sup>2</sup>pratidāne ca yásmāt

[The fifth sUP triplet 10 is introduced after a nominal stem cooccurring with a karmapravacanīya 8] when signifying a proxy (pratinidhí) or barter (pratidāna).

1. *abhimanyú-r árjuna-taḥ práti* 'Abh. is Arj.'s proxy'.
2. *māṣān tilé-bhyaḥ práti yácch-a-ti* 'exchanges or barter beans for sesamum'.

### 2.3.12 gaty-artha-karmaṇí <sup>1</sup>dvitīyā-<sup>2</sup>caturthyaú ceṣṭāyām án-adhvani

The second (dvitīyā) or the fourth (caturthí) sUP triplet is introduced after the object of an action denoted by a verb of movement (gaty-artha-karmaṇí) when an actual movement is involved (ceṣṭāyām) and is not itself a path (án-adhvani).

- grāmam/grāmā-ya gácch-a-ti* 'is going to the village'; but *mánasā pāṭaliputram gácch-a-ti* 'mentally goes to P.' and *mārgam/pānthān-am gácch-a-ti* 'goes on the street'.

### 2.3.13 caturthī sampradāne

The fourth sUP triplet (caturthī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote sampradāna (kāraka 1.4.23).

The t.t. [sampradāna] has already been defined by 1.4.32 as one whom the agent intends as a goal or recipient through the object of the action of giving. It is the indirect object.

*upādhyāyā-ya gām dādā-ti* 'gives a cow to the teacher'; 1.4.33: *phāle-bhyaḥ sprh-āy-a-ti* 'yearns for fruit'.

### 2.3.14 kriyā=arthā=upapadasya ca kārmaṇi stānīnaḥ

[The fourth sUP triplet 13 is introduced after a nominal stem] to signify the object (kārmaṇi) of a verbal stem which is not actually used (sthānānaḥ) but serves as an upapadā to the verbal stem actually used.

By rule 3.3.10 affixes [°-tumN and °-NvuL] are introduced in connection with verbal stems whose actions refer to the future, for realization of which another action is actually performed. The stem which operates with [°-tumN or °-NvuL] is referred to in this rule as [kriyā=arthā=upapada] and is not actually used: *édhe-bhyaḥ=vrāj-a-ti* = *édhān ā-hār-tum vrāj-a-ti* 'goes to fetch firewood'; *édha-* is the object of *ā-har-tum*. Thus *édha+Śas+ā-hṛ+tumN+vrāj+ŚaP+tiP* = *édha+bhyaḥ+vrāj-a-ti* = *édhe-bhyo vrāj-a-ti* (7.3.103).

### 2.3.15 túm-arthāt=ca bhāva-vācanāt

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is also (ca) [introduced after a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 an affix] denoting bhāvā (3.3.11 : abstract noun, notion of the verb) and used to indicate the meaning of the affix °-tum (3.3.10).

*pác+tumN vrāj+ŚaP+tiP* = *pákā+Ñe vrāj-a-ti* = *pákā-ya vraj-a-ti* 'goes to cook'.

### 2.3.16 <sup>1</sup>námas-<sup>2</sup>svastí-<sup>3</sup>svāhā-<sup>4</sup>svadhā=<sup>5</sup>álam=<sup>6</sup>vāṣaṭ=yogāt=ca

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is also (ca) introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with námas 'obeisance', svastí 'well-being' (a term of salutation), svāhā, svadhā 'ritual interjections', álam 'equal to, a match for' and vāṣaṭ 'ritual interjection'.

1. *námo devé-bhyaḥ* 'salutation to the divinities'.

2. *svastí prajā-bhyaḥ* ‘well-being to the subjects’.
3. *svāhā agnāy-e* ‘a sacrificial offering to Agni’.
4. *svadhā pitṛ-bhyaḥ* ‘a sacrificial offering to the Manes’.
5. *ālam mallo mallā-ya* ‘a wrestler is a match for (another) wrestler’. [ālam] here is also indicative of its synonyms: *prabhūr mallo mallā-ya* ‘a wrestler lords over (another) wrestler’.
6. *vāṣaṭ=īndrā-ya* ‘a sacrificial offering to Indra’.

### 2.3.17 manya-karmaṇi=ān-ādare vibhāṣā=ā-prāṇiṣu

[The fourth sUP triplet 13] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced (after a nominal stem) which functions as the object of the co-occurring verbal stem *mān(ya-)* ‘know, perceive’ (IV 67) when conveying the sense of scorn (ān-ādare) provided that object is not animate (ā-prāṇiṣu).

The option is with regard to the normal use of the accusative to denote the direct object. *nā tvām tṛṇ-am/tṛṇā-ya man-y-e* ‘I do not consider thee as worth (even) a straw’, but with animate objects only the accusative occurs: *nā tvām śṛgālā-m many-e* ‘I do not consider thee as a jackal’.

### 2.3.18 <sup>1</sup>kartṛ-<sup>2</sup>kāraṇayos tṛtīyā

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) (is introduced after a nominal stem) to denote the agent [*kartṛ-* ° 1.4.54] and the instrument (° -kāraṇa 1.4.42) [*kāraḥ* 1.4.23].

1. *devadatt-ēna kṛtām* ‘made by Devadatta’.
2. *dātr-ēna lu-nā-ti* ‘cuts with a sickle’.

### 2.3.19 sahá-yukte=ā-pradhāne

[The third sUP triplet 18] is introduced (after a nominal stem co-occurring with) the indeclinable *sahá* ‘with, accompanied by’, provided the nominal stem does not denote the principal (agent) [āpradhāne].

*sahá putréna pitā ā-ga-tā-h* ‘the father has come with the son’.

### 2.3.20 yéna=aṅga-vikārah

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18] after a nominal stem denoting a part of the body (aṅga) with respect to which the body has been deformed (vikārah)

*akṣṇ-ā kāṇā-h* ‘blind of one eye’; *pād-ēna khañjā-h* ‘lame in one foot’.

### 2.3.21 ittham-bhūta-lakṣaṇé

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] denoting the characteristic of a state realized (ittham-bhūta-lakṣaṇé).

*jāṭā-bhis tāpasā-h* ‘an ascetic, by virtue of having matted hair’;  
*sīkḥay-ā parivrājaka-h* ‘Ibid.’

### 2.3.22 sām-jñāḥ=anyatarāsyām kārmaṇi

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] when it is the direct object (kārmaṇi) of the compound verbal stem sām+jñā ‘recognize, acknowledge’ optionally (anyatarāsyām).

*pitṛ-ā/pitār-am sām-jā-ni-te* ‘recognizes the father’.

### 2.3.23 hetaú

[The third sUP triplet is introduced 18 (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes a cause (hetaú).

*dhān-ena kūlam* ‘a family, on account of wealth’; *vidyāy-ā yāśaḥ* ‘fame (results from) learning’.

### 2.3.24 á-kartári=ṛṇé pañcamí

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamí) is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting a debt (ṛṇé) [considered as a cause 23] but not as the agent (kartári) of a causative verb (hetaú 1.4.55).

*śat-āt=baddhā-h* ‘imprisoned on account of a debt of a hundred pieces’, but *śatēna bandh-i-tāḥ* ‘caused to be imprisoned on account of a debt of a hundred pieces’.

### 2.3.25 vibhāṣā guṇé=á-striyām

[The fifth sUP triplet is introduced 24] optionally (vibhāṣā) (after a nominal stem) which is not feminine (á-striyām), denoting a quality (guṇé) [serving as a cause 23].

*jāḍy-āt/jāḍey-ena baddhā-h* ‘arrested on account of his stupidity’, but *prajñāy-ā muk-tā-h* ‘released on account of (one’s) intelligence’.

### 2.3.26 ṣaṣṭhī hetu-prayogé

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with the nominal stem hetú [when it indicates a cause 23].

*annásya hetór vás-a-ti* ‘remains for the purpose of food’.

### 2.3.27 sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca

The third sUP triplet as well as (ca) [the sixth 6] are introduced (after 1.1.68) a pronominal stem (sarvanāmnah) [co-occurring with the nominal stem hetú 26 when it denotes a cause 23].

*kéna hetú-nā/ká-sya hetóḥ=vás-a-ti* ‘for what reason is (one) staying?’.

### 2.3.28 apādāne pañcamī

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote the apādāna (1.4.24) [kāraka 1.4.23].

*grām-āt ā-gacch-a-ti* ‘comes from the village’; *vṛke-bhyo bhhe-ti* ‘fears wolves’ (1.4.25); *adhyāyan-āt pārā-jay-a-te* ‘overcome by study’ (1.4.26).

### 2.3.29 <sup>1</sup>anyá=<sup>2</sup>ārát=<sup>3</sup>ítara=<sup>4</sup>ṛté=<sup>5</sup>dik-śabdá=<sup>6</sup>ancÚ=uttarapada=<sup>7</sup>āC=<sup>8</sup>āhi-yukte

[The fifth sUP triplet 28 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem] co-occurring with anyá- ‘other than’, ārát ‘near to, remote from’, ítara- ‘different from’, ṛté ‘without’, direction words (dik-śabdá-°), a compound with °-anc- as final member (ancÚ-uttara-pada-°) and words ending in °-āC or °-āhi.

1. *anyó devadatt-āt* ‘other than Devadatta’.
2. *ārát=devadatt-āt* ‘near to/far from D.’
3. *ítaro devadatt-āt* ‘different from D.’
4. *ṛté devadatt-āt* ‘without D.’
5. *pūrvó grām-āt-pārvataḥ* ‘the hill east of the village’.
6. *prág grām-āt* ‘east of the village’.
7. *úttaro grām-āt* ‘north of the village’.
8. *dakṣiṇāhi grām-āt* ‘south of the village’.

### 2.3.30 ṣaṣṭhī=atas-ārtha-pratyayéna

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [co-occurring with 29] (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) an affix synonymous with °-atás (uC 5.3.28).

*dakṣiṇ-atás=grāma-sya* ‘south of the village’; *pur-ás/pur-atás= grāma-sya* ‘east of the village’ (5.3.39); *upāri/upāri-ṣṭhāt=nāgara-sya* ‘above the city’.

### 2.3.31 enaPā dvitīyā

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) is introduced [after a nominal stem co-occurring with 29] (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) the affix °-enaP (5.3.35).

*úttar-ena grām-am* ‘north of the village’.

### 2.3.32 <sup>1</sup>pṛthak-<sup>2</sup>vínā-<sup>3</sup>nānā-bhis tṛtīyā=anyatarásyām

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after (nominal stems) as well as the fifth 28, co-occurring with 29] pṛthak ‘separately’, vínā ‘without’, nānā ‘without, different from’.

Through the anuvṛtti from the preceding sūtra, the second sUP triplet also is optionally introduced.

1. *pṛthak rām-éna/rām-āt/rām-ám* ‘separate from Rāma’.
2. *vínā vāt-éna/vāt-āt/vāt-ám* ‘without wind’.
3. *nānā devadatt-éna/devadatt-āt/devadatt-ám* ‘different from D.’

### 2.3.33 káraṇe ca <sup>1</sup>stoká=<sup>2</sup>álpa-<sup>3</sup>kṛcchrá-katipayásya á-sattva-vacanasya

When denoting the káraṇa (1.4.42) [kāraka 1.4.23 the third sUP triplet is optionally 32 introduced] as well as (ca) [the fifth 28] after (the nominal stems) stoká- ‘a little’, álpa- ‘a little’, kṛcchrá- ‘difficult’, and katipayá- ‘a few’ when these do not denote a substance (á-sattva- vacanasya).

1. *stók-ena/stók-āt=muktá-h* ‘got off easily’.
2. *álp-ena/álp-āt=muktá-h* ‘got off easily’, but *stók-ena/álp-ena viṣ-éna hatá-h* ‘killed by a little poison’.
- (c) *kṛcchr-éna/kṛcchr-āt=muktá-h* ‘released with difficulty’.
- (d) *katipay-éna/katipay-āt=muktá-h* ‘released with a few’.



### 2.3.34 <sup>1</sup>dūrā=<sup>2</sup>antikā=arthaiḥ śaṣṭhī=anyatarāśyām

The sixth sUP triplet [as well as the fifth 28] are introduced after (nominal stems) co-occurring with synonyms of dūrā- ‘distant, far’, and antikā- ‘proximate, near’.

The repetition of the word [anyatarāśyām] when it is already recurring from 32 above is to include the fifth sUP triplet and exclude the third (32).

1. *dūr-am grāma-sya/grām-āt* ‘far from the village’.
2. *antik-ām grāma-sya/grām-āt* ‘near the village. The form *dūr-ām* is by 35 below.

### 2.3.35 <sup>1</sup>dūra=<sup>2</sup>antikā=arthebhyo dvitīyā ca

The second sUP triplet (dvitīyā) and (ca) [the fifth 28 as well as the third 32] are introduced (after nominal stems) synonymous with dūrā- ‘distant’ and antikā- ‘proximate’ [when they do not imply a substance 33].

1. *dūr-ām/dūr-āt/dūr-ēṇa grāmasya* ‘far from the village’.
2. *antik-ām/antik-āt/antik-ēṇa nāgarasya* ‘near the city’.

### 2.3.36 saptamī=adhikāraṇe

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote the adhikāraṇa (1.4.48) [kāraṇa 1.4.23] and (ca) [also after synonyms of dūrā- and antikā- 35].

1. *kāt-e ās-te* ‘sits on the mat’; *sthāly-ām pāc-a-ti* ‘cooks in a pot’.
2. *dūr-ē nāgarasya* ‘far from the city’; *antik-ē grāma-sya* ‘near the village’. With synonyms of these two words four sets of sUP triplets are thus introduced: second, third, fifth and seventh.

### 2.3.37 yāsya ca bhāvēna bhāva-lakṣaṇām

[The seventh sUP triplet 36 is introduced after a nominal stem] denoting an action (bhāvēna) which serves to characterize another action (bhāva-lakṣaṇām).

This is the locative absolute construction. *gó-su duh-yā-m-ānā-su gatā-h, dugdhā-su ā-ga-ta-h* ‘went away while the cows were being milked (but) returned after they were milked’.

### 2.3.38 ṣaṣṭhī ca=án-ādare

The sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhī) and (ca) [the seventh 37] are introduced (after a nominal stem) [denoting an action which serves to characterize another action 37] to denote the sense of 'not-withstanding, in spite of' (án-ādare).

*rudāt-aḥ/rudāt-i prā-vrāj-I-t* 'in spite of (her) weeping renounced the world'. This is the genitive absolute construction.

### 2.3.39 <sup>1</sup>svāmī(n)=<sup>2</sup>īśvará=<sup>3</sup>ádhipati-<sup>4</sup>dāyādá-<sup>5</sup>sākṣí(n)-<sup>6</sup>pratibhū-<sup>7</sup>prásutais ca

[The seventh sUp triplet 36 and the sixth 38 are introduced after a nominal stem co-occurring with 29] [the nominal stems] svāmín- 'master', īśvará- 'lord', ádhipati- 'ruler', dāyādá- 'heir', sākṣín- 'witness', pratibhū- 'surety' and prásūta- 'engendered, born'.

1. *gáv-ām/go-ṣu svāmī* 'master (=owner) of cattle'.
2. *nāre-ṣu/nārā-ñām īśvarāḥ* 'lord of men'.
3. *nāra-ñām/nāre-ṣu ádhipatiḥ* 'ruler of men'.
4. *háre-r/hár-au dāyādáh* 'heir of Hari'.
5. *gáv-ām/gó-ṣu sākṣé* 'witness regarding cattle'.
6. *gáv-ām/gó-ṣu prati-bhūḥ* 'surety for cattle'.
7. *gáv-ām/gó-ṣu prásūta-h* 'born to enoy cattle'.

### 2.3.40 <sup>1</sup>áyukta-<sup>2</sup>kúśalábhyām ca=āsevāyām

[The seventh 36 as well as the sixth 38 sUP triplets are introduced after (nominal stems) co-occurring with 29 nominal stems] áyukta- 'employed' and kúśala- 'adroit, skilful' to denote assiduous performance (āsevāyām).

1. *á-yukta-h kṭa-karaṇ-é/kṭa-karaṇá-sya* 'completely absorbed in the making of mats'.
2. *kúśala-h kṭa-karaṇ-é/kṭa-karaṇá-sya* 'skilful in the making of mats'.

### 2.3.41 yátas ca nirdhāraṇam

[The seventh 36 as well as the sixth 38 sUP triplets are introduced after (a nominal stem)] denoting something from which (yátah) something else is set apart (nirdhāraṇam).

*nāre-ṣu/nārā-ñām kṣatriya-h śūra-tama-h* 'among men the warrior is the bravest'.

### 2.3.42 pañcamī víbhakte

The fifth sUP triplet (pañcamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [denoting a thing from which something else is set apart 41] which is completely separate (from itself) (víbhakte).

*māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrake-bhyaḥ sūkumāratarāḥ* 'the inhabitants of M. are more delicate than those of P.'

### 2.3.43 <sup>1</sup>sādhú-<sup>2</sup>nipuṇābhyām arcāyām saptamī á-prateḥ

The seventh sUP triplet (saptamī) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [co-occurring with 29 nominal stems] sādhú- 'good for' and nipuṇá- 'skilful' when they denote respect (arcāyām) provided (the karmapravacanīya) práti is not employed.

*mātár-i sādhú-h* 'well-behaved towards the mother', but *mātár-am práti sādhúḥ*.  
*pitár-i nipuṇá-h* / *pitár-am práti nipuṇá-h* 'friendly towards the father'.

### 2.3.44 <sup>1</sup>prásita=<sup>2</sup>utsukābhyām tṛtīyā ca

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) as well as (ca) [the seventh 43 are introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with 29 the nominal stems] prásita- 'occupied with' and utsuká- 'avid, eager for'.

1. *keś-aiḥ/keśe-su prá-sita-h* 'occupied with one's hair'.

2. *sā=utsukā suta-janmán-ā/suta-janmán-i* 'she is eagerly expecting the birth of (her) son'.

### 2.3.45 náḁsatre ca luPi

[The third 44 and the seventh 43] sUP triplets are introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting the name of an asterism (náḁsatre) (ending in 1.1.72) the affix IUP (4.2.4).

*puṣy-ēṇa/puṣy-ē pāyasám aś-nī-yā-t* 'one should drink a milkshake when the asterism puṣyā is in conjunction with the moon'. Here the affix [áN] introduced after the name of the asterism (4.2.3) is replaced by [luP 4.2.4] when there is no specification of this time as day or night.

### 2.3.46 <sup>1</sup>prātipadika=arthá-<sup>2</sup>līngá-<sup>3</sup>parimāṇa-<sup>4</sup>vācana-mātre prathamā

The first sUP triplet (prathamā) is introduced (after a nominal stem) to designate only (°-mātré) (a) the meaning of the nominal stem (prātipadika=arthá-°) (b) its gender (līngá-°), (c) measure (parimāṇa-°) and (d) its number (vācana-°).

1. *uccaís+sU* = *uccaís+∅* (6.1.68) = *uccaśh* (B.3.15) 'high', *nīcaśh* 'low'. Both are indeclinables (derived with the inst. plur.) sUP affix from qualifying words *uccá-*, *nīcá-*.
2. Three genders are associated with a nominal stem: masculine (m.), feminine (f.) and neuter (n.), and only the first sUP triplets enable one to distinguish these, since in other cases there is convergence of forms. Thus *vr̥kṣád+sU* = *vr̥kṣád-h* m., *kumarí+sU* = *kumarí+∅* (6.1.68) = *kumarí* f., (= *kumārād+ÑIP* 4.1.10); *vána+sU* = *vána+am* (7.1.13) = *ván-am* (6.1.107) n. Nominal stems which are indeclinable or with invariable gender are examples of (1) while those with no specific gender are examples of (2) as in: *taṭa+sU* m., *taṭa+(f. °-ī)+sU* (→ ∅ 6.1.68) = *taṭī* f.; *taṭa+sU* (→ *am* 7.1.23) = *taṭ-am* n.
3. *dróna+sU* = *dróna-h* m.; *khārí+sU* = *khārí+∅* = *khārí* f.; *ādhaka+sU* = *ādhaka+am* = *ādhak-am* n. 'names of measures'.
4. *éka+sU* = *ékaś* 'one', *dví+au* = *dvá+au* (7.2.102) = *dv-aú* 'two', *trí+Jas* = *tré+Jas* (7.3.109) = *tráy-aḥ* (6.1.68) 'three' respectively representing the singular, dual and plural.

### 2.3.47 sambódhane ca

[The first sUP triplet 46] is also introduced after a nominal stem for denoting the vocative (sambódhane).

- devadattá+sU* = *devadattá+∅* (6.1.69) = *he devadattá*; *hári+sU* = *háre+sU* (7.3.108) = *háre+∅* (6.1.69) = *háre*.  
*devadattá+au* = *dévadattau*; *devadattá+Jas* = *dévadattāḥ*.

### 2.3.48 sá=ámantritam

(The t.t.) ámantrita denotes (a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) [the first sUP triplet 46] used in addressing (= vocative [sambódhane]).

As a t.t. occurs in 2.1.2; 6.1.198; 8.1.8,19,55,72,73.

### 2.3.49 ekavacanám sambúddhiḥ

(The t.t.) sambúddhi denotes the singular (ekavacanám) [of the āmantrita 48 = first sUP triplet].

As a t.t. occurs in 1.1.16; 6.1.69; 4.9; 7.1.92,99; 8.2.8; 3.1.

### 2.3.50 ṣaṣṭhī śéše

The sixth sUP triplet is introduced (after a nominal stem) to denote residual relationships (śéše = those not specified such as kárman [2ff. above]).

In general, the relationship is between nominal stems without the intervention of verbal stems representing kárakas and covers such instances as that between a master and servant (sva-svāmi-bhāvá) or between the possessor and the thing possessed: *rājñ-aḥ púruṣa-h* 'king's servant', or *pit-úḥ putrá-h* 'father's son'.

### 2.3.51 jñāḥ=á-vid-arthasya káraṇe

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting the instrument (káraṇe) of the verbal stem jñā- (IX 36) when it is not used in the meaning of 'knowing' (á-vid-arthasya).

[jñā-], when not denoting the sense of 'know' conveys the sense of (a) 'engages in' or (b) 'misunderstands':

*sárpiṣ-o jñ-nī-té* = *sárpiṣ-ā káranena jñ-nī-té* 'engages in sacrifice with clarified butter'/'mistakenly recognizes as butter (what is not butter)'.

### 2.3.52 <sup>1</sup>ádhi=iK=artha-<sup>2</sup>dáyA=<sup>3</sup>īśām kármaṇi

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it serves as the direct object (kármaṇi) of the verbal stems ádhi+iK (III 8) 'remember' and its synonyms (ádhi=iK=artha-) and dáy- (I 510) 'allot' and īś- (II 10) 'rule'.

1. *māt-úr ádhy-eti/smár-a-ti* 'remembers the mother'.
2. *sárpiṣ-o dáy-a-te* 'allots clarified butter'.
3. *mádhu-n-aḥ=īś-te* 'possesses honey'.

### 2.3.53 kṛÑḥ pratiyatné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem] kṛÑḥ- (VIII 10) denoting the sense of 'transform existing quality' (prati-yatné 1.3.32).

*édho daká-sya=úpas-kur-u-te* 'The wood transforms the quality of the water', but  
*kát-am kar-ó-ti* 'makes a pot'.

### 2.3.54 *rujā=arthānām bhāva-vācanānām á-jvareḥ*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems signifying affliction (*rujā=arthānām*) and denoting a condition or state (*bhāva-vācanānam*) [i.e., when the agent is an abstract agent noun] except of the causative verbal stem *jvar-í-* (= *jvar+NíC*) (*á-jvareḥ* I 813).

*caurá-sya ruj-á-ti rógah* 'the malady afflicts the thief'; here the word *róga-* is derived from the underlying string *ruj-yá-te anéna = ruj+GHaÑ = rógā-h* and is an abstract noun, but *nadf kúlāni ruj-á-ti* 'river breaks the banks' and *caur-ám jvar-áy-a-ti jvārah* 'fever burns the thief'.

### 2.3.55 *āśíṣi nāthah*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stem *nāth-* (I 7) signifying 'bless' (*āśíṣi*).

*sārpiṣ-as=nāth-a-te = sārpiṣ-o nāth-a-te* 'blesses the curd', but *māṇavakām úpa-nāth-a-ti 'aṅgá pútraka=adhí-sva* 'he solicits his son: "O son, study!"'.

### 2.3.56 *<sup>1</sup>jāsí-<sup>2</sup>ni-pra-haṇÁ-<sup>3</sup>nāṭa-<sup>4</sup>krātha-<sup>5</sup>piṣām himśáyām*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems *jās-í* (= *jas+NíC* X 130), *ni+prá+han-* (II 2) 'strike, injure', *nāṭa-* (= *nát+NíC* I 332) 'injure', *krātha* (*kráth+NíC* I 838) and *piṣ-* (VII 15) 'crush, bruise, pound' when denoting the sense of 'injure' (*himśáyām*).

*caurá-sya új-jās-ay-a-ti/ní-pra-han-ti/ní-hanti/prá-han-ti/prá-ní-han-ti/ún-nāṭ-ay-a-ti/krāth-áy-a-ti/pi-ná-s-ti* 'injures the thief'.

### 2.3.57 *<sup>1</sup>vy-avá-hṛ-<sup>2</sup>pāṇoh sám-arthayoh*

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stems *vi+avá+hṛ* (I 947) and *pāṇ-* (I 466) when they have identical meanings (i.e., 'gamble' or 'buy and sell').

*śatā-sya vy-avā-har-a-ti/pāṇ-a-te* 'bets a hundred pieces' or 'buys and sells for a hundred pieces', but *śalāk-ām vy-avā- har-a-ti* 'throws the dice', and *brāhmaṇān paṇ-āy-a-te* 'praises the brahmins'.

### 2.3.58 dīvas tād-arthasya

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal stem *dīv-* (IV 1) [having the same meaning as that of the verbal stems *vy-ava-hṛ-* and *pāṇ-* 57].

*sahāśra-sya dīv-ya-ti* 'stakes or deals with a thousand pieces' but *brāhmaṇām dīv-ya-ti* 'praises a brahmin'.

### 2.3.59 vibhāṣā=upasārge

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem *dīv-* 58 having the same meaning as that of the verbal stems *vy-avā-hṛ-* and *pāṇ-* 57] when co-occurring with a preverb (*upasārge*).

*śatā-sya/śat-ām prāti-dīv-ya-ti* 'he deals in or stakes a hundred pieces', but *śatā-sya dīv-yā-ti* 58.

### 2.3.60 dvitīyā brāhmāṇé

In the domain of the *Brāhmaṇā* the second sUP triplet (*dvitīyā*) is introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52 of the verbal stem *dīv-* 58 having the same meaning as that of *vy-avā-hṛ-* and *pāṇ-* 57].

*gām asyā tād āhaḥ sabhāyām dīv-yey-uḥ* (M.S.) 'they should stake a cow for him that day in the assembly'.

### 2.3.61 <sup>1</sup>prēśya-<sup>2</sup>bruvor háviṣo devatā-sampradāné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it serves as the object 52] of the verbal *padas* *prēśya* (2nd. pers. sing. Imperative of *pra+is* IV 19) and *brū-hí* (of *brū-* II 35), denoting a sacrificial offering (*háviṣaḥ*) when it is offered to a divinity (*devatā-sampradāne*).

*agnāy-e chāga-sya háviṣ-o vapā-yā médas-aḥ prēś-sya/ānu-brūṣ-hi* 'offer to Agni the goat, fat and marrow' but *agnāy-e chāg-am hávir vapām médo ju-hu-dhí*.

### 2.3.62 caturthy=arthé bahulám chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced diversely (bahulám) in the sense of the fourth sUP triplet (caturthy=arthé).

*puruṣa-mṛgá-ś candrámas-aḥ/candrā-mas-e* 'a male deer for the Moon divinity',  
but *kṛṣṇo rátry-ai* 'a black deer for Rátri' or *himavát-e hastí* 'an elephant to H.'

### 2.3.63 yajés ca káraṇe

[In the domain of Chándas 62 the sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) diversely 62] when it serves as a káraṇa [kāraka 1.4.23] of the verbal stem yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

*sóm-ena yáj-a-te/sóma-sya yáj-a-te* 'sacrifice with soma juice'.

### 2.3.64 kṛtvās=artha-prayogé kālé=adhikáraṇe

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is introduced (after a nominal stem) denoting time (kālé) co-occurring with (another nominal stem ending in 1.1.72) an affix synonymous with °-kṛtvās (uC 5.4.17) to denote a locus or substratum (adhikáraṇe 2.3.36).

*panca-kṛtvās=áhn-o bhunk-té* 'eats five times a day'; *dvíṛ áhn-aḥ=ádhi-te* 'studies twice a day', where *dvís* = *dví+suC* (5.4.18), but *áhan-i śe-té* 'sleeps during day' and *dvíḥ kāmasya-pātry-ám bhunk-té* 'eats twice in a bronze plate', where time is not indicated.

### 2.3.65 <sup>1</sup>kartṛ-<sup>2</sup>kármaṇoḥ kṛt-i

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes the agent (kartṛ- °) or the direct object (°-kármaṇoḥ) of the action signified by a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛt affix.

1. [kartṛ] : *bhávāt-aḥ śáyika* [= \*śr+ŊvuL+TāP] 'your turn to lie down'.
2. [kárman] : *ap-ám sraśtá* 'creator of waters', but *śástr-ena bhetṭá* 'destroying with a weapon', against *pur-ām bhetṭá* 'destroyer of city-forts', since *śástr-ena* is káraṇa kāraka.



### 2.3.66 ubhaya-prāptaú kármaṇi

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem)] when it denotes the direct object (kármaṇi) [of an action signified by a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a kṛt affix 65] which involves both [= an agent and an object 65] (ubhaya-prāptaú).

*āścāryo gav-ām dōh-o=ā-gopālakena* ‘the milking of cattle by one who is not a cow-herd is a wonder’; *róc-a-te me odaná-sya bhójan-am devadatt-éna* ‘it pleases me (to see) D. eating (some) rice’. The word *dōha* = (\**duh*+*GHaN*), and *bhój-ana* = (\**bhuj*+*LyuT*) both affixes being kṛt; cows and rice are respectively direct objects of milking and eating while the cowherd and Devadattá are respectively the agents of the actions.

### 2.3.67 Ktásya ca vartamāné

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) when it denotes the agent or the direct object 65] of a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the (kṛt) affix Ktá and the action is referred to the present time (vartamāné 3.2.187-8).

*rājñ-ām matá-h/buddhá-h/pūjítá-h* ‘honored by the king’, but *odan-ám páca-m-āna-h* ‘cooking rice’; *grām-am gatá-h* ‘has gone to the village’ (past tense). This is a prior exception to 69 below.

### 2.3.68 adhikarana-vācínaś ca

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is introduced (after a nominal stem) co-occurring with a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 (kṛt) affix Ktá 65] as a locus indicator (adhikaraṇa-vācínaś 3.4.76).

This is also an exception to 69 below. *idám e-śám ās-i-tám* ‘this is where they sit’; *idám e-śám śay-i-tám* ‘this is where they sleep’; *idám e-śám bhakṣ-i-tám* ‘this is where they eat.

### 2.3.69 ná <sup>1</sup>la=<sup>2</sup>ú=<sup>3</sup>uka-<sup>4</sup>ávyaya-<sup>5</sup>niṣṭhā-<sup>6</sup>KHáL-artha-<sup>7</sup>tṚNām

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is not (ná) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when it denotes the agent or direct object of a verbal stem ending 1.1.72 in the (kṛt) affix 65] if it is (a) an l-substitute (=ŚátR, ŚānáC 3.2.124, KānáC 3.2.106, KvásU 3.2.107, Kí, KiN 3.2.171), (b) ú (3.2.168), (c) úka (3.2.154), (d) indeclinable (ávyaya : Ktvá, tosuN, KasuN 1.1.40), (e) niṣṭhā (Ktá, KtávatU 1.1.26), (f) synonyms of KHáL (3.3.126) and (g) tṚN.

1. l-substitutes: *odan-ám pácan* 'who is cooking rice' and similarly *odan-ám pác-a-mānah/pec-ānā-h/pec-i-vān/*; *pap-i-h sóm-am* 'has drunk Soma juice'; *dad-ír gāh* 'donated cattle'.
2. [ú] : *kāt-am cikīrs-ú-h* 'wishing to make a mat'.
3. [uka] : *daityān ghāt-uka-h* 'habitually destroying demons'; *pāṭaliputram ā-gām-uka-h* 'habitually coming to Pāṭaliputra'.
4. [ávyaya] : *kāt-am kṛ-tvā* 'having made a mat'.
5. [niṣṭhā] : *odan-ám bhuk-távān* 'has eaten rice'. *devadatt-éna kṛtām* 'made by Devadatta'.
6. [KHaL-artha] : *su-kār-aḥ káto bhávat-ā* 'the mat can be made easily by your honor'.
7. [tṛN] : This is to be understood to be a siglum formed with the tṚ of ŚatṚ (3.2.124) and ending with the IT marker N of tṛN (3.2.135), comprising the following affixes: ŚatṚ, ŚānāC (3.2.124), ŚānāN (3.2.128), CānāŚ (3.2.129) and tṛN. EXamples are: *sóm-am páv-a-m-āna-h* 'straining Soma juice'; *ṇat-ám ā-dhm-ānā-h* 'calling an actor'; *adhī-y-án pāṛāyaṇ-am* 'practicing a recitation'; *kārtā kātān* 'maker of mats'.

### 2.3.70 <sup>1</sup>aka=<sup>2</sup>inór <sup>1</sup>bhaviṣyád=<sup>2</sup>ādhamarṇyáyoḥ

[The sixth sUP triplet 50 is not introduced (after a nominal stem) 69 when it denotes the agent or direct object of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 a kṛt affix 65] if it is °-aka- (NvuL 3.3.10) denoting an action taking place in the future (bhaviṣyád-°) or °-in- (= Nínī 3.3.170) denoting an action taking place in the future or pertaining to the state of being a debtor (<sup>1</sup>bhaviṣyát=<sup>2</sup>ādhamarṇyáyoḥ).

1. *odan-ám bhóḥ-ak-o vrāj-a-ti* 'goes for the purpose of eating rice'.
2. *grām-am gamf/gāmf* 'he has to go to the village'.
3. *śat-ám dāyī* 'obliged to repay a debt of 100 pieces'.

### 2.3.71 kṛtyānām kartāri vā

[The sixth sUP triplet 50] is optionally (vā) introduced (after a nominal stem) when it denotes an agent of a verbal stem [ending in 1.1.72 a kṛt affix 65] when it belongs to the kṛtya sub-class (3.1.95ff.)

*bhāvat-aḥ/bhāvat-ā kāta-h kartāvya-h* 'you have to make a mat', but if the affix is an object signifier, by 65 the sixth sUP triplet alone is introduced: *gē-yo māṇavaka-h sām-n-ām* 'the lad has to chant the sāmans'.

### 2.3.72 túlya=arthair a-<sup>1</sup>tulā=<sup>2</sup>upamābhyām tṛtīyā=anyatarāsyām

The third sUP triplet (tṛtīyā) is optionally (anyatarāsyām) introduced [as an alternate to the sixth 50] when co-occurring with synonyms of túlya- 'similar, comparable', except the nominal stems tulā and upamā 'comparison'.

*túlya-h/sadṛśa-h devadatt-éna/devadattā-sya* 'equal to D.' but *tulā/upamā devadattā-sya ná víd-ya-te* 'there is no comparison with Devadattā'.

The use of [anyatarāsyām] when [vā] already recurs from the preceding sūtra is to block the recurrence of [tṛtīyā] from this rule to the next on account of the particle [ca] there.

### 2.3.73 caturthī ca=āśīṣi=<sup>1</sup>āyusya-<sup>2</sup>madrā-<sup>3</sup>bhadrā-<sup>4</sup>kúsala- <sup>5</sup>sukhá=<sup>6</sup>ārtha-<sup>7</sup>hitāíḥ

The fourth sUP triplet (caturthī) [is optionally 72 introduced (after a nominal stem) as an alternate to the sixth 50] when co-occurring with (nominal stems) -āyusya- 'longevity', madrá-, bhadrā- 'good fortune', kúsala- 'welfare', sukhá- 'happiness', ārtha- 'prosperity, wealth' and hitá- 'benefit' do denote benediction (āśīṣi).

1. *āyusyam tú-bhyam/táva bhū-yāt* 'may you (sing.) enjoy long life'.
2. *madrás/bhadrás tá-smai/tá-sya bhūyāt* 'may good fortune befall him'.
3. *kúśalam devadattā-ya/devadattā-sya* 'may D's welfare be assured'.
4. *sukhām túbhyam/táva bhūyāt* 'may you be happy'.
5. *ártho yajñadattā-ya/yajñadattā-sya* 'may Y. be prosperous'.
6. *hitām devadattā-ya/devadattā-sya* 'may it be beneficial to D.'

### 2.4.1 dvigúr ekavacanám

A divgú [compound 1.3] is treated as though it signified a single thing (ekavacanám = ékasya vācanam).

Since it is treated as though signifying a single thing, the singular of sUP triplets is introduced after a dvigú. The present rule is applicable only to collective or [samāhāhāra] dvigú-s.

### 2.4.2 dvaṁdvás ca <sup>1</sup>prāñí(n)-<sup>2</sup>túrya-<sup>3</sup>sénā=aṅgānām

A dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] is also (ca) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] if the constituent members denote parts (aṅgānām) of (a) a living being (prāñín-), (b) a musical group (túrya-) and (c) an army (sénā).

1. *pāṇi-pād-ám* 'hands and feet'; *śiro-grīvám* 'head and neck'; neuter by 17 below.
2. *māṇḍanika-pāṇāvīkām* 'a group of mṇḍanga and paṇava players'.
3. *rathika=aśvārohām* 'an army unit consisting of cariotheers and cavaliers'.

### 2.4.3 anuvādé cáraṇānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of persons belonging to different Vedic schools (cáraṇānām) to denote the repetition of a given text (anuvādé).

*úd-a-gā-t katha-kālāpām* 'transmitters of Kātha and Kālāpa branches (of Vedic schools) arose', but *úd-a-g-uḥ katha-kālāpāḥ* 'when the texts are recited for the first time'.

### 2.4.4 adhvaryu-kratúr á-napuṁsakam

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote the names of sacrifices prescribed in the Yajurveda (adhvaryu-kratúḥ) which are not neuter (á-napuṁsakam).

*arkás ca áśva-medhas ca* = *arkāśvamedhām* 'the Árka and Áśvamedha sacrifices', but *īṣu-vajrau* 'Íṣu and Vāja sacrifices prescribed in the Sāmaveda' or *rājasūyaś ca vājapeyam ca* = *rājasūya-vājapeyē* 'since the second member is neuter, though both sacrifices belong to the Yajur Veda'.

#### 2.4.5 adhyayanatāḥ=á-vi-pra-kṛṣṭa=ākhyānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote the names of persons (ākhyānām) derived from the subjects studied (adhyayanatāḥ) by them which are not far from each other (á-vi-pra-kṛṣṭa-°).

*pada-kramakām* ‘an adept in the Padapāṭha and an adept in the Kramapāṭha (of Vedic recitation)’, but *pitā-putrāú* ‘father and son’ (names not so derived) and *yājñika-vaiyākaraṇaú* ‘a performer of sacrifices and a grammarian’, experts in unrelated subjects.

#### 2.4.6 jātir á-prāñinām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing] when the constituent members denote names of species (jātiḥ) of inanimate beings (á-prāñinām).

*ārā ca śastrī ca = ārā-śastrī* ‘the probe and the knife’; similarly *dhāṇḍ-śaṣkulī = dhāṇḍ ca śaṣkulay-aś ca* ‘fried rice and barley cakes’, but *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriy-aú* ‘brahmins and warriors’.

This rule applies only to words denoting substances and not quality or action: (a) quality: *rāpa-ras-aú* ‘form and taste’; (b) action: *gamana=a-kuñcan-é* ‘going and bending’.

#### 2.4.7 víśiṣṭa-liṅgo nadī deśāḥ=á-grāmāḥ

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote river-names (nadī) and place-names (deśāḥ) excluding village-names (a-grāmāḥ), of different genders (víśiṣṭa-liṅgaḥ).

1. river-names: *uddhyaś ca hrāvatī ca = uddhyerāvatī; gāṅgā ca śónaś ca = gaṅgā-śónām.*
2. *kúrav-as ca kurukṣetrām ca = kuru-kurukṣetrām.*
3. But *gāṅgā ca yamúnā ca = gaṅgā-yamun-é; jāmbavás ca (nág-aram) sālúkinī ca (grāmāḥ) = jāmbava-sālúkinī-aú.*

#### 2.4.8 kṣudra-jantávaḥ

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though denoting a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of small animals (kṣudra-jantávaḥ).

By interpretation small animals include up to the mongoose. *daṁṣa-maśakām* 'bug and mosquito'; *yūkā-likām* 'the louse and nits', but *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriy-āú*.

## 2.4.9 yéśām ca viródhah śásvatikah

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members denote items between which there is perennial (*śásvatikah*) conflict (*viródhah*).

*mārjāra-mūṣikām* 'cats and mice'; *ahi-nakulām* 'the snake and mongoose'; *kākolūkām* 'crows and owls'; *aśva-mahiṣām* 'horses and buffalos', despite the option introduced by 12 below.

## 2.4.10 sūdrāṇām ánirvasitānām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3 is treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when the constituent members are names of *sūdrās* who are not excluded from (social) contact with higher caste members (*á-nir-ava-sitānām*).

*takṣás ca ayaskārás ca* = *takṣāyaskārdm* 'carpenter and blacksmith'; *rajaka-tantuvāyām* 'washermen and weavers', but *cāṇḍāla-mṛtap-āú* 'outcastes and morticians'.

## 2.4.11 gavāśvá-prabhṛtīni ca

[The class of dvaṁdvá 2 compounds 1.3] beginning with *gavāśvá-* 'cows and horses' is also treated (as though denoting a single thing 1).

*gavāvikām* 'cows and sheep'; *ajaidakām* 'goats and rams'.

## 2.4.12 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>vṛkṣá-<sup>2</sup>mṛgá-<sup>3</sup>tṛṇa-<sup>4</sup>dhānyà-<sup>5</sup>vyāñjana-<sup>6</sup>paśú-<sup>7</sup>śakúni-<sup>8</sup>aśva-vaḍavá-<sup>9</sup>pūrvāpará=<sup>10</sup>adharottarāṇām

[A dvaṁdvá 2 compound 1.3] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members are names of (1) trees (*vṛkṣá*) (2) animals (*mṛgá*) (3) grasses (*tṛṇa*), (4) cereals (*dhānyà*), (5) condiments (*vyāñjana*), (6) domestic animals (*paśú*), (7) birds (*śakúni*), (8) and the irregular (compounds 1.3) *aśva-vaḍavá-* 'horses and mares', *pūrvāpará-* 'first and last' and *adharottará-* 'lower and upper'.

1. trees: *plakṣa-nyagrodhām/plakṣa-nyagrodháh* 'P and N trees'.

2. animals: *ruru-prṣat-ām/ruru-prṣatāḥ* 'ruru and spotted antelopes'.
3. grass: *kuśa-kāś-ām/°kāśāḥ* 'kuśa and kāśa grasses'.
4. cereals: *vr̥thi-yav-ām/°-yavāḥ* 'rice and barley grains'.
5. condiments: *dadhi-ghṛt-ām/°-ghṛt-é* 'curds and ghee'.
6. domestic animals: *go-mahiṣ-ām/°-mahiṣé* 'cows and buffalos'.
7. birds: *tittiri-kapiñjal-ām/°-kapiñjal-āḥ* 'partridges and heathcocks'.
8. *aśva-vaḍav-ām/°-vaḍav-āḥ*; *purvāpar-ām-°paré*; *adharottar-ām/°uttaré*.

A vārttika restricts the application of this rule, in the case of fruit (phāla), army units (sénā), herbs (vānaspāti), animals (mṛgá), birds (śakúni), small animals (kṣudra-jantú), cereals (dhānyà) and grass (tīṇa) to the plural forms of the constituent members only: thus when these members are in the singular the resulting compounds will be in the dual: *badara=āmalaké*, *rathika=aśvārohaú*, *plakṣa=nyagrodhaú*, *ruru-prṣataú*, *haṁsa=cakravākaú*, *yūkā=likṣe*, *vr̥thi-yavaú*, *kuśa-kāśau*.

### 2.4.13 vipratīṣiddham ca=án-adhi-karaṇa-vāci

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3] is also (ca) [optionally 12 treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote opposites (vi-prāti-ṣiddham) which are not substances (án=adhi-karaṇa-vācin-).

*śītoṣṇ-ām/°-uṣṇ-é* 'cold and hot', *sukha-duḥkh-ām/°-duḥkh-é* 'happiness and misery', *jīvita-maraṇ-ām/°-maraṇ-é* 'life and death, but *kāma-krodh-aú* 'desire and anger' (as they are not opposites) and *śītoṣṇ-e udake* 'cold and hot water' (as denoting a substance: water).

### 2.4.14 ná dadhi-payá=ādīni

[The class of dvandvā 1 compounds 1.3] beginning with *dadhi-payásī* 'curd and milk (or water)' is not (ná) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1].

*sarpīr-madhú-n-I* 'clarified butter and honey' = *madhu-sarpīṣī*; *brahma-prajāpatī* 'B. and Pr.'

### 2.4.15 adhikaraṇa=etāvattvé ca

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3 is not 14] also (ca) [treated as though it represented a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote the quantity of concrete things (adhikaraṇa=etāvattvé).

*dāśa dāntās ca oṣṭhās ca* = *dāśa dantausthāḥ* 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; *dāśa mārdaṅgika-pānavikāḥ* (cf. 2 above).

#### 2.4.16 vibhāṣā samīpe

[A dvandvā 2 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [treated as though it denoted a single thing 1] when its constituent members denote a proximate (samīpe) [quantity of concrete objects 15].

*upadaś-ām dantaṣṭh-ām/úpadaśá dantaṣṭháh* 'approximately nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'.

#### 2.4.17 sá nápuṁsakam

That (sáh) [= dvigú 1 and dvandvā 2-16 compounds 1.3] [which is treated as though denoting a single thing 1] is neuter in gender (ná-puṁsakam).

1. *dvigú*: *pañca-gavám/daśa-gavám* 'a collection of 5/10 cows'.
2. *dvandvā*: *pāṇi-pādám, śiro-grīvám* etc., (cf. 2 above).
3. By a vārttika the famimine affix is introduced after a dvigú compound ending in short -a: cf. *aṣṭan+adhyāya+ñIP* = *aṣṭaṅ+adhyāya+I* = *aṣṭādhyāyāṅ+f* = *aṣṭādhyāyá* 'title of this corpus, consisting of 8 adhyāyás "chapters" '.

#### 2.4.18 avyayībhāváś ca

[An] avyayībhāvá [compound 1.3] is also (ca) [neuter in gender 17].

*adhi-śtrí, adhi-kumārí, úpakumbham, súmadram* etc., cf. 1.6 above.

#### 2.4.19 <sup>1</sup>tatpuruśáḥ=á-nañ-<sup>2</sup>karmadhārayaḥ

A tatpuruśá [compound 1.3] not co-occurring with the negative particle náñ or a karmadhārayá (1.2.42) [compound 1.3] [is neuter in gender 17].

This is a governing rule operating up to 25 below.

#### 2.4.20 sañjñāyām kanthā=uśīnareṣu

[A tatpuruśá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náñ and a karma-dharāyá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when it [ends in 1.1.72] the word kanthā 'town' denoting a proper name (sañjñāyām) of a place in the Uśīnara country.

*sausāmi-kántham, āhvara-kánth-am* 'placenames in Uś. country', but *vīraṇa-kanthā* 'a patched garment made of vīraṇa' and *dākṣi-kanthā* 'a placename outside Uś. country'. Cf. 6.2.124.



#### 2.4.21 <sup>1</sup>upajñā=<sup>2</sup>upakrámañ tad-ādi=ācikhyāsāyām

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when (ending in 1.1.72) the words upajñā 'original propagation' and upakráma 'initiative' and signifying the desire to express (ācikhyāsāyām) its beginning or starting point (tad-ādi-°).

*pāṇiny-upajñ-ām vyākaraṇam* 'grammar first taught by Pāṇini'; *nandopakramāñi māñi* 'measures first standardized by (king Nanda)'.

#### 2.4.22 chāyā bāhulye

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3 not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17] when it (ends in 7.1.72) the word chāyā 'shadow' to express profusion (bāhulye) of the preceding member.

*śalabha-cchāyām* 'shadow (cast by a huge cloud) of locusts'; *ikṣūñām chāyā = ikṣu-cchāyām* 'shadow (cast by a thick grove) of sugar-cane', but *kudya-cchāyā* f. 'shadow of a wall'.

#### 2.4.23 sabhā <sup>1</sup>rāja(n)=<sup>2</sup>a-manuṣyā-pūrvā

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3. not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3. is neuter in gender 17] provided it (ends in 1.1.72) the word sabhā 'assembly' and co-occurs after (synonyms of) the word rājan 'king, ruler' or a word denoting a non-human being (a-manuṣyā-pūrvā).

In this rule the word [rājan], contra metarule 1.1.68 does not represent itself, but only includes its synonyms: *inā-sabham* 'royal court or assembly', but *rāja-sabhā*. Similarly *piśā-ca-sabhām* 'assembly of piśācas', but *devadatta-sabhā*. Cf. 6.2.98.

#### 2.4.24 á-śālā ca

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3, not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3 is neuter in gender 17 when it ends 1.1.72 in the word sabhā 23] provided it does not denote a hall or mansion (á-śālā).

Here the word [sabhā] denotes 'a concourse': *strī-sabham* 'a concourse of women';

*dāśī-sabham* 'a group or crowd of maid-servants', but *á-nātha-sabhā* 'a poor house'. Cf. 6.2.98.

#### 2.4.25 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>sénā-<sup>2</sup>súrā-<sup>3</sup>chāyā-<sup>4</sup>sālā-<sup>5</sup>nísānām

[A tatpuruṣá 19 compound 1.3. not co-occurring with náñ-° or a karmadhārayá 19 compound 1.3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [neuter in gender 17 when it ends 1.1.72 in the words] sénā 'army', súrā 'liquor', chāyā 'shadow', sālā 'hall, mansion' and nísā 'night'.

1. *rāja-senám*/°-*sená* 'royal army'.
2. *yava-surám*/°-*surá* 'barley liquor'.
3. *kudya-echāyám*/°-*chāyá* 'shadow thrown by a wall'.
4. *go-sālám*/°-*sālā* 'cow-stall, cow-pen'. Cf. 6.2.123.
5. *śva-nisám*/°-*nisā* 'dog-night (when dogs howl)'.

#### 2.4.26 paravát=liṅgám <sup>1</sup>dvaṁdvá-<sup>2</sup>tatpuruṣáyoh

The gender of a dvaṁdvá or tatpuruṣá compound 1.3 is that of the final member (parval-liṅgám).

1. dvaṁdva : *kukkutás ca mayūrf ca* = *kukkuta-mayūry-áu* f. 'cock and peahen' = *mayūrī-kukkuṭaú* m. 'peahen and cock'.
2. tatpuruṣá : *ardhám pippalyāḥ* = *ardha-pippalī* f. 'half a berry'.
3. By a vārttika this rule is blocked in the case of dvigú compounds and those occurring with *prāpta-*, *āpanna-* and *ālam* as prior members, as also *gāti* compounds: *pañcāsu kapāleṣu sāmśkrítāḥ* = *pañca-kapālā-ḥ puroḍāśā-ḥ*; *prāto jīvikām* = *prāpta-jīvikā-ḥ*; *āpanno jīvikām* = *āpanna-jīvikā-ḥ*; *ālam jīvikāyai* = *alam-jīvikā-ḥ*; *niṣ-krānta-ḥ kauśāmbiyāḥ* = *nīṣ-kauśāmbī-ḥ*.

#### 2.3.27 pūrvavát=śśva-vaḍavau

[The gender of the dvaṁdvá 26 compound 1.3] śśva-vaḍavau is that of the prior member (pūrvavát).

This is an exception to 26 by which the string *śśvaś ca vaḍavā ca* would have been realized as \**śśva-vaḍav-e* (f.) 'stallion and mare'.

#### 2.4.28 <sup>1</sup>hemanta-śīsīraú=<sup>2</sup>aho-rātré ca=chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [in the dvaṁdva 29 compounds 1.3] hemanta-śīsīraú and aho-rātré [the gender is that of the prior member 27].

The word [śísira-] is both m. and n. and when it is n. the string *hemantás ca śísiram ca* = *hemanta-śísirau* m. 'autumn and winter seasons', and the string *āhas ca rātris ca* = *aho-rātrām* n. 'day and night', contra *hemanta-śísire* n., and *aho-rātrau* m. in the spoken language.

## 2.4.29 <sup>1</sup>rātrá=<sup>2</sup>ahná=<sup>3</sup>ahāḥ púmsi

[The gender of a dvaṁdva 26 compound 1.3] (ending in 1.1.72) the (samāsānta 5.4.87,88,89) words °-rātrá-, °-ahná- or °-ahá- is masculine (púmsi).

This blocks the rule 26 above.

1. *dvi-rātrá-h, tri-rātrá-h* 'a period of two/three days'.
2. *pūrvahṇá-h/aprahṇá-h/madhyāhná-h* 'forenoon/afternoon/noon'.
3. *dvy-ahá-h, try-ahá-h* 'two or three days'.

## 2.4.30 ápatham nápuṁsaksm

[The tatpuruśá 26 compound 1.3] á-patham is neuter (napuṁsakam).

*na pánthāḥ* = *náN+pathin+a* (5.4.76) = *á-pathin+a* (6.3.73) = *á-path00+a* (6.4.144) = *á-path+a+sU* = *á-path-a+am* (7.1.73) = *á-path-am* (6.1.107) = *ápatham idám* 'this is a wrong/bad road or path'; but in a bahuvrīhi compound: *á-path-o déśa-h* 'a pathless tract'.

## 2.4.31 ardharacāḥ púmsi ca

The class of [compounds 1.3] beginning with *ardharacā-* 'half a strophe of ṛk', is masculine in gender (púmsi) and also (ca) [neuter 30].

*ardharacā-h/ardharacām; gomayā-h/gomayām* 'cow-dung'; *kaśāya-h/kaśāyam* 'decoction'.

## 2.4.32 idāmaḥ=anvādeśé=aŚ=ánudāttas tṛtīyā=ādaḥ

The low-pitched (ánudātta) substitute aŚ replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) *idám-* 'this' before all sUP triplets beginning with the third (tṛtīyā=ādaḥ) when it is used anaphorically (anvādeśé).

*ābhyām chātrābhyām rātrīr ādhñā, athó ābhyām āhar āpy ādhñam* 'These two pupils studied the whole night, and then they studied the whole day'. When [idám-] is used the first time, by 6.1.168 and 171 the udātta accent falls on the sUP triplets from the instrumental singular onwards, but not when it occurs anaphorically with aŚ replacement. The proper purpose of this rule, however, is

in connection with forms ending in °ákāC- (5.3.71): *imākābhyām chātrābhyām rātrīr ādhītā, athó abhyām áhar ápy ádhītam*

#### 2.4.33 etádas <sup>1</sup>tra-<sup>2</sup>tasós <sup>1</sup>tra-<sup>2</sup>tasaú ca=ánudāttau

[The low-pitched (ánudātta) substitute aŚ 32 replaces the whole of 1.1.55] etád- 'this' before the affixes °tra- (5.3.10) and °-tas- = (tasiL 5.3.7) and both affixes °tra- and °tas- become low-pitched (ánudāttau) [when etád is used anaphorically 32].

1. *etásmin grāme sukhám vás-ā-mah, athó atra yuktá adhī-mahe* 'we are living happily in this village, therefore let us study here diligently', where [a-tra] is a substitute for *etá-smin*.
2. *etásmāt=chātrāt=chándah=adhī-ṣva, athó a-to vyākaraṇam ápy adhī-ṣva* 'study Veda (or metrics) from this pupil, and also study grammar (vyākaraṇa) from him', where *a-tas* is the anaphoric substitute for *etá-smāt*.

#### 2.4.34 <sup>1</sup>dvitīyā-<sup>2</sup>Tā=<sup>3</sup>ós-su=enah

[The low-pitched substitute 32] ena- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [idám- 32 and etád- 33 when used anaphorically 32] before sUP triplets of the second (dvitīyā vibhakti 1.4.104) as well as before Tā (= 3rd sing.) and os (= 6th and 7th dual).

1. *imám chātrám chándah=ádhyāp-ay-a, athó enam vyākaraṇam ápy ádhy-āp-ay-a* 'teach this pupil chándas, and teach him grammar also'; similarly *etám chātrám chándo=ádhy-āp-ay-a, athó enam vyākaraṇam ápy ádhy-āp-ay-a*.
2. *anéna/eténa rātrīr adhītā, athó en-ena áhar ápy adhītam*.
3. *anáy-oḥ/etáy-oḥ chātráy-oḥ śóghanam śīlam, athó enayoh prabhūtám svám* 'the disposition of these two pupils is brilliant and hence they have great wealth'.

#### 2.4.35 árdha-dhātuke

Before an árdhadhatuka verbal affix (3.4.114).

This is a governing rule (adhikārá) heading this section beginning here and ending with 58 below, and the expression [árdhadhātuke] will recur in every subsequent statement of this section.

### 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir LyaP ti K-IT-i*

The substitute *jagdh-* replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem *ad-* 'eat' (II 1) [before the *ārdhadhātuka* affix 35] *LyaP* (7.1.37) and those beginning with °*ta-* with marker *K* as *IT*.

1. *pra+ad+ktivā* = *pra+ád+LyaP* (7.1.37) = *pra-jágdh-ya*, but *ad+yaK+te* = *ad-yá-te* 'is eaten'.
2. *ad+Ktá* = *jagdh+tá* = *jagdh+dhá* (8.2.40) = *jagd-dhá-* (8.2.53).

### 2.4.37 <sup>1</sup>IUÑ-<sup>2</sup>saNor ghasḶ

The substitute *ghasḶ* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem *ad-* 36 before *ārdhadhatuka* l-substitutes 25] of *IUÑ* (Aorist) and the desiderative marker *saN*.

The markers of the Aorist tense are all *ārdhadhatuka*, introduced before the l-substitutes (3.1.43ff).

1. *ad+IUÑ* = *ad+t* (3.4.100) = *ad+Clḷi+t* (3.1.43) = *ghasḶ+aÑ+t* (3.1.55) = *āT+ghas-a-t* (6.4.71) = *á-ghas-a-t* 'has eaten'.
2. *ad+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.68; 4.78) = *ghas+saN+a+ti* = *ghá-ghas+sa+a+t* (6.1.9; 7.4.60) = *jhá-ghas-sa-a-ti* (7.4.62) = *já-ghas-sa-a-ti* (8.4.54) = *jí-ghas-sa-a-ti* (7.4.79) = *jíghat-sa-a-ti* (7.4.49) = *jíghat-sa-ti* (6.1.97) 'wishes to eat'.

### 2.4.38 <sup>1</sup>GHaÑ-<sup>2</sup>áPoś ca

[The substitute *ghasḶ* 37 replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem *ad-* 36 before *ārdhadhatuka* 35] affixes *GHaÑ* (3.3.18) and *aP* (3.3.59).

1. *ad+GHaÑ* = *ghasḶ+GHaÑ* = *ghās-á-* (7.3.115; 6.1.159) 'grass, nourishment'.
2. *pra+ad+aP* = *pra+ghasḶ+aP* = *pra-ghas-á-* (6.1.144) 'voracious'.

### 2.4.39 *bahulám Chándasi*

In the domain of *Chándas* [the substitute *ghasḶ* replaces the whole of 1.1.55] the verbal stem *ad-* 36 diversely (*bahulám*).

1. *ghástām nūnam* 'they two have just eaten' derived from (*á*)-*ghas-tām* with Ø replacement of the initial augment by 6.4.75, being the 3rd pers. dual of the Imperfect or (*a*)-*ghas+Clḷi+tām* = (Ø)-*ghas+Ø+tām* (80) being similarly the alternate Aorist form.
2. *sa+ad+KtiN* = *sa+ghásḶ+KtiN* = *sá-ghḶs+ti* (6.4.100) = *sá-ghḶḶ+ti* (B.2.26) = *ságh+dhi* (8.2.40) = *ság+dhi* (8.4.53) 'common meal'.
3. no replacement: *ad+IUÑ* = *ad+Clḷi+tām* = *á+ad+siC+tām* (3.1.43, 44 6.4.76; 8.2.26) = *á+ad+Ø+tām* (8.2.26) = *āttām* 'they two have eaten'.

## 2.4.40 IIṬy anyataráśyām

[The substitute ghasḷ 36] optionally (anyataráśyām) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem ad- 36 before árdhadhātuka l-substitutes of] IIṬ (Perfect Tense).

$$\begin{aligned} ad+IIṬ &= ad-ad+NaL \text{ (6.1.8; 3.4.82)} = a-ád+NaL \text{ (7.4.60)} = a+ád+NaL \text{ (7.2.115)} = \\ &ád-a/ghas+IIṬ = ghas+NaL = ghas-ghás+NaL \text{ (6.1.8)} = ga-ghás+NaL \text{ (8.4.54)} = \\ &ja-ghás+NaL \text{ (7.4.6Z)} = ja-ghás-a \text{ (7.1.115)}. \end{aligned}$$

## 2.4.41 veÑo vayiḥ

[Before árdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of IIṬ 40] the substitute vay- [optionally 40 replaces the whole of 1.1.55] the verbal stem veÑ- ‘weave’ (I 1055).

1.  $veÑ+IIṬ = veÑ+NaL = vay+NaL = vay-vay+NaL \text{ (6.1.8)} = va-vay+NaL \text{ (7.4.60)}$   
 $= u-vay+NaL \text{ (6.1.17)} = u-váy-a \text{ (7.2.115)}.$
2.  $veÑ+IIṬ = veÑ+NaL = vā+IIṬ+NaL \text{ (6.1.45)} = vā-vā+NaL = va-vā+NaL \text{ (7.4.59)}$   
 $= va-vā+au \text{ (7.1.34)} = vav-aú.$

## 2.4.42 hano vadhá IIN-i

The substitute vadhá- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem han- ‘kill, strike’ (II 2) [before árdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IIN̄ (Precative 3.4.116).

$$\begin{aligned} han+IIN̄ &= vadhá+IIN̄ = vadh+*yás*(*uT*)+*s*(*uT*)+*t* \text{ (3.4.103,107)} = vadh $\emptyset$ +*yá* $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ +*t* \\ &\text{(8.2.29) but } vadh-yás-s-tām = vadh-yá-s-tām, vadh-yá-s-uh. \text{ 8.2.29 stipulates} \\ &\text{that [s] occurring as initial of a conjunct is replaced by } \emptyset \text{ at the end of a padá or} \\ &\text{before jhaL.} \end{aligned}$$

## 2.4.43 IUN̄-i ca

[The substitute vadhá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 of the verbal stem han- 42] also (ca) before [the árdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUN̄ (Aorist).

$$\begin{aligned} han+IUN̄ &= á-vadh+Cl*i*+*t* \text{ (3.1.43; 6.4.71)} = á-vadh $\emptyset$ +*s**i*C+*t* \text{ (3.1.44; 6.4.8)} = \\ &á-vadh+*i*T+*s*+*t* \text{ (7.2.35)} = á-vadh-*i*-*s*+iT+*t* \text{ (7.3.96)} = á-vadh+*i*+ $\emptyset$ +iT \text{ (8.2.28)} = \\ &á-vadh-*i*-*t*. \text{ The rule 7.2.3 whereby the stem vowel of [vadh-] should have been} \\ &\text{replaced by } \text{ṛddhi} \text{ is blocked by the fact that the substitute of verbal stem} \\ &\text{[han-] ends in a vowel and is not a haL-anta as required by that rule, though} \\ &\text{that vowel is replaced by } \emptyset \text{ through the operation of the metarule 1.1.62.} \end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.44 ātmanepadēṣu=anyatarāsyām

[The substitute vadhá- 43] optionally (anyatarāsyām) replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [the verbal stem han- 42 before ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of IUN 43] when they are ātmanepadā (middle voice) (1.4.100).

$$\begin{aligned}\acute{a}+han+lu\dot{N} &= \acute{a}-han+ta = \acute{a}-han+Cl_i+ta \text{ (3.1.43)} = \acute{a}-han+siC+ta \text{ (3.1.44)} = \\ &\acute{a}-ha\emptyset+s-ta \text{ (1.2.14; 6.4.37)} = \acute{a}-ha-\emptyset-ta \text{ (8.2.27)} = \acute{a}-ha-ta / \acute{a}+vadh+siC+ta = \\ &\acute{a}-vadh+iT-siC+ta = \acute{a}-vadh-i-s-ta \text{ (8.3.59; 4.41)}.\end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.45 iṆo gā IUN-i

The substitute gā replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem iṆ- 'go' (II 36) [before ārdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUN (Aorist).

$$\begin{aligned}i\dot{N}+IUN &= i\dot{N}+Cl_i+tiP \text{ (3.1.43)} = g\acute{a}+Cl_i+ti \text{ (3.4.100)} = g\acute{a}+siC+ti \text{ (3.1.44)} = \\ &g\acute{a}+\emptyset+ti \text{ (77)} = \acute{a}T+g\acute{a}-t \text{ (6.4.71)} = \acute{a}-g\acute{a}-t.\end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.46 Naú gamir á-bodhane

[Before the ārdhadhātuka 35] affix Ní(C) the substitute gam- replaces [the verbal stem iṆ- 45] when it does not signify 'understanding' (á-bodhane).

$$\begin{aligned}i\dot{N}+NíC+\acute{S}aP+tiP &= gam+NíC+\acute{S}aP+tiP = gam-f-a-ti = gam-é-a-ti \text{ (7.3.84)} = \\ &gam-áy-a-ti \text{ 'makes one go'}. \text{ Here the vṛddhi replacement of penultimate [aT of gam-] (7.2.116) is blocked by 6.4.92 as Dhp. I 866 includes verbal stems ending in [am] as M-ITs. When 'understanding' is to be denoted we have:} \\ prati+i\dot{N}+NíC+\acute{S}aP+tiP &= prati+ai-i+a+ti \text{ (7.2.115)} = prati+áy-i+a+ti \\ \text{(6.1.78)} &= prátý-áy+e+a+ti = prátý-áyay-a-ti \text{ 'communicates'}.\end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.47 saN-i ca

Also (ca) [before the ārdhadhātuka 35 affix] saN [the substitute gam- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem iṆ- when it does not signify 'understanding' 46].

$$\begin{aligned}i\dot{N}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP &= gam+saN+\acute{S}ap+tiP = gám-gam+sa+ti \text{ (6.1.8)} = \\ &gá\emptyset-gam+iT+sa-ti \text{ (7.2.35; 4.60)} = gí-gam-i-ṣa-a-ti \text{ (7.4.79; 8.3.59)} = \\ &jí-gam-i-ṣa-ti \text{ (6.1.97; 7.4.62) 'wishes to go'; but} \\ &prati+i\dot{N}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \\ &prati+is+iT-saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP \text{ (6.1.2)} \text{ } prátisi-ṣa-ti \text{ (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'desires to} \\ &\text{communicate'}.\end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.48 iÑ-aś ca

[The substitute gam-46] also (ca) replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem iÑ (with ádhi- °) 'study' (II 37) [before the árdha-dhātuka 35 affix saN 47].

$$\begin{aligned} \acute{a}dhi+i\ddot{N}+saN+\acute{S}aP+te \text{ (7.4.79)} &= \acute{a}dhi+gam+saN+\acute{S}aP+te = \acute{a}dhi-j\ddot{i}-gam+sa-te = \\ &\acute{a}dhi-j\ddot{i}-g\ddot{a}m-sa-te \text{ (6.4.16)} \text{ 'wishes to study'}. \end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.49 gāÑ IIT-i

The substitute gāÑ- [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem iÑ (with ádhi- °) 48 before the árdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IIT (Perfect).

$$\begin{aligned} \acute{a}dhi+i\ddot{N}+IIT &= \acute{a}dhi+i+e\acute{S} \text{ (3.4.81)} = \acute{a}dhi-g\ddot{a}-g\ddot{a}+e\acute{S} \text{ (6.1.8)} = \acute{a}dhi-ga-g\ddot{a}+e \text{ (7.4.59)} \\ &= \acute{a}dhi-ja-g\ddot{a}+e \text{ (7.4.62)} = \acute{a}dhi-ja-g\emptyset+e \text{ (6.4.64)} = \acute{a}dhi-ja-ge \text{ 'has studied' and} \\ &\text{similarly the dual and plural forms are } \acute{a}dhi-ja-g-\acute{a}te / \acute{a}dhi-ja-g-ire. \end{aligned}$$

#### 2.4.50 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>IUÑ-<sup>2</sup>IRÑ-oh

[The substitute gāÑ- 49] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem iÑ- 49 before the árdhadhātuka 35] l-substitutes of IUÑ (Aorist) and IRÑ (Conditional).

1. IUÑ:  $\acute{a}dhi+i\ddot{N}+IU\ddot{N} = \acute{a}dhi+g\ddot{a}\ddot{N}+IU\ddot{N} = \acute{a}dhi-g\ddot{a}-s\ddot{i}C+ta \text{ (3.1.44)} = \acute{a}dhi+g\ddot{r}+s+ta \text{ (6.4.66)} = adhi+\acute{a}T+g\ddot{r}-s+ta \text{ (6.4.71)} = adhy-\acute{a}-g\ddot{r}-s-\acute{a}ta \text{ (8.3.59)} / adhi+\acute{a}T+i+s+ta = adhy-ai-s-\acute{a}ta \text{ (6.4.90; 8.3.59; 4.41)}.$
2. IRÑ:  $adhi+i\ddot{N}+IR\ddot{N}+ta = adhi-g\ddot{a}\ddot{N}+IR\ddot{N}+ta = adhi-g\ddot{a}+sya+ta \text{ (3.1.33)} = adhi+\acute{a}T+g\ddot{r}-sya+ta \text{ (6.4.66; 8.3.59); } adhi+\acute{a}T+i+sya+ta = adhy-ai-sya+ta \text{ (6.1.90 4.72; 8.3.59)}.$

#### 2.4.51 Naú ca <sup>1</sup>saN=<sup>2</sup>CaÑ-oh

[The substitute gāÑ- 49 optionally 50 replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem iÑ- 49] co-occurring with the causative marker Ní(C) (3.1.26) [before árdhadhātuka 35 markers] saN and CaÑ.

1.  $\acute{a}dhi+i\ddot{N}+N\ddot{i}C+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{a}dhi+g\ddot{a}+N\ddot{i}C+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{a}dhi+g\ddot{a}+p(uK)+i+sa+a+ti \text{ (7.3.36)} = \acute{a}dhi-j\ddot{i}-g\ddot{a}p-i=iT+sa+a+ti \text{ (7.2.35)} = \acute{a}dhi-j\ddot{i}-g\ddot{a}p-e+i-sa-ti \text{ (7.3.84)} = \acute{a}dhi-j\ddot{i}-g\ddot{a}p-ay-i-sa-ti \text{ (6.1.78; 8.3.59)} / \acute{a}dhi+ai+N\ddot{i}C+saN+\acute{S}aP+ti \text{ (7.2.115)} = adhi+\acute{a}+p(uk)+N\ddot{i}C+saN+\acute{A}aP+ti$



(6.1.48; 7.3.36) = *adhy-āpi-pi+iT+sa+a+ti* (6.1.2; 7.2.35) = *adhy-āpi-pe-i-sa-a-ti* (7.3.86) *adhy-āpi-pay-i-sa-ti* (6.1.78, 97; 8.3.59).

2. *ádhi+iÑ+N̄i+CaÑ+t* = *ádhi+gā+p(uk)+N̄i+CaÑ+t* = *ádhi+gāp-i+CaÑ+t* = *ádhi-jī-gāpi+CaÑ+t* (6.1.11; 7.4.79,91) = *adhy+āT+jī-gapθ-a-t* (6.4.51,71; 7.4.1,94) = *adhy-ā-jī-gap-a-t* / *adhy-āT+iÑ+N̄iC+CaÑ+t* = *adhy-ā+ai+i+CaN+t* = *adhy-ā+ā+p(uK)+i+CaÑ+t* = *adhy-ā- api-p+θ-a-t* = *adhy-āpi-p-a-t*.

## 2.4.52 aster bhūh

The substitute bhū- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before ārdhadhātuka affixes 35].

1. non-sigmatic future *lIT* : *as+tās* (3.1.33)+*Dā* (2.4.85) = *bhū+iT+tās+Dā* (7.2.35) = *bho-i-tθ+ā* (6.4.143; 7.3.84) = *bhav-i-tā* (6.1.78), *bhav-i-tā-rau* (7.4.51), *bhav-i-tā-rah*.
2. *as+tumūN* = *bhū+tum* = *bhū+iT+tum* = *bhāv-i-tum*.
3. *as+tavya-* = *bhū+iT+tavya-* = *bhav-i-tavya-*.

## 2.4.53 bruvo vaci-h

The substitute vac- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem brū- 'speak' (II 35) [before ārdhadhātuka affixes 35].

*brū+tumuN* = *vác+tum* = *vák-tum* (8.2.30); *brū+tās+Dā* = *vac+tās+Dā* = *vak-tθθ-ā* = *vak-tā*; *brū+tavya-* = *vac+tavya-* = *vak-tavya-*.

## 2.4.54 cakṣiÑah khyāÑ

The substitute khyāÑ- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem cakṣiÑ- 'tell, inform' (II 7) [before an ārdhadhātuka affix 35].

*ā+caks+tās+miP* = *ā-khyā+tās+mi* 'I am about to proclaim'; similarly *ā-khyā-tum*, *ā-khyā-tavya-*.

## 2.4.55 vā lIT-i

[The substitute khyāÑ- 54] optionally (vā) replaces [(the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem cakṣiÑ 54 before the ārdhadhātuka] l-substitutes of lIT (Perfect).

*ā-caks+lIT* = (a) *ā-khyā+lIT* = *ā-ca-khyā+au* (6.1.8; 7.4.59,60,62; 7.1.34) = *ā-ca-khyau*, *ā-cakhyθ-atuh* (6.4.64) = *ā-cakhy-atuh*. (b) *ā-ca-caks-e*, *ā-ca-caks-āte*, *ā-ca-caks-ire*.

## 2.4.56 ájer vī=á-<sup>1</sup>GHaÑ-<sup>2</sup>aP-oḥ

The substitute vī- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem áj- ‘drive, lead’ (I 248) [before an árdhadhātuka affix 35] other than GHaÑ (3.3.18) and aP (3.3.57).

*prá+aj+ÑvuL = prá+vī+Ñvul = prá+vaf-aka* (7.1.1; 2.115) = *pra-váy-aka-* (6.1.78) ‘driver, conductor’, and similarly *pra-vī+anīyaR = pra-vay-anīya-* ‘fit for driving’, but *sam+aj+GHaÑ = sam-āj-á-* (7.2.116) ‘congregation, concourse’, *sam+aj+aP = sam-aj-á-* ‘a herd, flock or multitude of animals’.

## 2.4.57 vā yau

[The substitute vī- 56] optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem áj- 56 before the árdhadhātuka affix 35] yu (LyuṬ).

Though [yu] is a cover term for KhyuN (3.2.56), Tyu(L) (4.3.23), NyuṬ (3.1.14), yuC (3.2.148; 3.107-8), Lyu (3.1.134) and LyuṬ (3.3.113,115ff.), LyuṬ is intended here. *prá+aj+LyuṬ = práj-ana-/pra-váy-ana-* (8.4.2) ‘whip, goad’.

## 2.4.58 <sup>1</sup>Nyá-<sup>2</sup>kṣatriya-<sup>3</sup>ārśá-<sup>4</sup>Ñ-IT-o yúni luK=<sup>1</sup>áN-<sup>2</sup>iÑ-oḥ

luK (1.1.61 0<sup>1</sup>) replaces the affixes áN and iÑ introduced after a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) the patronymic affix Nyá (4.1.151) or in an affix denoting the gotrá descendant (4.1.162) of a kṣatriya ‘warrior’ class or of ṣṣi ‘sage’ (4.1.114) or one co-occurring with marker Ñ as IT, all denoting a yúvan (4.1.163) descendant.

1. *Nyá: kuru+Ñyá* (4.1.151) = *kauru+yá* (7.2.115) = *kauro+yá* (6.4.146) = *kaurav-yá* (6.1.79) ‘a gotrá descendant of Kuru (a brahmin)’ = *kaurav-ya+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *kaurav-yá+0<sup>1</sup>* = *kaurav-yá-* when denoting a yúvan-descendant, whence *kaurav-yá-h pitá* (father living) : *kaurav-yáh putráh* ‘son’ (= *yúvan* ‘while father is living’).
2. *kṣatriya: vasudeva+áN* (4.1.114) = *vāsudev-á* (7.1.117) ‘descendant of Vasudeva’; *vāsudev+á+iÑ* (4.1.95) = *vāsudev+0<sup>1</sup>* ‘yúvan-descendant of Vāsudeva (still living)’.
3. *ṣṣi: vāsīṣṭha+áN* (4.1.114) = *vāsīṣṭh-á-* ‘descendant of sage Vāsīṣṭha’: *vāsīṣṭh+á+iÑ* = *vāsīṣṭh+0<sup>1</sup>* = *vāsīṣṭh-* ‘living descendant of Vāsīṣṭha or his yúvan-descendant’.
4. *Ñ-IT : bida+aÑ* (4.1.104) = *báid-a-* ‘descendant of Bida’: *baida+iÑ* = *báida+0<sup>1</sup>* = *báid-a-* ‘living descendant of Bida or his yúvan-descendant’.
5. *tika+phiÑ = taika+āyani-* (7.1.2; 2.117); *taikāyani+áN* (4.1.83) = *taikāyani+0<sup>1</sup>* = *taikāyani-* ‘living descendant of Tika or his yúvan-descendant’.

## 2.4.59 pailá=ādibhyas=ca

[luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) replaces the yúvan affix 58 introduced after the word-class] beginning with pailá- (= gotra descendant of Pīlā).

*pīlā+áN* (4.1.118)+*phiN̄* (4.1.156) = *pailá+θ<sup>1</sup>* 'living descendant of Pīlā or her yúvan descendant'.

## 2.4.60 iñ-aḥ prāc-ām

[luk (θ<sup>1</sup>) replaces the yúvan affix 58] introduced after a patronymic (ending in 1.1.72) the affix iñ to denote a [yúvan-descendant 58] of an eastern gotra (prācām).

*pañnāgāra-sya gotrāpatyām* = *pañnāgāra+iñ* (4.1.95) = *pāñnāgārθ+í* = (6.1.197; 4.1.148; 7.2.117); *pāñnāgārer āpatyam yúvā* = *pāñnāgāri+phaK* (4.1.101) = *pāñnāgāri+θ<sup>1</sup>* 'gotra descendant of Pañnāgāra (living) or his son (yúvan-descendant)'.

## 2.4.61 ná taúlvali-bhyaḥ

[luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) 58] does not (ná) replace [the yúvan affix 58 introduced after the word-class] beginning with taúlvali- [of the eastern gotra 60].

*tulvalásya prācyāsya gotrāpatyām* = *tulvald+iñ* (4.1.95) = *taúlval-i-ḥ*; *taúlvaler āpatyam yúvā* = *taúlvali+phak* (4.1.101) = *taulvalθ+āyaná-* = *taulvalāyaná-* (6.4.148; 7.1.2).

## 2.4.62 tad-rājásya bahúṣu téna=evá=ástriyām

[luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) 58] replaces a tad-rājá affix (4.1.168-74; 5.2.112-119) introduced after a nominal stem when it denotes a plurality (bahúṣu) if that plurality is expressed by the stem ending in that affix (téna=evá) except when followed by a feminine affix (á-stryām).

*āṅga+áN* = *āṅg-á-* 'a prince of Aṅga'; *āṅgá+Jas* = *āṅga+áN+Jas* = *āṅga+θ<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *āṅgāḥ* 'princes of Aṅga'; note that the operation of marker N of áN (7.1.117) is blocked by the metarule 1.1.63; but *āṅgá+N̄IP+Jas* = *āṅgy-āḥ* 'princesses of Aṅga', and *priyó vāṅgó yéṣām tè* = *priyá-vāṅga+Jas* = *priyá-vāṅgāḥ* 'those to whom the prince of Vaṅga is dear'.

## 2.4.63 yaska=ādibhyo gotré

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) replaces 58] a gotrá affix (4.1.162) introduced after the word-class beginning with yaska- [when the noun stem ending in it indicates plurality and is not followed by a feminine affix 62].

*yaskaśya gotrāpatyám* = *yaska+áN* (4.1.112) = *yāsk-á-h*; *yāśka+Jas* = *yaska+áN+Jas* = *yaska+0<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *yāskāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Yaska', but *yāśká+ÑiP+Jas* = *yāsky-āḥ* f., *priyó yāśkó yēśām te* = *priyá-yāskāḥ*.

## 2.4.64 <sup>1</sup>yaÑ-<sup>2</sup>aÑ-oś ca

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 58] also (ca) replaces [the gotrá affixes 63] *yañ* (‘-ya’) (4.1.105) and *aÑ* (‘-a’) (4.1.104) introduced (after a nominal stem) [when that nominal stem ending in these affixes itself denotes plurality and is not followed by a feminine affix 62].

1. *yaÑ*: *gárga+yaÑ* (4.1.105) = *gárg-ya-h* (7.2.117) ‘a gotra descendant of Garga’, but *gárga+yaÑ+Jas* = *gárga+0<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *gárgāḥ* ‘gotrá descendants of Garga’ contra *gārgyá+ÑiP+Jas* = *gārg0<sup>0</sup>+I+Jas* (6.4.150) = *gārgy-āḥ* ‘female descendants of Garga’ and *priyó gārgyo yēśām te* = *priyá-gārgyāḥ*.
2. *aÑ*: *bidá+aÑ* (4.1.104) = *baid-a-h*; *bidá+aÑ+Jas* = *bidá+0<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *bidāḥ* ‘gotrá descendants of Bidá’; but *baidá+ÑiN+Jas* = *baid0<sup>1</sup>+ÑiN+Jas* (6.4.148) = *baidy-āḥ* f., *priyá-baidāḥ*.

## 2.4.65 <sup>1</sup>átri-<sup>2</sup>bhṛgu-<sup>3</sup>kútsa-<sup>4</sup>vásiṣṭha-<sup>5</sup>gótama=<sup>6</sup>āṅgirobhyaś ca

[luk (0<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces the gotrá affixes 63 introduced after the nominal stems] *átri*-, *bhṛgu*-, *kútsa*-, *vásiṣṭha*-, *gótama*- and *āṅgiras* [when these stems ending in those affixes by themselves indicate plurality and are not followed by feminine affixes 62].

1. *átri+dhák* (4.1.122)+*Jas* = *átri+0<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *átray-āḥ* ‘descendants of Átri’, but *átri+dhak+ÑiP+Jas* = *ātreyy-āḥ* ‘female descendants of Átri’, and *priyá+átreya+Jas* = *priyátreyāḥ*.
2. *bhṛgu+áN* (4.1.114)+*Jas* = *bhṛgu+0<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *bhṛgav-āḥ* ‘gotrá descendants of Bhṛgu’, but *bhārgavy-āḥ*, *priyá-bhārgavāḥ*.
3. Similarly from the remaining nominal stems: <sup>3</sup>*kútsāḥ* m. / *kaútsy-āḥ* f. / *priyá-kautsāḥ*; <sup>4</sup>*vásiṣṭhāḥ* m. / *vásiṣṭhy-āḥ* f. / *priyá-vásiṣṭhāḥ*; <sup>5</sup>*gótamāḥ* m. / *gautamy-āḥ* f. / *priyá-gautamāḥ*; <sup>6</sup>*āṅgirasāḥ* m. / *āṅgirasy-āḥ* f. / *priyāṅgirsāḥ*.

## 2.4.66 bahu=áCaḥ=iÑ-ah prācyā-bharatēṣu

[luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63] iÑ introduced after a polysyllabic (bahu=áCaḥ) (nominal stem) denoting the Prācyā (eastern) and Bharatā gotrás [when the stem ending in that affix by itself indicates plurality 62].

1. Prācyā: *pannāgāra+iÑ+Jas* = *pannāgāra+∅<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *pannāgārāḥ* 'gotra descendants of Pannāgāra'.
2. Bharatā: *yúdhīṣṭhira+iÑ+Jas* = *yúdhīṣṭhira+∅<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *yúdhīṣṭhirāḥ*.
3. But when not polysyllabic: *bika+iÑ+Jas* = *baīki+Jas* = *baīkay-ah*; *puṣpa+iÑ+Jas* = *paúṣpi+Jas* = *paúṣpay-ah*.
4. When not belonging to Prācyā or Bharatā gotras: *balāka+iÑ+Jas* = *bālākay-ah*; *hastidāsa+iÑ+Jas* = *hástidāsay-ah*.

Note: Though Bharatā gotra is also a sub-class of Prācyā, its specific mention here is to indicate that Bharatā gotra is excluded when Prācyā alone is mentioned elsewhere (60 above).

## 2.4.67 ná gopāv-ana=ādibhyah

[luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) 58] does not replace [the gotrá affix 63 introduced after] the word-class beginning with gopāvana- [when these nominal stems by themselves indicate plurality 62].

This class is a sub-set of the word-class beginning with bida- (4.1.104): *gopāvanasya gotrāpatyāni púmāṁsah* = *gopāvana+aÑ+Jas* = *gaúpavanāḥ* (contrary to 64 above); similarly *śágrú+aÑ+Jas* = *śaígrav-āḥ*.

## 2.4.68 <sup>1</sup>tiká-<sup>2</sup>kitavá=ādibhyo dvaṁdvé

[luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces the gotrá affix 63 introduced after] a dvaṁdvá [compound 1.3] constituted by members of the word-classes beginning with (a) tiká- and (b) kitavá- [when the compound stems denote plurality 62].

By 4.1.154 the gotra affix [phiÑ] is introduced after these word-classes: *tika+phiÑ* = *tika+āyaniÑ* = *taikāyani-*; *kitava+phiÑ* = *kaítavāyani-*; *taikāyani+Jas+kaítavāyani+Jas* = *tika+∅<sup>1</sup>+kitava+∅<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *tika-kitavāḥ* 'gotrá-descendants of Tiká and Kitavá'.

## 2.4.69 $\acute{u}paka=\acute{a}dibhyaḥ=anyataráśyām \acute{a}-dvaṁdve$

[luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) 58] optionally (*anyataráśyām*) [replaces the *gotrá* affix 63 introduced after the word-class] beginning with *úpaka-* [when the stem denotes plurality 62 in a *dvaṁdvá* compound constituted by members of its class 68] or not so constituted (*á-dvaṁdve*).

Three compounds belonging to this class: *úpaka-lamakāḥ*, *bhṛṣṭaka-kapiñjalāḥ*, *kṛṣṇājina-kṛṣṇasundaráḥ* have already been included in the [tika-kitavá-] class (68 above) where *luK* replacement is obligatory; by this rule it becomes optional when the constituent members are used individually: *úpaka+phak* (4.1.99)+*Jas* = *úpaka+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *úpakāḥ* / *aupakāyaná+Jas* = *aupakāyanāḥ*.

## 2.4.70 $^1\acute{a}gastyá-^2kaunḍinya-or \ ^1\acute{a}gásti-^2kuṇḍináC$

[luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) 58 replaces the *gotrá* affix 63 introduced in generating the words] *āgastyá* and *kaunḍinya-* [when they indicate plurality 62] and the substitute nominal stems *agási-* and *kuṇḍináC* (respectively 1.3.10) replace (the whole of the pre-affixed stems *āgastyá-* and *kaunḍinya-*).

1. *agástya+áN* (4.1.114)+*Jas* = *agásti+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+Jas* = *agaste+Jas* (7.3.109) = *agástay-aḥ* (6.1.78).
2. *kuṇḍinI+yaN̄* (4.1.105)+*Jas* = *kaunḍinya+Jas* = *kuṇḍiná+Jas* = *kuṇḍináḥ*.

## 2.4.71 suPo $^1dhātu-^2prātipadikáy-oḥ$

[luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) 58 replaces] a nominal [vibhakti 1.4.104] ending (sUP triplet) [of a *padá* 1.4.14] constituting a (derived) verbal stem (*dhātu-°* 3.1.32) or a (derived) nominal stem (*°-prātipadiká-* 1.2.46 = ending in *kṛt* or *taddhitá* affixes or constituting *samāsás*).

1. *dhātu: ātmánaḥ putráṁ icchāti* = *putrá+am icch-á-ti* = *putrá+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+kyáC* (3.1.8) = *putrI-yá-ti* (7.4.33) 'wishes for a son'.
2. *prātipadiká:* (a) ending in a *kṛt* affix: *kumbhá+am kar-ó-ti* = *kumbhá+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+kr+áN* (3.2.1) = *kumbha-kārā-ḥ* 'potter'; (b) ending in a *taddhitá* affix: *gárgasya gotrāpatyám* = *gárga+Nas+yaN̄* = *garga+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+yaN̄* = *gárg-ya-ḥ* (4.1.105) 'gotra descendant of Garga'; (c) *samāsás*: *kaṣṭá+am śrí-tá-ḥ* (1.24) = *kaṣṭá+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+śrí-tá-ḥ* = *kaṣṭá-śrí-ta-ḥ* 'fallen on misfortune'.

## 2.4.72 adi-prabhṛtibhyaḥ ŚaP-aḥ

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces the active marker] ŚaP (3.1.68) introduced after the class of verbal stems whose first member is ad- 'eat, consume' (II 1).

$ad+ŚaP+tiP = ad+0^1+tiP = ad+ti = at-ti$  (8.4.55) 'eats'; similarly  $han+0^1+ti = hán-ti$  'kills, strikes'.

## 2.4.73 bahulám chándasi

[In the domain of Chándas (0<sup>1</sup>) 58] variously (bahulám) replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72 introduced after verbal stems].

1. does not replace it after the verb-class ad- (72):  $vṛtrám han+ŚaP+ti = vṛtrám hán-a-ti$  'kills V.' for regular  $han-ti$ .  $ahiḥ śáy-a-te (= śI+ŚaP+te)$  contra regular  $śé+0^1+te = śé-te$  'the snake is lying down'.
2. occurs after other verbal stems not forming the ad-class:  $trā-dhvám no dévāḥ$  'protect us, O gods', from  $trai+ŚaP+dhvam = trā+0^1+dhvám$  (6.1.45) contra regular  $tráy-a-dhvam$  (1.1.63).

## 2.4.74 yáÑ-aḥ=áCi ca

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 58] also (ca) replaces the affix yáÑ (3.1.22) [diversely 73] before the affix áC (3.1.134).

$lā+yáÑ = lo-lā-yá-$  (6.1.9; 7.4.89)+áC (3.1.134) =  $lolā+0^1+áC = loluv-á-$  'cutting frequently or intensively'. diversely:  $bhā+yáÑ = bo-bhā+yáÑ-$  =  $bo-bhā+0^1+tip$  =  $bó-bho-ti$ ,  $bó=bho+IT+tiP$  (7.3.94) =  $bó-bhav-I-ti$ . 3.1.32 which introduced marker ŚaP after derived verbal stems is blocked by including this formation in the ad-class (II 71) whence  $bhā+yáÑ+ŚaP+tiP = bo-bhā+0^1+tiP$  (72).

## 2.4.75 ju-hó-ti=ādibhyaḥ Śluḥ

The substitute marker Ślu replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72] introduced after the class of verbal stems beginning with hu- (ju-hó-ti) 'offer an oblation' (III 1).

$hu+ŚaP+tiP = hu+Ślu+tiP = hu-hu+ti$  (6.1.10) =  $ju-hu+ti$  (7.4.62; 8.4.54) =  $ju-hó-ti$  (7.3.84),  $ju-hu-táh$ ,  $ju-hv-áti$  (7.1.4).

## 2.4.76 bahulām chāndasi

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute marker Ślu 75] diversely (bahulām) replaces [the active marker ŚaP 72 introduced after verbal stems].

1. does not replace after the hu-class (III):  $dā+ŚaP+tiP = dā-ti priyāṇi$  gives 'desirable things' for  $dā+Ślu+tiP = dā-dā-ti$ .
2. replaces ŚaP after other verbal stems:  $vaś-(II\ 70)+Ślu+tip = vī-vaś+ti = vi-vaś-ti$  (8.2.36; 4.41) 'desires' for  $vaś+θ^1+ti = vaś-ti$ .

## 2.4.77 <sup>1</sup>gāti-<sup>2</sup>sthā-<sup>3</sup>GHU-<sup>4</sup>pā-<sup>5</sup>bhū-byah siC-aḥ parasmaipadēṣu

[luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) 58] replaces the Aorist substitute marker siC (3.1.44) [introduced after the verbal stems] gā- (substitute for iN 45 above) 'go', sthā- 'remain' (I 975), those belonging to the GHU sub-class (1.1.20), pā- 'drink' (I 972) and bhū- 'become' (I 1) before Parasmaipadā l-substitutes.

1.  $gā+siC+t = āT+gā+θ^1+t$  (6.4.71) =  $ā-gā-t$  'has gone'.
2.  $sthā+siC+t = ā+sthā+θ^1+t = ā-sthā-t$  'has remained'.
3.  $dā+siC+t = ā+dā+θ^1+t = ā-dā-t$  'has given'.
4.  $pā+siC+t = pā+θ^1+t = ā-pā-t$  'has drunk'.
5.  $bhū+siC+t = bhū+θ^1+t = ā-bhū-t$  'has become'.

## 2.4.78 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>ghrā-<sup>2</sup>dheT-<sup>3</sup>śā=<sup>4</sup>chā-<sup>5</sup>saḥ

[luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) 58] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the substitute Aorist marker siC 77 introduced after the verbal stems] ghrā- 'smell' (I 973), dheT- 'drink' (I 951), śo- 'pare' (IV 37), cho- 'cut' (IV 38) and so- 'destroy' (IV 39) [before Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 77].

1.  $ghrā+siC+t = ā-ghrā+θ^1+t = ā-ghrā-t/ā-ghrā-s+IT+t$  (7.3.96) =  $ā-ghrā-s-I-t$  'has smelled'.
2.  $dheT+siC+t = dhā+siC+t$  (6.1.45) =  $dhā+θ^1+t = ā-dhā-t / ā-dhā-s-I-t$  'has drunk'.
3.  $ā-śā-t/ā-śā-s-I-t$  'has pared'.
4.  $ā-cchā-t/ā-cchā-s-I-t$  'has cut'.
5.  $ā-sā-t/ā-sā-s-I-t$  'has destroyed'.



## 2.4.79 tán=ādibhyaḥ=<sup>1</sup>ta-<sup>2</sup>thās-oh

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 58 optionally 78 replaces the substitute Aorist marker siC 77 introduced after the class of verbal stems] beginning with tan- 'extend, stretch' (VIII 1) [before the Ātmanepadā l-substitutes] °tā and °thās.

*tan+siC+ta/thās/tan-0<sup>1</sup>+ta/thās = á-ta-ta/thās (6.4.37); alternately á-tan-iT-s-ta/thās (7.3.59; 8.4.41).*

## 2.4.80 mántre <sup>1</sup>ghásā-<sup>2</sup>hvarā-<sup>3</sup>naśÁ-<sup>4</sup>vṛ-<sup>5</sup>dahÁ=<sup>6</sup>āT-<sup>7</sup>vṛc-<sup>8</sup>kṛ-<sup>9</sup>gamī-<sup>10</sup>jani-bhyo IEḥ

In the domain of the Mántra (section of the Veda) [luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces l-members] II (= Clī 3.1.43 or IIṬ) introduced after the verbal stems ghás- 'eat' (I 747), hvṛ- 'be crooked' (I 978), naś- 'disappear' (IV 85), vrṆ- 'cover' (IX 38) or vṛṆ 'choose' (V 8), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), stems ending in long °ā, vṛj- 'avoid' (II 19, VII 24) or vṛc- (VII 24) or vṛk- 'take' (I 92), kṛ- 'do' (VIII 10), gam- 'go' (I 1031) and jan- 'be born' (IV 41).

1. *ghas+Clī+an(t)* (3.1.43) = *á-gh0s+0<sup>1</sup>+an* (6.4.98) = *á-kṣ-an* (8.3.60; 4.55) 'they have eaten'.
2. *hvṛ+Clī+t* = *á-hvar+0<sup>1</sup>+t* = *á-hvar+0* (6.1.68) = *áhvaḥ* (8.3.15) 'has acted crookedly'.
3. *naś+Clī+t* = *á-naś+siC+t* = *á-naś+siC+t* (8.2.36) = *á-nak+0<sup>1</sup>+t* (8.2.41) = *á-nak+0* (6.1.68) = *á-nak* 'has disappeared'.
4. *ā+vṛṆ+Clī+t* = *ā+āT+vṛ+siC+t* = *á-var+0<sup>1</sup>+t* = *á-var+0* (6.1.68) = *á-vaḥ* (8.3.15) 'has covered'.
5. *ā+dah+Clī+t* = *ā+āT+dagh+0<sup>1</sup>+t* (8.2.32) = *á-dhagh+t* (8.2.37) = *á=dhak+0* (6.1.68; 8.4.55) 'has burnt'.
6. *ā+prā+Clī+t* = *ā-prā+Clī+siP* = *ā+āT=prā+0<sup>1</sup>+s* = *á=prā-h* 'thou hast filled up'.
7. *parā-vṛk/vṛc/vṛj+Clī+t* = *parā+āT+vṛk/vṛc/vṛj+0<sup>1</sup>+t* = *parā-vark+t* (8.2.30) = *parā-vark+0* (6.1.68) = *parā-vark*.
8. *kṛ+Clī+an(t)* = *á=kṛ+0<sup>1</sup>+an* = *á-kr-an* 'they have done'.
9. *gam+Clī+an(t)* = *á-gam+0<sup>1</sup>+an* = *á-g0m-an* (6.4.98) = *á-gm-an* 'they have gone'.
10. *jan+Clī+ata* = *á-jan+0<sup>1</sup>+ata* = *á+j0n+ata* = *á-jñ-ata* 'they were born'.

## 2.4.81 āmah

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces l-members of II 80 introduced after the affix] °ām (marker of the Periphrastic Perfect 3.1.55).

*ih+IIṬ = ih+ām+IIṬ = ih+ām+kṛ+IIṬ (3.1.40) = ih-ām-ca-kr-e* 'has longed for'.

#### 2.4.82 ávyayāt=<sup>1</sup>āP-<sup>2</sup>sUP-aḥ

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 58 replaces] the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) and sUP triplets introduced after an indeclinable (ávyaya) (nominal stems).

1. [āP]: *tad+āP+traL* = *taa+Ø<sup>1</sup>+traL* (7.1.102) = *tá-tra* (6.1.97) *sālāyām* ‘in that hall’.
2. [sUP]: *kṛ+Ktvā+sUP* = *kṛ+tvā+Ø<sup>1</sup>* = *kṛ-tvā* ‘having done’.

#### 2.4.83 ná=avyayībhāvat=aTaḥ=am tu=á-pañcamyāḥ

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 58] does not (ná) replace [sUP triplets introduced after] an avyayībhāvá (1.5) [compound 1.3] (ending in 1.1.72) short °-a-, but (tu) affix °-am replaces them with the exception of the fifth (á-pañcamyāḥ).

*kubhásya sámīpam* = *upa+kumbha+ám* = *upa-kumbhám*; *hári+Ñi* = *adhi+hari+Ñi* = *adhi-harí+Ø<sup>1</sup>* = *adhi-harí*; but *upa-kmbhāt á-naya* ‘bring from the vicinity of the pot’.

#### 2.4.84 <sup>1</sup>ṭṛtīyā-<sup>2</sup>saptamyór bahulám

[Substitute affix °-am 83] replaces diversely (bahulám) the third and seventh sUP triplets (ṭṛtīyā-saptam-óḥ) introduced after an avyayībhāvá 83 compound 1.3 ending in short °-a 83.

1. third sUP triplet: *upa-kumbh-éna/upakumbham kṛtam* ‘made near the pot’.
2. seventh sUP triplet: *upakumbh-é/upa-kumbh-ám ní-dhe-hi* ‘set (it) down near the pot’.

#### 2.4.85 IUT-aḥ prathamá-sya <sup>1</sup>Ḍā-<sup>2</sup>rau-<sup>3</sup>ras-aḥ

The substitute elements Ḍā, rau and ras (respectively 1.3.10) replace (the whole of 1.1.55) the third person (prathamásya) of IUT [Periphrastic or non-sigmatic Future Tense].

*kṛ+IUT+tiP* = *kṛ+tās+tiP* (3.1.33) = *kṛ+tās+Ḍā* = *kar+tØØ+á* (6.4.143) = *kar-t-á*;  
*kar+tās+tas* = *kar-tās+rau* (1.1.55) = *kar+tāØ+rau* (7.4.51) = *kar-tā-rau*;  
*kar+tās+jhi* = *kar-tās+ras* = *kar-tāØ+ras* = *kar-tā-rah*.

### 3.1.1 pratyayáh

(The t.t.) pratyayá- 'affix'.

This is a governing rule covering the whole of the largest section of Ast. up to the end of the fifth chapter, and items introduced hereafter are designated by this t.t. The word [pratyayáh] will thus recur in every subsequent rule up to the end of the fifth chapter.

### 3.1.2 páraś ca

And (ca) [the affix 1] is introduced after (páraḥ 'what follows') an element [= verbal 91 or nominal 4.1.1 stem].

This is also a governing rule having the same range of operation as the preceding rule and recurs in all subsequent statements. In consequence of this, metarule 1.1.67 is not relevant with reference to 91 or 4.1.1 below.

### 3.1.3 ādy=udāttas ca

And (ca) [the affix 1] which follows 2 [the verbal or nominal stem 91 and 4.1.1 respectively] has the high-pitched (udātta) accent on its first syllable (ādī=udāttah).

This is the third governing rule having the same range of operation as the previous two. However, this is an utsargá or general rule and exceptions are stated at appropriate places. In general, accents associated with affixes other than on the first syllable are indicated by particular IT markers such as C (6.1.163-4), K (6.1.165), T (6.1.185), L (6.1.193), Ñ and Ṇ (6.1.197) and R (6.1.213).

*kṛ+tvāya-* (96) = *kar-tāvya-*, *kṛ+tvayāT* = *kar-tavyā-*, *kṛ+anfyāR* = *kar-anfyā-* 'should or ought to be done'.

### 3.1.4 ánudattau <sup>1</sup>sUP-<sup>2</sup>P-IT-au

[The affixes 1] sUP triplets and those with marker P as IT have low-pitched (ánudatta) vowels (1.2.30).

(a) sUP: *dṛṣád+au* = *dṛṣád-au*; *páth+ŚaP+tiP* = *páth-a-ti* 'recites'.

### 3.1.5 <sup>1</sup>gup-<sup>2</sup>tij-<sup>3</sup>kit=bhyaḥ saN

[The affix 1] saN is introduced [after 2] the verbal stems gup- 'hide, conceal' (X 231), tij- 'whet, sharpen' (I 1020) and kit- 'know, perceive' (I 1042).

By 32 below these derived forms constitute verbal stems (dhātu) after which the active marker ŚaP is introduced before l-substitutes (68).

1. *gup+saN+ŚaP+te* = *gúp-gup+sa+a+te* (6.1.9) = *gú-gup-sa-te* (7.4.60) = *jú-gup-sa-te* (7.4.62) 'censures'.
2. *tij+saN+ŚaP+te* = *tf-tij-sa-te* = *tf-tik-sa-te* (7.4.60) = *ti-tik-sa-te* (8.2.30; 3.59) 'endures, forbears'.
3. *kit+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cf-kit-sa-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.60) 'treats medically'.

Note: affix saN is introduced after these stems in these particular meanings; elsewhere the expected forms are respectively *gop-áya-ti* 'conceals', *tej-áy-a-ti* 'whets, sharpens', and *sam-ket-áy-a-ti* 'gives a cue' since they are listed in the tenth or cur-class also.

### 3.1.6 <sup>1</sup>mān-<sup>2</sup>badhA-<sup>3</sup>dān-<sup>4</sup>śān-bhyo dīrgháś ca=abhyāsásya

[The affix 1 saN 5] is introduced [after 2] the verbal stems mān- 'honor' (I 1021), badh- 'bind' (I 1022), dān- 'cut' (I 1043) and śān 'sharpen, whet' (I 1044) and (ca) a long vowel (dīrghāḥ 1.2.28) replaces (that of) the reduplicated syllable (abhyāsá-sya 6.1.4).

1. *mān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *má-mān-sa-te* (7.4.60,62) = *mí-mān-sa-te* (7.4.79) = *mī-mām-sa-te* (8.3.24) 'investigates'.
2. *badh+saN+ŚaP+te* = *bí-bhat-sa-te* (7.4.60,62,79; 8.2.37) 'loathes'.
3. *dān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *dí-dām-sa-te* (7.4.60,62 79; 8.3.24) 'rectifies, straightens out'.
4. *śān+saN+ŚaP+te* = *śí-śām-sa-te* 'whets, sharpens'.

Note: except in these specific meanings given above, normal forms of these four stems would be: *mān-áy-a-ti*, *bādh-áy-a-ti*, *dān-áy-a-ti*, *ní-śān-ay-a-ti* since they are also listed in the tenth or cur-class.

### 3.1.7 dhātoḥ kármaṇ-aḥ samāná-kartṛk-āt icchāyām vā

[The affix 1 saN 5] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 2] a verbal stem, the action denoted by which is the object (kármaṇ-aḥ) of a (verbal stem) expressing desire (icchāyām) and both actions have the same agent (samañá-kartṛkāt)

- kár-tum icch-á-ti* = *kṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cf-kṛ+sa+a+ti* (7.4.60,62,66,79) = *cf-kṛ-sa-a-ti* (6.4.16) = *cf-kir-sa-a-ti* (7.1.100) = *cf-kīr-sa-a-ti* (8.2.76) = *cf-kīr-sa-ti* (6.1.97; 8.3.59) 'desires to perform'. Similarly *hár-tum icch-a-ti* = *hṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jī-hīr-sa-ti* 'wishes to remove or take away'.

### 3.1.8 sUPaḥ=ātmán-aḥ KyáC

[The affix 1] KyáC is [optionally 7] introduced [after 2] a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet [when it is the object of a verbal stem expressing desire 7 and which the agent] desires for himself (ātmán-aḥ).

*ātmánah putráṁ icch-á-ti* = *putrá+θ<sup>1</sup>+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (2.4.71) = *putrI-yá-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'wishes for a son'; *ātmán-aḥ rájān-am icch-á-ti* = *rājan+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP*, by 1.4.15 nominal stems ending in °-n are denoted by the t.t. [padá] before affix Kyá (a cover term or KyáÑ, KyáC and KyáŚ), whence = *rājaθ+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *rājī-yá-ti* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'desires a king for one's self'.

### 3.1.9 kāmyáC ca

[The affix 1] kāmyaC also (ca) is [optionally 7] introduced [after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 8 when it is the object of a verbal stem expressing desire 7 and which the agent desires for himself 8].

Note: for the affix kāmyác: 1.3.8 is not applicable to kāmyáC by interpretation, and k is not an IT marker here.

*ātmán-aḥ putr-ám icch-á-ti* = *putra+θ<sup>1</sup>+kāmyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *putra-kāmyá-ti* (6.1.97) 'wishes for a son' / *putrI-yá-ti*.

### 3.1.10 upamānāt=ācāré

[The affix 1 KyáC is optionally 7 introduced after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet which is an object 7] with which a comparison (upamānāt) is made and (the derived form) denotes behavior (ācāré).

*chātr-ám putr-ám iva á-car-a-ti* = *putra+θ<sup>1</sup>+KyáC+Śap+tiP* = *putrI-yá-ti* *chātr-ám* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'treats one's pupil like a son'.

### 3.1.11 kárt-úḥ KyáÑ sã-lopás=ca

[The affix 1] KyáÑ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2 a nominal stem ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 7] when it is the agent (kart-úḥ) [with which a comparison is made 10] and lopa (θ) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] °s [and the derived form denotes behavior 10].

*śyená-ḥ=iva á-car-a-ti káka-ḥ* = *śyena+θ<sup>1</sup>+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *śyená-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.15) *káka-ḥ* 'the crow is acting like a falcon'. Similarly *ójas+sU* = *ójas+θ<sup>1</sup>* *iva á-car-a-ti* = *ojas-KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ojaθ-yá-te* = *ojá-yá-te* 'acts vigorously'.

### 3.1.12 $bhṛśá=āḍibhyaḥ=bhuví=á-Cveḥ$ lópaś ca haL-aḥ

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2] the word-class beginning with  $bhṛśá-$  'powerful', provided the stem is not followed by (affix 1)  $Cv_i$  and (the derived form) denotes becoming ( $bhuv-í$ ) and the substitute lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) replaces the (stem-final 1.1.52) consonant ( $haL-aḥ$ ).

"Becoming" here is defined as becoming something which it was not before ( $a-bhūta-tad-bhāvé$ ) whence:  $á-bhṛśá-h$   $bhṛśá-h=bhāv-a-ti$  =  $bhṛśá+\emptyset^1+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$  =  $bhṛśā-yá-te$  (7.4.25) 'becomes powerful'; similarly  $á-nṛ-śad$   $nṛ-śád$   $bhāv-a-ti$  =  $nṛ-śad+\emptyset^1+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$  =  $nṛ-śa\emptyset+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$  =  $nṛ-śā-yá-te$  'starts dwelling with men'. But  $bhṛś+Cv_i+bhā+ŚaP+ti$  =  $bhṛśí+bhav-a-ti$ .

### 3.1.13 $^1lóhita=āḍi-^2DāC=bhyaḥ$ KyáŚ

[The affix 1] KyáŚ is [optionally 7 introduced after 2] the nominal stem-class beginning with  $lóhita-$  'red' and also stems (ending in 1.1.72) [the affix 1]  $DāC$  (5.4.57) [provided the stems are not followed by the affix 1  $Cv_i$  and the derived forms denote becoming 12].

1.  $á-lohita=h$   $lohita-h$   $bhāv-a-ti$  =  $lohita+\emptyset^1+KyáŚ+ŚaP+ti/te$  =  $lohita-yá-ti/te$  (7.4.25) 'becomes or turns red'.
2.  $paṭa-paṭat+DāC$  =  $paṭa-paṭā$   $bhav-a-ti$  (5.4.57) =  $paṭapaṭā+KyáŚ+ŚaP+ti/te$  =  $paṭapaṭā-yá-ti/te$  'makes a noise like  $paṭa-paṭat$ '.

### 3.1.14 $kaṣṭā-ya$ krámaṇe

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stem]  $kaṣṭá-$  'wrong, evil' (ending in 1.1.72) the fourth sUP triplet as the indirect object of the verbal stem  $krám-$  'strive' (I 502).

$kaṣṭā-ya$   $kármaṇ-e$   $krám-a-te$  =  $kaṣṭa+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$  =  $kaṣṭā-yá-te$  (7.4.25) 'is bent upon wrongdoing'.

### 3.1.15 $kármaṇ-aḥ=^1romantha-^2tapó-bhyāñ$ $^1vartí-^2cār-oh$

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems]  $romantha-$  'ruminating' and  $tápas-$  'austerity' serving respectively (1.3.10) as the objects of the verbal stems  $vart-í$  (=  $vrt+ÑíC$  I 795) 'execute (repeatedly)' and  $car-$  'practice' (I 591).

1.  $romantha+am$   $vart-áy-a-ti$  =  $romantha+\emptyset^1+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te$  =  $romanthā-yá-te$  'the cow (or bull) is ruminating'.

2. *tāpas+am = tapas+Ø<sup>1</sup> (7.1.23) cár-a-ti = tapas+KyáÑ+ŚaP+ti = tapas-yá-ti* (6.1.97) ‘practices austerity’.

(Parasmaipada l-substitute by a vārttika, contra 1.3.12.)

### 3.1.16 <sup>1</sup>bāṣpá=<sup>2</sup>úṣmā-bhyām ud-vámane

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] *bāṣpá-* ‘vapor’ and *úṣman* ‘heat’ [serving as objects 15 of the verbal stem] *úd-vam-* ‘shed, emit’ (I 902).

1. *bāṣpá+am úd-vam-a-ti = bāṣpa+Ø<sup>1</sup>+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te = bāṣpā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) ‘sheds tears/emits vapor’.
2. *úṣmāñ+am úd-vam-a-ti = uṣman+Ø<sup>1</sup>+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te = uṣmaØ+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *uṣmā-yá-te* (7.4.25) ‘emits steam or heat’.

### 3.1.17 <sup>1</sup>śábdā-<sup>2</sup>vairá-<sup>3</sup>kalahá=<sup>4</sup>abhrá-<sup>5</sup>kāṇva-<sup>6</sup>meghā-bhyaḥ káraṇe

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally introduced after 2 the nominal stems] *śábdā-* ‘sound’, *vairá-* ‘hostility’, *kalahá-* ‘quarrel’, *abhrá-* ‘cloud’, *kāṇva-* ‘evil’ and *meghā-* ‘cloud’ to form derivatives denoting ‘doing’ (*káraṇe*).

1. *śábdā+am kar-ó-ti = śabdā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) ‘makes noise’.
2. *vairá+am kar-ó-ti = vairā-yá-te* ‘shows hostility towards or against’.
3. *kalah-ám kar-ó-ti = kalahā-yá-te* ‘quarrels’.
4. *abhr-ám kar-o-ti = abhrā-yá-te* ‘makes clouds’.
5. *kāṇv-am kar-o-ti = kaṇvā-yá-te* ‘commits sin’.
6. *megh-ám kar-ó-ti = meghā-yá-te* ‘makes a cloud’.

### 3.1.18 <sup>1</sup>sukhá=<sup>2</sup>ādibhyaḥ kartṛ-védanāyām

[The affix 1 KyáÑ 11 is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the class of nominal stems] beginning with *sukhá-* ‘happiness, pleasure’ when the derivative denotes the experience of the agent (*kartṛ-vedanāyām*).

- sukha+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te = sukhā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.25) = *sukhām ātmāno ved-áy-a-ti* ‘feels happy’, but *prasādhaka-ḥ devadattásya sukhām ved-áy-a-ti* ‘the attendant makes known the happiness of Devadattá’.

### 3.1.19 <sup>1</sup>námas=<sup>2</sup>várivās=<sup>3</sup>citrāÑ-ah KyáC

[The affix 1] KyáC [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] námas- 'obeisance', várivās- 'honor' and citráÑ 'wonder' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing' 17 (i.e., the nominal stems serve as objects of the verbal stem kṛ- 'perform, do')].

1. *námas+θ<sup>1</sup>+kar-ó-ti* = *namas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *namas-yá-ti* 'bows down in obeisance, salutes respectfully'.
2. *varivas+θ<sup>1</sup>+kar-ó-ti* = *varivas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *varivas-yá-ti* 'honors, respects, reveres'.
3. *citrā+am kar-o-ti* = *citra+θ<sup>1</sup>+KyáC+ŚaP+te* = *citrī-ya-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.33) 'causes wonder'.

### 3.1.20 <sup>1</sup>púccha-<sup>2</sup>bhāṇḍa-<sup>3</sup>cīvarāt=ÑiÑ

[The affix 1] ÑiÑ [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] púccha- 'tail', bhāṇḍa- 'pot, vessel' and cīvarā- 'rag' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing, performing' 17].

1. *púccha+am úd-as-ya-te/páry-as-ya-te* = *ud/pari+púccha-θ<sup>1</sup>+ÑiÑ+ŚaP+te* (1.3.12) = *út/pari-pucchθ+e+a+te* = *út/pári-pucch-ay-a-te* 'raises/moves (in circles) the tail'.
2. *bhāṇḍa+am sam-ā-ci-no-ti* = *sam-bhāṇḍ-ay-a-te* 'collects pots'.
3. *cīvarā+am arj-áy-a-ti/pári-dadhā-ti* = *sám-cīvar-ay-a-ti bhikṣú-h* 'the mendicant collects/wears rags'.

### 3.1.21 <sup>1</sup>muṇḍa-<sup>2</sup>miśrá-<sup>3</sup>ślakṣṇá-<sup>4</sup>lavaṇá-<sup>5</sup>vratá-<sup>6</sup>vāstra-<sup>7</sup>hala-<sup>8</sup>kala-<sup>9</sup>kṛtá-<sup>10</sup>tústebhyaḥ=ÑiC

[The affix 1] ÑiC [is optionally 7 introduced after 2 the nominal stems] muṇḍa- 'bald', miśrá- 'mixed', ślakṣṇá- 'smooth', lavaṇá- 'salt', vratá- 'vow', vāstra- 'costume, cloth', hala- 'plough', kala- and kṛta- 'names of dice', and tūsta- 'matted hair' [to form derivatives denoting 'doing, performing' 17].

1. *muṇḍa+am kar-ó-ti* = *muṇḍa+θ<sup>1</sup>+ÑiC+ŚaP+tiP* (6.4.48) = *muṇḍ-áy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) 'shaves the head'.
2. *miśr-áy-a-ti* 'mixes'.
3. *ślakṣṇ-áy-a-ti* 'smoothen'.
4. *lavaṇ-áy-a-ti* 'adds salt'.
5. *vrat-áy-a-ti* 'observes a vow'.
6. *vastr-áy-a-ti* 'wears a cloth or costume'.



7. *hal-áy-a-ti* 'holds the plough-share'.
8. *kal-áy-a-ti* 'holds the losing die called kali'.
9. *kṛt-áy-a-ti* 'holds the winning die called kṛta'.
10. *tūst-ay-a-ti* 'makes the hair matted'.

### 3.1.22 dhātor éka=aCaḥ=hāL-ādeḥ kriyā-sam-abhi-hāré yáÑ

[The affix 1] yáÑ [is optionally 7 introduced after 2] a monosyllabic (éka=aCa-aḥ) verbal stem (dhātoḥ), beginning with a consonant (hāL-ādeḥ) when that action is performed repeatedly or intensively (kriyā-sam-abhi-hāré).

*púnaḥ punaḥ/bhṛśám vā pác-a-ti* = *pac+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *paḥ-pac+yáÑ+a+te* (6.1.9; 7.4.60) = *pā-pac-yá-te* (7.4.83) 'cooks repeatedly or frequently'; similarly *bhṛśám jval-a-ti* = *jā-jval-yá-te* 'burns intensely'.

### 3.1.23 nityam kauṭilye gátau

[The affix 1 yáÑ 22] is necessarily (nityam) introduced [after 2 a monosyllabic verbal stem 22] denoting movement (gátau) to signify 'crookedness' (kauṭilye).

*kuṭilám kram-a-ti* = *kram+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ca-kram+yá+a+te* (6.1.9; 7.4.60,62) = *ca+nūK+kram-ya-a-te* (7.4.85) = *cañ-kram-yá-te* (6.1.97) 'moves crookedly'.

### 3.1.24 <sup>1</sup>lupa-<sup>2</sup>sada-<sup>3</sup>cárÁ-<sup>4</sup>jápÁ-<sup>5</sup>jábhA-<sup>6</sup>dahÁ-<sup>7</sup>daśÁ-<sup>8</sup>gḡ-bhyo bhāva-garhāyām

[The affix 1 yáÑ is necessarily 22 introduced after 2 monosyllabic verbal stems 22] lup- 'cut' (VI 137), sad- 'sit' (I 907), cár- 'walk, graze', jáp-(I 424) 'mutter', jábh- 'yawn' (I 415), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), daś- 'bite' (I 1038), gḡ- 'swallow' (VI 11) to convey censure relative to the action (bhāva-garhāyām).

This is an obligatory formation; for [kriyā-sam-abhi-hārá] this derivative form is not used.

1. *lup+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *lo-lup-yá-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.82) = *garhitám lump-á-ti* 'destroys or cuts uselessly'.
2. *sā-sad-yá-te* = *garhitám sīd-a-ti*.
3. *cañ-cūr-yá-te* (7.4.25, 87-8) = *garhitám cár-a-ti*.
4. *jañ-jap-yá-te* (7.4.86) = *garhitám jáp-a-ti*.

5. *jañ-jābh-yāte* (7.4.86) = *garhitām jābh-a-te*.
6. *dan-dah-yā-te* = *garhitām dāh-a-ti*.
7. *dan-dāś-ya-te* = *garhitām dāś-a-ti*.
8. *nī-je-gil-ya-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.62,82; 7.1.100; 8.2.20) = *garhitām nī-gil-a-ti*.

### 3.1.25 <sup>1</sup>satyāpa-<sup>2</sup>pāśa-<sup>3</sup>rūpā-<sup>4</sup>vīṇā-<sup>5</sup>tūla-<sup>6</sup>ślōka-<sup>7</sup>sénā-<sup>8</sup>lōma(n)=<sup>9</sup>tvāca=<sup>10</sup>vārma(n)=<sup>11</sup>vārṇa-<sup>12</sup>cūrṇa-<sup>13</sup>cur=ādibhyo NíC

[The affix 1] NíC is introduced [after 2 the nominal stems] *satyāpa-* ‘truth’, *pāśa-* ‘fetter’, *rūpā-* ‘form’, *vīṇā* ‘lute’, *tūla-* ‘cotton’, *ślōka-* ‘verse’, *sénā* ‘army’, *lōman-* ‘hair (on the body)’, *tvāca-* ‘skin’, *vārman-* ‘coat of mail’, *vārṇa-* ‘color, dye’, *cūrṇa-* ‘flour’ and the class of verbal stems beginning with *cur-* ‘steal’ (X 1).

1. *satya+āpuK+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *satyāp-áy-a-ti* (7.3.84; 6.1.78) ‘speaks truly’.
2. *vī-pāś-ay-a-ti* ‘releases from fetters, sets free’.
3. *rūp-áy-a-ti* ‘shows the form’.
4. *úpa-vīṇ-ay-a-ti* ‘sings to the accompaniment of the lute’.
5. *ánu-tūl-ay-a-ti* ‘rubs the cotton lengthwise’.
6. *úpa-ślōk-ay-a-ti* ‘praises in verse’.
7. *abhī-ṣeṇ-ay-a-ti* (6.4.64) ‘assails with an army’.
8. *ánu-lom-ay-a-ti* ‘rubs hair in the right direction’.
9. *tvac-áy-a-ti* ‘skins’.
10. *sām-varm-ay-a-ti* ‘provides with a coat of mail’.
11. *varṇ-áy-a-ti* ‘dyes, colors’.
12. *áva-cūrṇ-ay-a-ti* ‘sprinkles or covers with flour’.
13. *cur+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *cor-áy-a-ti* ‘steals’.

### 3.1.26 hetumát-i ca

[The affix 1 NíC 25] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 22] to denote the causal agent (hetumát-i 1.4.55).

- (*kátam*) *kṛ+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *kār-áy-a-ti* (7.2.115; 3.84; 6.1.78) ‘causes (someone) to make (a mat)’.

### 3.1.27 kaṇḍū=ādibhyo yáK

[The affix 1] yáK is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with *kaṇḍū-* ‘itch’.

- kandū+yáK+ŚaP+tiP* = *kandū-yá-ti* (6.1.97) ‘itches’.

### 3.1.28 <sup>1</sup>gup<sup>2</sup>dhūp<sup>3</sup>vicchi-<sup>4</sup>pāṇi-<sup>5</sup>pāni-bhya āyaḥ

[The affix 1] āya is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] gúp- ‘protect’ (I 422), dhūp- ‘burn incense or perfume’ (I 423), vich- ‘go’ (VI 129), paṇ- and pan- (I 466-7) ‘praise’.

1. *gup+āya+ŚaP+tiP* = *gop-āya-ti* (6.1.97) ‘protects’.
2. *dhūp-āya-ti* ‘fumigates, burns incense’.
3. *vicch-āya-ti* ‘goes, moves’.
4. *paṇ-āya-ti/pan-āya-ti* ‘praises, lauds’.

### 3.1.29 ṛter íyaÑ

[The affix 1] íyaÑ is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] ṛt- ‘abhor’.

*ṛt+íyaÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ṛt-íya-te* (6.1.97) ‘abhors’.

### 3.1.30 kámer NíÑ

[The affix 1] NíÑ is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] kám- ‘love’ (I 470).

*kám+NíÑ+ŚaP+te* = *kām-i+a+te* (7.2.116) = *kām-ē+a+te* (7.3.84) = *kām-āy-a-te* ‘loves’.

### 3.1.31 āya=ādayaḥ=ārdhadhātuke vā

[The affixes 1] beginning with āya (28) are optionally (vā) introduced [after respective verbal stems 28-30] before ārdhadhātuka (2.4.35) [affixes 1].

*gup+āya+iT+tum* = *góp-āyṭh-i-tum* (7.3.86; 6.4.48) = *góp-āy-i-tum/góp-tum;*  
*árt-i-tum/ṛt-īy-i-tum; kám-i-tum/kām-ay-i-tum.*

### 3.1.32 sáN=ādi=antāḥ=dhātav-aḥ

[The t.t.] dhātu denotes all items which [end in 1.1.72 the affixes 1] beginning with saN (5-30).

The verbal-stem forming affixes in this group are: saN (5-7), KyáC (8,10,19), kāmyáC (9), KyáÑ (11,12,14-18), KyaŚ (13), NíÑ (20,30), NíC (21,25,26), yáN (22-24), yáK (27), āya- (28), íyaÑ (29). By grouping these derivative stems un-

der this t.t. the active marker ŚaP (68 below) is introduced after them before l-substitutes of the Present System (sārvadhātuka).

### 3.1.33 <sup>1</sup>syá-<sup>2</sup>tāsī <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>2</sup>IUT-oh

[The affixes 1] syá and tāsī are respectively (1.3.10) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] before l-substitutes of IR (= cover term for IRṬ and IRÑ, respectively the Sigmatic Future and Conditional Tenses) and of IUT (Periphrastic or Non-sigmatic Future Tense).

These affixes are replacements of ŚaP (68 below), and the present rule is a prior exception to that.

1. IRṬ :  $kṛ + IRṬ = kṛ + syá + ti = kar + iṭ + syá + ti$  (7.2.70) = *kar-i-syá-ti* 'will do'
2. IRÑ :  $kṛ + IRÑ = āṭ + kṛ + sya + t$  (6.4.71) = *ā-kar-i-sya-t* 'would have done'
3. IUT :  $kṛ + IUT = kṛ + tās + miP = kar-tās-mi, kar-tās-vaḥ, kar-tās-maḥ$  'will do'.

### 3.1.34 siP=bahulám IET-i

[The affix 1] siP is introduced variously (bahulám) [after 2 a verbal stem before l-substitutes] of IET (Subjunctive Mood).

This is also a prior exception to 68 below and is a replacement for the general active marker ŚaP.  $jus + IET + tiP = jus + iṭ + siP + āṭ + t$  (7.2.35; 3.84; 3.4.94,97) = *jós-i-s-a-t* (8.3.59) 'may it please'; but siP does not occur in:  $pat + ŚaP + āṭ + tiP$  (3.4.94) = *pát-ā-ti* 'may it fall'.

### 3.1.35 <sup>1</sup>kās-<sup>2</sup>pratyayāt=ām=á-mantre IIT-i

[The affix 1] °ām is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] kās- 'cough' (I 645) and (derived stems ending in 1.1.72) stem-forming affixes (pratyayāt) before l-substitutes of IIT (Perfect) except in the domain of Mántra (section of the Veda).

1.  $kās + IIT = kās + ām + IIT = kās + ām + \emptyset^1 + kṛ + IIT$  (2.4.81; 3.1.40) =  $kās-ām + ca = kr + eŚ / āte / ireC$  (3.4.81) = *kās-ām-ca-kṛé / 'ca-kṛ-āte / 'ca-kṛ-iré* 'has/have coughed'.
2.  $lū + yañ + IIT = lo-lū-yā + IIT = lo-lū-ya + ām + kṛ + IIT = lo-lūy-ām ca-kṛ-é$  (6.1.9; 7.4.82) 'has frequently cut'.

### 3.1.36 iC=ādeś ca gurumátaḥ=án-ṛcch-aḥ

[The affix 1 <sup>°</sup>ám 25] is also introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] whose initial is a vowel phoneme comprised by the siglum iC (= all vowels other than the phoneme class a) with the exception of ṛcch- 'go' (VI 15), provided iC is metrically heavy (guru-mát-aḥ) [before IIṬ 35].

1.  $iḥ + IIṬ = iḥ + \acute{a}m + \emptyset^1 + kṛ + IIṬ = iḥ - \acute{a}m - ca - kré / ca - kr - \acute{á}te / ca - kr - iré$  'has/have exerted'.
2. But:  $\dot{ṛ}cch + IIṬ = \dot{ṛ}cch + NaL / \acute{á}tus / \acute{ús}$  (6.1.8) =  $a + \dot{ṛ}cch + NaL / \acute{á}tus / \acute{ús}$  (7.4.66) =  $\acute{a} + \dot{ṛ}cch + NaL / \acute{á}tus / \acute{ús}$  (7.4.70) =  $\acute{a} + nuṭ + \dot{ṛ}cch + NaL / \acute{á}tus / \acute{ús}$  (7.4.71) =  $\acute{a} - n - \acute{á}rcch - a / \acute{á}tus / \acute{ú}ḥ$  (7.4.11) 'has/have gone'.

### 3.1.37 <sup>1</sup>dáyĀ=<sup>2</sup>áyA=<sup>3</sup>ās-as ca

[The affix 1 <sup>°</sup>ám 35] is also (ca) introduced [after the verbal stems] dáy- 'give, donate' (I 510), áy- 'go' (I 563) and ās- 'sit down' (II 11) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 35].

1.  $day + IIṬ = day + \acute{a}m + \emptyset^1 + kṛ + IIṬ = day - \acute{á}m - ca - kr - \acute{é} / \acute{á}te / iré$  'has/have donated'.
2.  $parā + ay - \acute{á}m + ca - kr - e / \acute{á}te / iré = palā + ay - \acute{á}m - ca - kr - \acute{é} / \acute{á}te / iré$  (8.2.19) 'has/have run away'.
3.  $\acute{a}s - \acute{á}m - ca - kr - \acute{é} / \acute{á}te / iré$  'has/have sat down'.

### 3.1.38 <sup>1</sup>úṣĀ=<sup>2</sup>vidĀ=<sup>3</sup>jāgr-bhyaḥ=anyatarásyām

[The affix 1 <sup>°</sup>ám 35] is optionally (anyatarásyām) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] úṣ- 'burn' (I 727) vid- 'know' (II 55) and jāgr- 'wake up' (II 63) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 35].

1.  $uṣ + IIṬ = uṣ + \acute{a}m + \emptyset^1 + kṛ + NaL = oṣ - \acute{á}m - ca - kār - a / u - uṣ + NaL = u - \acute{ó}ṣ + a = uv - \acute{ó}ṣ - a$  (6.4.77) 'has burnt'.
2.  $vid - \acute{á}m - ca - kār - a / vi - véd - a$  'has known'.
3.  $jāgar - \acute{á}m - ca - kār - a / ja - jāgār - a$  'has woken up'.

### 3.1.39 <sup>1</sup>bhī=<sup>2</sup>hrī=<sup>3</sup>bhṛ=<sup>4</sup>huv-ām Ślu-vát=ca

[The affix 1 <sup>°</sup>ám 35 is optionally 38 introduced after 2 the verbal stems] bhī- 'fear' (III 2), hrī- 'feel shame' (III 3). bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5) and huv- 'offer an oblation' (III 1) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 35] and it functions like the marker Ślu (6.1.10).

1.  $bhI+I\ddot{I}\ddot{T} = bhI+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+k\ddot{r}+NaL = bi-bhI+\acute{a}m\ ca-k\ddot{a}r-a = bi-bhay-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\ddot{a}r-a$  (7.3.84; 6.1.78)/ $bi-bh\acute{a}y-a$  (7.2.115) 'has become afraid'.
2.  $\ddot{j}i-hr-ay-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\ddot{a}r-a/\ddot{j}i-hr\acute{a}y-a$  'has become ashamed'.
3.  $bi-bhar-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\ddot{a}r-a/bi-bh\acute{a}r-a$  'has borne'.
4.  $\ddot{j}u-hav-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\ddot{a}r-a/\ddot{j}u-h\acute{a}v-a$  'has offered an oblation'.

### 3.1.40 $k\ddot{r}\ddot{N}$ $ca=\acute{a}nu-pra-yuj-ya-te$ $I\ddot{I}\ddot{T}$ -i

Before l-substitutes of  $I\ddot{I}\ddot{T}$  the verbal stem  $k\ddot{r}\ddot{N}$  (VIII 10) is also (ca) introduced as an auxiliary ( $\acute{a}nu-pra-yuj-ya-te$ ) [after 2 the affix 1 °  $\acute{a}m$  35].

By interpretation ( $v\ddot{f}t\ddot{t}i$ ) the expression [ $k\ddot{r}\ddot{N}$ ] is regarded as a siglum [praty- $\acute{a}$ -h\ddot{a}r-\acute{a}] derived with [ $k\ddot{r}$ -] of 5.4.50 and it-marker  $\ddot{N}$  of [ $k\ddot{r}\ddot{N}$ -ah] of 5.4.58 so as to include the other two auxiliary verbal stems [ $bh\ddot{u}$ -] and [ $as$ -] as well. Thus from the causative stem derived from  $pac+N\ddot{I}C+I\ddot{I}\ddot{T} = p\acute{a}c-i+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1+k\ddot{r}/bh\ddot{u}/as+NaL = p\acute{a}c-ay-\acute{a}m\ ca-k\ddot{a}r-a/ba-bh\ddot{u}v-a/\acute{a}s-a$  'caused (someone) to cook'. The verbal stem [ $as$ -] is not replaced by [ $bh\ddot{u}$ -] as required by 2.4.52 when it serves as an auxiliary before l-substitutes of  $I\ddot{I}\ddot{T}$ .

### 3.1.41 $vid-\acute{a}m=kur-v-\acute{a}ntu=iti=anyatar\acute{a}sy\acute{a}m$

[The exceptional form]  $vid-\acute{a}m=kur-v-\acute{a}ntu$  optionally ( $anyatar\acute{a}sy\acute{a}m$ ) occurs (as an irregular construction).

This is the Imperative third person plural of the verbal stem [ $vid$ -], with the irregular affix [°  $\acute{a}m$  35] introduced after it before l-substitutes of  $IOT$ , with  $\emptyset^1$  replacement of these substitutes, followed by the auxiliary [ $k\ddot{r}\ddot{N}$  40] followed by l-substitutes of  $IOT$ , corresponding to the regular form  $vid-\acute{a}ntu$ .

### 3.1.42 ${}^1abhy-ut-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m={}^2pra-jan-ay-\acute{a}m-{}^3ci-kay-\acute{a}m-{}^4ram-ay-\acute{a}m+{}^5\acute{a}kah\ddot{p}\acute{a}v-ay-\acute{a}m+kri-y\acute{a}t-{}^6vid-\acute{a}m+akrann\ iti=ch\acute{a}ndssi$

In the domain of Ch\acute{a}ndas the following irregular forms occur: (a)  $abhy-\acute{u}t-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m$  ( $\acute{a}kah$ ) 'has gone'; (b)  $pr\acute{a}-jan-ay-\acute{a}m$  ( $\acute{a}kah$ ) 'has borne'; (c)  $ci-kay-\acute{a}m$  ( $\acute{a}kah$ ) 'has piled up'; (d)  $ram-ay-\acute{a}m+{}^5\acute{a}kah$  'has sported'; (e)  $p\acute{a}v-ay-\acute{a}m+kri-y\acute{a}t$  'may (one) purify' and (f)  $vid-\acute{a}m\ \acute{a}-kr-an$  'they have known'.

1.  $abhi+\acute{u}d+s\acute{a}d+N\ddot{I}C+IUN = abhy-\acute{u}t-s\acute{a}d-i+\acute{a}m+\emptyset^1$  (2.4.81)  $+k\ddot{r}+IUN = abhy-ut-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m+a+kar+\emptyset^1+t$  (2.4.80)  $= abhy-ut-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m+a-kar-\emptyset$  (6.1.68)  $= abhy-\acute{u}t-s\acute{a}d-ay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-h$  (8.3.15).
2.  $pr\acute{a}+jan+N\ddot{I}C+IUN = pr\acute{a}-jan-ay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-h$ .

3.  $ci+iU\dot{N} = ci-ki+iU\dot{N}$  (7.3.58) =  $ci-ki-\acute{a}m+\theta^1+k\check{r}+iU\dot{N} = ci-kay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-h$ .

4.  $ram+N\check{r}C+iU\dot{N} = ram-ay-\acute{a}m+k\check{r}+iU\dot{N} = ram-ay-\acute{a}m+a-ka-h$ .

5.  $p\acute{u}+N\check{r}C+iU\dot{N} = p\acute{a}v-ay-\acute{a}m+\theta^1+k\check{r}+iU\dot{N} = p\acute{a}v-ay-\acute{a}m+kri-y\acute{a}t$  (7.4.28).

6.  $vid+iU\dot{N} = vid-\acute{a}m+\theta^1+k\check{r}+iU\dot{N} = vid-\acute{a}m+a-kr-an$ .

These irregularities may be understood from the regular forms occurring in the current (classical) speech (bhāṣyām): (a) *abhy-ud-á-sṭṣad-a-t*; (b) *prá-jī-jan-a-t*; (c) *á-cai-ṣ-i-t*; (d) *á-rī-ram-a-t*; (e) *pāv-yāt*; (f) *á-ved-i-ṣ-uh*.

### 3.1.43 Cḷi IUÑ-i

[The affix 1] Cḷi (marker of Aorist) is introduced [after 1 a verbal stem] before the l-substitutes of IUÑ (Aorist).

Cḷi is the cover term for all markers of the Aorist, as will be seen from the subsequent rules where it is replaced by other substitute markers. This is the most diverse tense in the language: (1) Root Aorist (Cḷi replaced by  $\theta^1$  2.4.77); (2) aÑ Aorist (52 below); (3) Reduplicated or CaÑ Aorist (48 below); (4-7) Sigmatic Aorists: (4) ṣiC Aorist (44 below); (5) Ksa Aorist (45 below); (6) iT+ṣiC Aorist (7.2.35) and (7) s+iT+ṣiC Aorist (7.2.73).

### 3.1.44 Cḷeḥ ṣiC

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] ṣiC replaces Cḷi [before l-substitutes of IUÑ 43].

$k\check{r}+iU\dot{N} = k\check{r}+Cḷi+t = \acute{a}T+k\check{r}+ṣiC+t$  (8.4.71) =  $\acute{a}-k\acute{a}r+s+iT+t$  (7.2.1; 3.96) =  $\acute{a}-k\acute{a}r-ṣ-i-t$  (8.3.59) 'has done'.

### 3.1.45 śaL-aḥ=iK=upadh-āt=án-iT-aḥ Ksa-h

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] Ksa replaces [Cḷi 44 after 2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes comprised by the siglum śaL (= sibilants and h) and containing the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) as penultimate (iK=upadh-āt), provided the verbal stem does not operate the initial increment i[Ṭ] before the affix marker (án-iT-aḥ).

The operation of 7.2.35 affecting árdhahātuka affixes beginning with vaL (= all consonants other than y) is circumscribed by specific rules (7.2.8ff.) and by 7.2.10 where verbal stems which are monosyllabic and have a low pitch (ánudātta) accent block out this increment and are thus defined as án-iT stems.  $spr\acute{s}+iU\dot{N} = spr\acute{s}+Cḷi+t = spr\acute{s}+Ksa+t = \acute{a}T+spr\acute{s}+Ksa+t = \acute{a}-spr\acute{s}+sa+t$  (8.2.36) =  $\acute{a}-spr\acute{k}+sa-t$  (8.2.41; 3.59) 'has touched'. Similarly: *tvīśÁ* (I 1050) : *á-tvik-ṣa-t* 'has shone'; *lihÁ* (II 6) : *á-lik-ṣa-t* 'has licked'; *duhÁ* : *á-dhuk-ṣa-t* 'has milked'.

### 3.1.46 śliṣ-aḥ=ā-líṅane

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ksa 45 replaces Clī 44 after the verbal stem] śliṣÁ- (IV 77) when it denotes embracing (ā-líṅane).

$\bar{a}+śliṣ+IUN = \bar{a}-śliṣ+Clī+t$  (43) =  $\bar{a}-śliṣ+Ksa+t$  =  $\bar{a}+āT+slīk-ṣa-t$  =  $\acute{a}-slīk-ṣa-t$   
*kanyām devadattā-h* ‘Devadatta embraced the maiden’, but *saṃ-ā-śliṣ-a-t jātu*  
*kāsthām* (55 below) ‘the lac adhered to the wood’.

### 3.1.47 ná dṛś-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ksa 45] does not (ná) replace [Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stem] dṛś(IR I 1037) ‘see, perceive’ [before l- substitutes of IUN 43].

$dṛś+IUN = dṛś+Clī+t$  (43) =  $dṛś+ṣiC+t$  (44)/ $dṛś+aṅ+t$  (57) =  $\acute{a}-drāk-ṣ-i-t$   
 (6.1.58; 7.2.1; 8.2.41; 3.59)/ $\acute{a}-darś-a-t$  (7.4.16) ‘has seen or perceived’.

### 3.1.48 <sup>1</sup>Ní-<sup>2</sup>śri-<sup>3</sup>dru-<sup>4</sup>sru-bhyaḥ kartári Caṅ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] Caṅ replaces [Clī 44 after 2 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] Ní(C) and the verbal stems śri- ‘serve, honor’ (I 945), dru- ‘run’ (I 992) and sru- ‘flow’ (I 987) [when the l-substitutes of IUN 43] denote the agent (kartári).

1.  $kṛ+NíC+IUN = kār-i+Caṅ+t = kār-θ+Caṅ+t$  (6.4.51) =  $kar-θ+Caṅ+t$  (7.4.1) =  $kṛ-kar-a-t$  (6.1.11; 1.1.59) =  $ka-kar-a-t$  (7.4.66) =  $ca-kar-a-t$  (7.4.62) =  $cI-kar-a-t$  (7.4.93,94) =  $\acute{a}-cI-kar-a-t$  (6.4.71) ‘has made (someone) do, caused to do’.
2.  $śri+IUN = śri+Clī+t = śri+Caṅ+t = \acute{a}T+śi-śri+a+t$  (6.1.11; 4.71) =  $\acute{a}-śi-śriy-a-t$  (6.4.77) ‘has served or honored’.
3.  $dru+IUN = \acute{a}-du-druv-a-t$  ‘has run’.
4.  $sru+IUN = \acute{a}-su-sruv-a-t$  ‘has streamed or flowed’.

### 3.1.49 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>dheṭ-<sup>2</sup>śvy-oh

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Caṅ 48] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stems] dheṭ ‘drink’ (I 951) and śvi- ‘swell, grow’ (I 1059) [before l-substitutes of IUN 43 when they denote the agent 48].

1.  $dheT+IUN = dhā+Clī+t$  (6.1.45) =  $dhā+Caṅ/ṣiC+t = \acute{a}-da-dhā-a+t$  (7.4.59,60) =  $\acute{a}-da-dhθ-a-t$  (6.4.44) =  $\acute{a}-da-dha-t$  /  $\acute{a}-dhā+saK+iT+ṣiC+iT+t$  (7.2.35,73,96) =



$\acute{a}\text{-}dh\bar{a}\text{-}s\text{-}i\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}I\text{-}t$  (8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}dh\bar{a}\text{-}s\text{-}I\text{-}t$  (6.1.101)/ $\acute{a}\text{-}dh\bar{a}\text{-}(siC\rightarrow\emptyset^1)\text{-}t$  (2.4.78) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}dh\bar{a}\text{-}t$  ‘has drunk’.

2.  $\acute{s}vi\text{-}I\dot{U}\dot{N}$  =  $\acute{s}vi\text{-}Cl\dot{i}\text{-}t$  =  $\acute{s}vi\text{-}Ca\dot{N}/siC$  (44)+ $t$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}si\text{-}\acute{s}vi\text{-}a\text{-}t$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}si\text{-}\acute{s}viy\text{-}a\text{-}t/\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{s}vi\text{-}i\dot{T}\text{-}siC\text{-}I\dot{T}\text{-}t$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}\acute{s}ve\text{-}i\text{-}siC\text{-}I\text{-}t$  (7.3.84) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}svay\text{-}i\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}I\text{-}t$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}svay\text{-}I\text{-}t$  ‘has grown or swollen’.

### 3.1.50 gúpeś chándasi

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ca $\dot{N}$  48 optionally 49 replaces Cl $\dot{i}$  44 after 2 the verbal stem] gúp- ‘protect’ (I 422) [before l-substitutes of I $\dot{U}\dot{N}$  43 when they denote the agent 48].

$gup\text{-}I\dot{U}\dot{N}$  =  $gup\text{-}Cl\dot{i}\text{-}tam$  =  $gup\text{-}Ca\dot{N}/siC(44)\text{-}tam$  : (a)  $\acute{a}\text{-}gup\text{-}Ca\dot{N}\text{-}tam$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}j\ddot{u}\text{-}gup\text{-}a\text{-}tam$  (6.1.11; 7.4.62,94); (b)  $gup\text{-}siC\text{-}tam$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}gaup\text{-}siC\text{-}tam$  (7.2.3) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}gaup\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}tam$  (8.2.26) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}gaup\text{-}tam$ ; (c)  $gup\text{-}i\dot{T}\text{-}siC\text{-}tam$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}gop\text{-}i\text{-}s\text{-}tam$  (7.2.44; 8.3.59; 4.41); (d)  $gup\text{-}\acute{a}ya\text{-}i\dot{T}\text{-}siC\text{-}tam$  (28) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}gop\text{-}\acute{a}y\emptyset\text{-}i\text{-}s\text{-}tam$  (6.4.148) =  $\acute{a}\text{-}gop\text{-}\acute{a}y\text{-}i\text{-}s\text{-}tam$ .

### 3.1.51 ná=<sup>1</sup>ūn-áy-a-ti-<sup>2</sup>dhvan-áy-a-ti=<sup>3</sup>el-áy-a-ti=<sup>4</sup>ard-áy-a-ti-bhyaḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 50 the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 Ca $\dot{N}$  48] does not (ná) replace [Cl $\dot{i}$  44 after 2 the verbal stems] ūn-(+N $\dot{I}C$ ) ‘lessen, diminish’ (X 342), dhvan- ‘sound’ (X 343), il- ‘send’ (X 119) and ard- ‘hurt’ (X 285) [before l-substitutes of I $\dot{U}\dot{N}$  41 when they denote the agent 48].

The three verbal stems also occur in their primary form as ūn- ‘lessen’ (IV 100), dhvan- ‘sound’ (I 858,881) and ard- ‘demand’ (I 56); here the derived forms with stem-forming affix N $\dot{I}C$  are involved, as exceptions to 48 above.

1.  $\acute{u}n\text{-}N\dot{I}C\text{-}I\dot{U}\dot{N}$  =  $\acute{u}n\text{-}I\text{-}siC\text{-}s$  =  $\acute{a}\dot{T}\text{-}\acute{u}n\text{-}e\text{-}i\dot{T}\text{-}siC\text{-}I\dot{T}\text{-}s$  (6.4.72) =  $a\acute{u}n\text{-}ay\text{-}i\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}I\text{-}s$  =  $a\acute{u}n\text{-}ay\text{-}I\text{-}s$  =  $a\acute{u}n\text{-}ay\text{-}I\text{-}h$  (8.3.15) ‘has lessened’.
2.  $dhvan\text{-}N\dot{I}\text{-}I\dot{U}\dot{N}$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-}dhvan\text{-}ay\text{-}I\text{-}t$  ‘has sounded’, corresponding to the regular form  $\acute{a}\text{-}di\text{-}dhvan\text{-}a\text{-}t$ .
3.  $il\text{-}N\dot{I}C\text{-}I\dot{U}\dot{N}$  =  $a\dot{l}\text{-}ay\text{-}I\text{-}h$  for  $a\dot{l}i\text{-}l\text{-}a\text{-}h$  ‘has deputed’.
4.  $ard\text{-}N\dot{I}C\text{-}I\dot{U}\dot{N}$  =  $\acute{a}rd\text{-}ay\text{-}I\text{-}t$  for  $\acute{a}rdi\text{-}d\text{-}a\text{-}t$  ‘has demanded’.

### 3.1.52 <sup>1</sup>ásyati-<sup>2</sup>vákṭi-<sup>3</sup>khyāti-bhyaḥ=a $\dot{N}$

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] a $\dot{N}$  [replaces Cl $\dot{i}$  44 after 2 the verbal stems] as- ‘throw, fling, toss’ (IV 100), vac- ‘utter, speak’ (II 54) and khyā- ‘proclaim’ (II 51) [before l-substitutes of I $\dot{U}\dot{N}$  43 when they denote the agent 48].

1.  $as+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = as+Cl\ddot{i}+ta = p\acute{a}ri+as+a\ddot{N}+ta = p\acute{a}ri+\acute{a}\ddot{T}+as+a+ta = p\acute{a}ry-\acute{a}+as+th\ddot{u}K+a+ta$  (7.4.17) =  $p\acute{a}ry-\acute{a}s-th-a-ta$  'has thrown or cast around'. This verbal stem is included in the class of verbal stems headed by  $pu\ddot{s}$ - (55 below) and accordingly has marker  $a\ddot{N}$  replacing  $Cl\ddot{i}$ ; its inclusion here is for the purpose of introducing this substitute before  $\ddot{A}tmanepada$  l-substitutes.
2.  $vac+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}\ddot{T}+vac+Cl\ddot{i}+t = \acute{a}-va-uM-c+a\ddot{N}+t$  (7.4.20) =  $\acute{a}-voc-a-t$ .
3.  $\acute{a}-khy\acute{a}+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}+\acute{a}\ddot{T}+khy\acute{a}+Cl\ddot{i}+t = \acute{a}-khy\acute{a}+a\ddot{N}+t = \acute{a}=khy\emptyset+a+t$  (6.4.64) =  $\acute{a}-khy-a-t$  'has proclaimed'.

### 3.1.53 ${}^1lip\ddot{i}$ - ${}^2sic\ddot{i}$ - ${}^3hve$ - $a\acute{s}$ $ca$

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1  $a\ddot{N}$  52 replaces  $Cl\ddot{i}$  44 after 2 the verbal stems]  $lip$ - 'smear, paint' (VI 139),  $sic$ - 'sprinkle' (VI 140) and  $hve(\ddot{N})$ - 'challenge' (I 1057) [before l-substitutes of  $I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}$  43 when they denote the agent 48].

1.  $lip+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}\ddot{T}+lip+Cl\ddot{i}+t = \acute{a}-lip+a\ddot{N}+t = \acute{a}-lip-a-t$  'has painted, daubed or smeared'.
2.  $sic+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}-sic-a-t$  'has sprinkled'.
3.  $\acute{a}-hve+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}-hv\acute{a}+Cl\ddot{i}+t$  (6.1.45) =  $\acute{a}+\acute{a}\ddot{T}+hv\emptyset+a-t$  (6.4.64) =  $\acute{a}-hv-a-t$  'has challenged'.

### 3.1.54 $\ddot{a}tmanepad\acute{e}su=anyatar\acute{a}sy\ddot{a}m$

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1  $a\ddot{N}$  52] optionally ( $anyatar\acute{a}-sy\ddot{a}m$ ) replaces [ $Cl\ddot{i}$  44 after 2 the verbal stems  $lip$ -,  $sic$  and  $hve$ - 53] before  $\ddot{A}tmanepad\acute{a}$  [l-substitutes of  $I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}$  43 when they denote the agent 48].

The two verbal stems [ $lip\grave{a}$ ] and [ $sic\grave{a}$ ] have svarita markers while [ $hve$ -] has  $\ddot{N}$  as an IT marker, and by 1.3.72 both sets of  $Parasmaipad\acute{a}$  and  $\ddot{A}tmanepad\acute{a}$  l-substitutes can be introduced after them. The option here applies only to  $Atm$ . l-substitutes:

1.  $lip+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}\ddot{T}+lip+Cl\ddot{i}+ta = \acute{a}-lip+siC/a\ddot{N}+ta$ : (1)  $\acute{a}-lip+s+ta = \acute{a}-lip-\emptyset+ta$  (8.2.26) =  $a-lip-ta/\acute{a}+lip+a\ddot{N}+ta = \acute{a}-lip-a-ta$ .
2.  $sic+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}+ta = \acute{a}-sik-ta/\acute{a}-sic-a-ta$
3.  $hve+I\ddot{U}\ddot{N} = \acute{a}-hv\acute{a}-s-ta/\acute{a}-hv-a-ta$

### 3.1.55 ${}^1pu\ddot{s}=a\ddot{d}i$ - ${}^2dyut$ - $a\ddot{d}i=$ ${}^3$ $\ddot{T}$ =IT- $a\grave{h}$ $parasmaipad\acute{e}su$

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1  $a\ddot{N}$  52 replaces  $Cl\ddot{i}$  44 after 2 verbal stems belonging to the classes] beginning with  $pu\ddot{s}$ - (IV 73-137),  $dy\ddot{u}t$ - (I 777-799) and those with marker  $\ddot{L}$  before  $Parasmaipad\acute{a}$  [l-substitutes of  $I\ddot{U}\ddot{N}$  43 denoting the agent 48].

1.  $puṣ+IU\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-puṣ+Cl\check{i}+t = \acute{a}-puṣ+a\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-puṣ-a-t$  'has nourished or fed'.
2.  $dyút+IU\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-dyut-a-t$  'has shone', but  $\acute{a}-dyot-i-s-ṭa$ .
3.  $gam\check{l}+IU\check{N} = \acute{a}+gam+a\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-gam-a-t$  'has gone'.

### 3.1.56 <sup>1</sup>sār-ti-<sup>2</sup>śās-ti-<sup>3</sup>ār-ti-bhyaś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aÑ 52 replaces Cl<sub>i</sub> 44] also (ca) [after 2 the verbal stems] sṛ- 'flow' (I 982), śās- 'rule, order' (II 66) and ṛ- 'go' (III 16) [before Parasmaipadā 55 l-substitutes of IUÑ 43 denoting the agent 48].

1.  $sṛ+IU\check{N} = \acute{a}-sṛ+Cl\check{i}+t = a-sar-a\check{N}+t$  (7.4.16) =  $\acute{a}-sar-a-t$  'has streamed or flowed'.
2.  $śās+IU\check{N} = \acute{a}-śās+a\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-śās-a-t$  'has ruled'.
3.  $ṛ+IU\check{N} = \acute{a}+r+a\check{N}+t = \acute{a}+ar-a-t = \acute{a}-r-a-t$  'has gone'.

By not including these stems in the preceding sūtra, the present rule applies also before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes:  $sam-ār-a\check{N}+anta = sam-ār-anta$ . The word [parasmaipadésu 55] recurs here for the purpose of the following sūtra only.

### 3.1.57 IR=IT-o vā

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aÑ 52] optionally (vā) [replaces Cl<sub>i</sub> 44 after 2 verbal stems] with marker IR as IT (in the Dhātu-pāṭha or upadeśa) [before Parasmaipadā 55 l-substitutes of IUÑ 43 denoting the agent 48].

- $$\begin{aligned} bhid-IR+IU\check{N} &= \acute{a}T+bhid+Cl\check{i}+t = \acute{a}-bhid+siC/a\check{N}+t = (1) \acute{a}-bhaid+s-iT+t \text{ (7.2.3)} \\ &= \acute{a}-bhait-s-I-t \text{ (8.4.55); (2) } \acute{a}-bhid+a\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-bhid-a-t \text{ 'has broken', but} \\ &\acute{a}-bhid+siC+ta = \acute{a}-bhit-ṭ+ta \text{ (8.2.26; 4.55) = } \acute{a}-bhit-ta. \end{aligned}$$

### 3.1.58 <sup>1</sup>jṛ-<sup>2</sup>stanbhU-<sup>3</sup>mrúcŪ-<sup>4</sup>mlúcŪ-<sup>5</sup>grúcŪ-<sup>6</sup>glúcŪ-<sup>7</sup>glúncŪ-<sup>8</sup>śvi-bhyaś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aÑ 52 optionally 57 replaces Cl<sub>i</sub> 44 after 2 verbal stems] jṛ- 'grow old, age' (I 863, IV 22), stambh- 'stop, arrest' (IX 7), mrúc-, mlúc- 'go' (I 210-11), grúc-, glúc- 'steal' (I 212-13), glúnc- 'go' (I 216) and śvi- 'swell, increase, grow' (I 1059) [before Parasmaipadā 55 l-substitutes of IUÑ 43 denoting the agent 48].

1.  $jṛ+IU\check{N} = \acute{a}T+jṛ+Cl\check{i}+t = \acute{a}-jṛ+siC/a\check{N}+t = (1) \acute{a}-jār-i-s-I-t = \acute{a}-jār-i-ṭ+I-t = \acute{a}-jār-I-t$ ; (2)  $\acute{a}+jṛ+a\check{N}+t = \acute{a}-jār-a-t$  'has aged or grown old'.
2.  $stambh+IU\check{N} = \acute{a}-stambh-I-t/\acute{a}-staṭbh-a-t$  (6.4.24) 'has stopped or arrested'.

3. *mrúc/mlúc+IUN* = *á-mroc-I-t/á-mloc-I-t; á-mruc-a-t/á-mluc-a-t*
4. *grúc/glúc+IUN* = *á-groc-I-t/á-gloc-I-t; á-gruc-a-t/á-gluc-a-t* 'has stolen'.
5. *glúñc+IUN* = *á-gluñc-I-t/á-gluc-a-t* 'has gone'.
6. *évi+IUN* = *á-évay-I-t/á-év-a-t* 'has swollen'.

### 3.1.59 <sup>1</sup>kṛ-<sup>2</sup>mṛ-<sup>3</sup>dṛ-<sup>4</sup>ruh-<sup>5</sup>bhyaś chándasi

In the domain of Chándas (chándas-i) [the substitute Aorist marker affix 1 aÑ 52 replaces Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stems] kṛ- 'do, perform' (VIII 10), mṛ- 'die' (VI 110), dṛ- 'tear, injure' (V 34) and ruh- 'grow, germinate' (I 912) [before l-substitutes of IUN 43 denoting the agent 48].

1. *kṛ+IUN+t* = *á-kar-aÑ+t* (7.4.16) = *á-kar-a-t* 'has done'; the l-substitutes in all these examples are Parasmaipadá (55).
2. *mṛ+IUN* = *á-mar-a-t* 'has died'.
3. *dṛ+IUN* = *á-dar-a-t* 'has hurt'.
4. *ruh+IUN* = *á-ruh-a-t* 'has ascended or mounted'.

The corresponding non-Chandas forms are: *á-kār-ṣ-I-t, á-mṛ-ta á-dār-I-t, á-ruk-ṣa-t*.

### 3.1.60 CiN té pad-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CiN [replaces Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stem] pad- 'go' (IV 60) [before the IUN substitute 43] tá.

*pad+IUN* = *pad+Clī+ta* = *pad+CiN+ta* = *áT+pad+i+ta* (7.2.116) = *á-pād-i+θ<sup>1</sup>* (8.4.104) = *á-pād-i* 'has gone', *ud-á-pād-i* 'has come up'.

### 3.1.61 <sup>1</sup>dīp-<sup>2</sup>ján-<sup>3</sup>budhA-<sup>4</sup>pūrī-<sup>5</sup>tāyī-<sup>6</sup>pyāyī-bhyaḥ= anyataráśyām

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60] optionally (anyataráśyām) [replaces Clī 44 after 2 the verbal stems] dīp- 'shine' (IV 42), ján- 'be born' (IV 41), budh- 'know' (IV 63), pūr 'fill' (IV 43), tāy- 'extend' (I 518) and pyāy- 'increase, grow' (I 517) [before the IUN substitute 43 tá 60].

1. *dīp+IUN+ta* = *dīp+CiN+ta* = *á-dīp+i+θ<sup>1</sup>* = *á-dīp-i/á-dīp+iT-siC+ta* = *á-dīp-i-ṣ-ta* (8.3.59; 4.41) 'has shone'.
2. *á-jan-i/á-jan-i-ṣ-ta* 'was born'.
3. *á-bodh-i/á-budh-s+ta* = *á-budh+θ+ta* (8.2.26) = *á-bud-dha* (1.2.11; 8.2.37; 4.53) 'has known'.
4. *á-pūr-i/á-pūr-i-ṣ-ta* 'has filled'.

5. *á-tāy-i/á-tāy-i-s-ta* ‘has extended’.

6. *á-pyāy-i/á-pyāy-i-s-ta* ‘has grown’.

### 3.1.62 aC-aḥ karma-kartár-i

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60 optionally 61 replaces Cl<sub>i</sub> 44 after 2 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme (aC-aḥ) [before the IUN substitute 43 tá 60] when the agent is at the same time also the object (karma-kartár-i).

*kṛ+IUN+ta* = *á+kṛ+CiN/siC+ta* = (1) *á-kār-i* / *á-kṛ+θ+ta* = *á-kṛ-ta kátah svayám evá* ‘the mat was made by itself (i.e., automatically)’, but when the stem ends in a consonant: *bhid+IUN+ta* = *á-bhed-i kāsṭháh svayám evá* ‘the piece of wood broke by itself’ and *á-kār-i kátah devadatténa* ‘the mat was made by Devadattá’.

### 3.1.63 duh-aś ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60 optionally 61 replaces Cl<sub>i</sub> 44 after 2 the verbal stem] duh- ‘milk’ (II 4) also (ca) [before the IUN substitute 43 ta 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62].

*duh+Cl<sub>i</sub>+ta* = *duh+CiN/siC+ta* = *á-doh-i/á-duh+siC+ta* = *á-dugh+θ+ta* (8.2.26,32) = *á-dug-dha* (8.2.40; 4.53) *gaúh svayám evá* but *á-doh-i gaúh devadatténa* ‘the cow yielded milk’ / ‘the cow was milked by Devadattá’.

### 3.1.64 ná rudh-aḥ

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60] does not (ná) [replace Cl<sub>i</sub> 44 after 2 the verbal stem] rudh-ÌR ‘obstruct, hinder’ (VII 1) [before the IUN substitute 43 tá 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62].

*anu+avá+rudh+Cl<sub>i</sub>+ta* = *anv-ava-rudh+siC+ta* = *anv-ava+áT+rudh+θ+ta* (8.2.26) = *anv-avá+rudh+dha* (8.2.40) = *anv-avá-rud-dha* (8.4.53) *gaúh svayám evá* ‘the cow halted by herself’ but *anv-avá-rudh-CiN+ta* = *anv-avá-rodh-i-θ gaúr gopálakena* (66) ‘the cow was tied up by the cowherd’.

### 3.1.65 tapah=anutāpé ca

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1 CiN 60 does not 64 replace Cl̥i 44 after 2 the verbal stem] tap- ‘mortify, suffer’ (I 1034) [before lUN substitute 43 tá 60 when the agent is at the same time also the object 62] and (ca) denotes regret or repentance (anu-tāpé).

$tap+lUN = tap+Cl̥i+ta = tap+siC+ta = á-tap-s-ta = á-tap-Ø-ta$  (8.2.26)  $á-tap-ta$   
*tāpas tāpasāḥ* ‘the ascetic mortified himself’ and *anu-avā-tap-ta pāpēna*  
*kármaṇā* ‘repented his evil actions’.

### 3.1.66 CiN <sup>1</sup>bhāva-<sup>2</sup>karmāṇ-oh

[The substitute Aorist marker affix 1] CiN [replaces Cl̥i 44 after 2 a verbal stem before lUN substitute 43 tá 60] when denoting the action itself (bhāvá-) or the object (kárman-).

1. *bhāvé*:  $śiN+CiN+ta = á-sai+CiN+Ø$  (7.2.115) =  $á-śāy-i bhāvat-ā$  ‘sleeping was done by you (= you laid yourself down to sleep)’.
2. *kármaṇ-i*:  $kṛ+ciN+ta = á-kār-i kátaḥ devadatténa$  ‘the mat was made by Devadattá’.

### 3.1.67 sārva dhātuke yák

[The affix 1] yáK is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem] before sārva dhātuka (3.4.113) [l-substitutes when denoting bhāvá (the action itself) or kárman (the object) 66].

1. *bhāvé*:  $ās+yáK+te = ās-yá-te bhāvat-ā$  ‘sitting is done by you’, a reflexive or impersonal construction applicable to intransitive verbal stems.
2. *kármaṇ-i*:  $kṛ+yáK+te = kri-yá-te$  (7.4.28) *káta-ḥ* ‘a mat is being made’. This construction also applies when the agent is at the same time also the object (karma-kartár-i): *pac-yá-te odaná-ḥ* ‘rice is being cooked’, but also *pac-yá-te odaná-ḥ svayám evá* ‘rice is cooking by itself’.

### 3.1.68 kartár-i ŚaP

[The affix 1] ŚaP is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67] to denote the agent (kartár-i).

$pác+tiP = pác+ŚaP+tiP = pác-a-ti$  ‘(one) cooks, is cooking’.

### 3.1.69 dív-ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN

[The affix 1] ŚyaN is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with dív- 'sport, gamble' (IV 1-137) [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68]

Exception to 68 above.  $dív+tiP = dív+ŚyaN+tiP = dív+ya+ti = dív-ya-ti$  (8.2.76).

### 3.1.70 vā <sup>1</sup>bhrásā-<sup>2</sup>bhlásā-<sup>3</sup>bhrámŪ-<sup>4</sup>krámŪ-<sup>5</sup>klámŪ-<sup>6</sup>trásī-<sup>7</sup>trúṭi-<sup>8</sup>lās-aḥ

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 2 the verbal stems] bhrás-, bhlás- (I 876-7) 'shine', bhrám- 'be confused, wander' (I 903, IV 96), krám- 'tread' (I 502), klám- 'become tired or weary' (IV 98), trás- 'tremble' (IV 10), trúṭ- 'break' (VI 82) and lās- 'shine' (I 937) [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

The two verbal stems klám- and trás- occur only as members of the div-class in the Dhp. besides generating derived stems in the cur-class, while trúṭ- occurs only in the tud- and cur- classes.

1.  $bhrás+ŚyaN/ŚaP+te = bhrás-ya-te/bhrás-a-te$  'shines'.
2.  $bhlás-ya-te/bhlás-a-te$  'shines'.
3.  $bhrám-ya-ti$  (7.3.74) /  $bhrám-a-ti$  'wanders, is confused'.
4.  $krám-ya-ti$  /  $krám-a-ti$  (7.3.74,76) 'treads'.
5.  $klám-ya-ti$  /  $klám-a-ti$  (7.3.74,75) 'becomes tired'.
6.  $trás-ya-ti$  /  $trás-a-ti$  'breaks'.
7.  $lās-ya-ti$  /  $lās-a-ti$  'shines'.

### 3.1.71 yás-aḥ=án-upasargāt

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69 is optionally 70 introduced after 2 the verbal stem] yás- 'exert' (IV 101) [before sārva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] when not co-occurring after a preverb (án-upa- sargāt).

Since this verbal stem already belongs to the dív-class and affix ŚyaN is necessarily introduced after it, the present option operates only when it is not co-occurring with a preverb:  $yás-ya-ti/yás-a-ti$  'exerts', but  $prá-yas-ya-ti$ .

### 3.1.72 sám-yas-aś ca

[The affix 1 ŚyaN 69] is also (ca) [optionally 70 introduced after 1 the verbal stem] sám+yas- 'exert well' [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

Exception to 71 above: *sám-yas-ya-ti* / *\*-yas-a-ti*.

### 3.1.73 su=ādibhyah Śnúḥ

[The affix 1] Śnú is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with su- 'press, express, extract' (V 1-34) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

*su+tiP* = *su+Śnú+tiP* = *su-nó-ti* (1.2.4; 7.3.84) 'extracts, distills'.

### 3.1.74 śruv-aḥ śṛ ca

[The affix 1 Śnú 73 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem] śru- 'listen to, hear' (I 989) and the substitute morpheme śṛ- replaces the (whole 1.1.55) of the verbal stem [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

*śru+tiP* = *śṛ+Śnú+tiP* = *śṛ-ṇó-ti* (7.3.84; 8.4.2) 'listens'.

### 3.1.75 ákṣ-aḥ=anyataráśyām

[The affix 1 Śnú 73] is optionally (anyataráśyām) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem] ákṣ- 'pervade' (I 684) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

*akṣ+tiP* = *akṣ+Śnú/ŚaP+tiP* = *akṣ-ṇó-ti/ákṣ-a-ti* 'pervades'.

### 3.1.76 tanū-karaṇé tákṣ-aḥ

[The affix 1 Śnú 73 is optionally 75 introduced after 2 the verbal stem] tákṣ- 'pare' (I 684) [before sārva dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] when signifying paring (tanū-karaṇé).

*takṣ+tiP* = *takṣ+Śnú/ŚaP+tiP* = *takṣ-ṇó-ti/tákṣ-a-ti* *kāṣṭhām* 'pares wood', but *sám-takṣ-a-ti* *vāg-bhiḥ* 'criticizes harshly'.



### 3.1.77 tud-ādibhyaḥ Śá-ḥ

[The affix 1] Śá is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with tud- ‘torment’ (VI 1-143) [before sárvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$tud+tiP = tud+Śá+tiP = tud-á-ti$  ‘torments’. Guṇa replacement of the light penultimate vowel of the verbal stem is blocked by 1.1.5 since the class-marker Śá is regarded as or acts like a Ñ-IT by 1.2.4.

### 3.1.78 rudh-ādibhyaḥ ŚnáM

[The affix 1] SnáM is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with rudh- ‘obstruct, hinder’ (VII 1-25) [before sárva-dhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$rudh+tiP = rudh+ŚnáM+tiP = ru-ná-dh+tiP$  (1.1.47) =  $ru-ṇá-dh+dhi$  (8.2.37; 4.2) =  $ru-ṇá-d+dhi$  (8.4.53) ‘obstructs’.

### 3.1.79 <sup>1</sup>tán-ādi-<sup>2</sup>kṛÑ-bhyaḥ=ú-ḥ

[The affix 1] ú is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with tán- ‘extend’ (VIII 1-9) and kṛÑ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10) [before sárvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$tán+tip = tan+ú+tiP = tan-ó-ti, tan-u-táh, tan-v-ánti; kṛ+tiP = kṛ+ú+tiP = kar-ó-ti, kur-u-táh$  (6.4.110).

### 3.1.80 <sup>1</sup>dhinvī=<sup>2</sup>kṛṇvy-or a ca

[The affix 1 ú 79] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] dhínv- (I 624 dhíví) ‘please’ and kṛṇv- (I 629 kṛví) ‘injure, hurt’ [before sárvadhātuka l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68] and the substitute phoneme /a/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of the verbal stems.

1.  $dhinv+tiP = dhina+ú+tiP = dhin\emptyset+ú+tiP$  (6.4.148) =  $dhin-ó-ti$  ‘pleases’; guṇa replacement of penultimate light vowel of pre-affixal stem is blocked by  $\emptyset$  replacement of the substitute vowel before marker u (1.1.56).

2.  $kṛṇ-ó-ti$ .

### 3.1.81 *krī-ādibhyaḥ Śnā*

[The affix 1] *Śnā* is introduced [after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with *krī-* 'buy, purchase' (IX 1-61) [before *sārvadhātuka* l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$$krī+tiP = krī+Śnā+tiP = krī-ñā-ti \text{ (8.4.2), } krī-ñī-tāḥ \text{ (6.4.113), } krī-ñṭh+ánti \text{ (6.4.112).}$$

### 3.1.82 <sup>1</sup>*stanbh*Û-<sup>2</sup>*stunbh*Û-<sup>3</sup>*skanbh*Û-<sup>4</sup>*skunbh*Û-<sup>5</sup>*skuñ*-*bhyaḥ Śnúś ca*

[The affix 1 *Śnā* 81] as well as (*ca*) *Śnú* are introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] *stanbh-*, *stunbh-* (IX 7) and *skanbh-*, *skunbh-* (IX 8) 'stop, hinder' and *skuñ* (IX 6) 'cover, conceal' [before *sārvadhātuka* l-substitutes 67 to denote the agent 68].

$$stanbh+tiP = staṭbh-nā-ti/stabh-nó-ti \text{ (6.4.24); } stubh-nā/nó-ti; skabh-nā/nó-ti, skubh-nā-ti/skubh-nó-ti; sku-nā/nó-ti \text{ 'covers, conceals'; } \text{guna replacement of stem-final vowel is blocked by 1.1.5 and 2.4.}$$

### 3.1.83 *haL-aḥ Śn-áḥ ŚānāC=haú*

(The substitute element) *ŚānāC* replaces (the marker affix 1) *Śnā* (*Śn-aḥ*) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem (ending in 1.1.72)] a consonant (*haL-aḥ*) before (the substitute affix 1) *hí* (= replacement of *siP* of *lOT* 3.4.87).

$$muṣ+lOT = muṣ+Śnā+hí = muṣ+ŚānāC+hí = muṣ-āñā+ṭh \text{ (6.4.105; 8.4.2) 'steal'}.$$

### 3.1.84 *chāndas-i ŚāyáC=ápi*

In the domain of *Chāndas* (the substitute element) *ŚāyáC* also (*ápi*) [replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the marker affix *Śnā* 83 introduced after 2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 83 before the substitute affix *hí* 83].

$$grah+Śnā+hí = grbh+ŚāyáC+hí \text{ (6.1.16) = } grbh-āyá+ṭh^1 \text{ 'catch'; alternately } badh+Śnā+hí = badh+ŚānāC+hí = badh-āñā+ṭh^1.$$

### 3.1.85 vyatyayó bahulám

[In the domain of Chándas 84] interchange (vyatyayáh) [of affixes 1] occurs variously (bahulám).

$bhid+\acute{S}aP+tiP = bhéd-a-ti$  'breaks' for  $bhi-na-d+ti = bhind-ti$  (8.4.55).  
 $mṛ+\acute{S}aP+tiP = már-a-ti$  'dies':  $mṛ+\acute{S}a+te = mri+\acute{a}+te$  (7.4.28) =  $mriy-\acute{a}-te$  (6.4.77). Two marker-affixes:  $nī+eiP+\acute{S}aP+tu = né-ṣ-a-tu$  'may he lead'.  
Three marker-affixes:  $tṛ+ú+eiP+\acute{S}aP+liN+ma = tar-u-ṣ-a+yās+ma$  (3.4.103) =  $tar-u-ṣ-a+iyθ-ma$  (7.2.79,80) =  $tar-u-ṣ-é-ma$  'may we cross'.

### 3.1.86 liN-i=āsís-i=aN

[In the domain of Chándas 84 the marker affix 1] aN is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem before the l-substitutes of] Precative (=Benedictive: liN-i āsís-i).

Although the Precative l-substitutes are defined as ārdha-dhātuka (3.4.116) they can also be sārva dhātuka in the domain of Chándas (3.4.117); consequently this is an exception to ŚaP (68 above) and is valid for the following verbal stems: sthā- 'stand, remain', gā (= gai-) 'sing', gam- 'go', vac- 'speak', vid- 'know', śak- 'be able', ruh- 'shoot up, germinate, climb up, ascend':  $úpa+sthā+aN+yās+am = úpa-sthθ+aN+yāθ+am$  (6.4.64; 7.2.79) =  $úpa=sth-a-iy+am$  (7.2.80) =  $úpa-sth-ey-am$  'may I conciliate';  $úpa+gā+aN+yās+am = úpa-gā+aN+yās+am = úpa-g-éy-am$  'may I sing the praise';  $gam-é-ma$  'may we go';  $vac+aN+yās+ma = va-uM-c+a+iy+ma$  (7.4.20) =  $voc-é-ma$  'may we speak';  $vid-éy-am$  'may I know';  $śak-éy-am$  'may I be able';  $ā-ruh-ey-am$  'may I ascend';  $dṛś-éy-am$  'may I see'.

### 3.1.87 karmavát kármaṇ-ā túlya-kriyah

[The agent 68] who behaves with respect to the action in the same way as an object (kármaṇ-ā túlya-kriya-h) functions as though it were an object (karma-vát).

$bhid-yá-te kāsṭh-ám svayám evá$  'the wood splits of itself';  $á-bhed-i kāsṭh-ám svayám evá$  'the wood has split of itself';  $bhid-yá-te kusūl-ena$  'splitting is taking place by the granary'. For deriving all these sentences the words function as the agent of splitting while normally they are objects of the act of splitting.

### 3.1.88 *táp-as tápah-karmakasya=evá*

[The Agent 68 of the verbal stem] *tap-* ‘mortify, do penance’ (I 1034) [functions like an object 87] only (*evá*) when it has the word *tápas* ‘austerity, mortification, penance’ as its object (*tápah-karmakasya*).

*tap-yá-te tápas tāpasá-h* ‘the ascetic mortifies himself’ *á-tap-ta tápas tāpasá-h* ‘the ascetic mortified himself’ but *út-tap-a-ti suvárṇam suvárṇa-kārāḥ* ‘the goldsmith heats up the gold’.

### 3.1.89 *ná<sup>1</sup>duh<sup>À</sup>-<sup>2</sup>snú-<sup>3</sup>námām<sup>1</sup>yaK-<sup>2</sup>CiṆ-au*

[The affixes 1] *yáK* and *CiṆ* are not (*ná*) [introduced after 2 the verbal stems] *duh-* ‘milk’ (II 4), *snú-* ‘drip, trickle’ (II 29) and *nám-* ‘bow, bend down’ (I 867) [when the agent of these stems behaves in the same way as an object 87].

1. *dug-dhé gauḥ svayám evá* ‘the cow yields milk by itself’ and *á-dug-dha gauḥ svayám evá* ‘the cow yielded milk by itself’, the cow being the real object of milking but serving as the agent of the verb.
2. *prá-snu-te gauḥ svayám evá/prá-sno-ṣ-ta gauḥ svayám evá* ‘the cow yields/has yielded milk by itself’.
3. *nám-a-te daṇḍáḥ svayám evá/a-naṁ-ṣ-ta daṇḍáḥ svayám evá* ‘the staff bends/has bent by itself’.

### 3.1.90 *<sup>1</sup>kuṣi-<sup>2</sup>raj-oḥ prācām ŚyaN parasmaipadām ca*

[The affix 1] *ŚyaN* is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems] *kuṣ-* ‘pull, extract’ (IX 46) and *rañj-* ‘color, dye’ (I 1048, IV 58) according to Eastern Grammarians (*prācām*) and co-occurring with *Parasmaipadā* I-substitutes [when the agent functions in the same way as the object of the verbal stems 87].

1. *kúṣ-ya-ti pādāḥ svayám evá* ‘the foot draws up by itself’. The reference to Eastern Grammarians is for indicating that this is an optional rule: *kúṣ-ya-te*.
2. *rāj-ya-ti vástram svayám evá* ‘the cloth dyes by itself’ and alternately *raj-yá-te*. This is what is known as a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* (an ordered option) whereby this option does not function with reference to IIT (Perfect) and IIN (Optative) and before affixes containing *s* (*ṣiC*, *tāṣiā* etc.): *cu-kuṣ-é/koṣ-i-ṣi-ṣ-ta/koṣ-i-ṣyá-te/á-koṣ-i pādá-h svayám evá; ra-rañj-e/ra ṇk-ṣi-ṣ-ta/rañk-ṣyá-te/á-rañj-i vástram svayám evá*.

### 3.1.91 dhātu-ḥ

[After 2] a verbal stem.

This is a governing rule heading the section beginning here and extending up to the end of the third chapter; the word [dhātu- 'verbal stem'] will recur in each of the subsequent statements in this chapter.

### 3.1.92 tá-tra=upapadám saptamī-sthám

There (= in this section: tátra, headed by the governing rule 91) the t.t. upapadá denotes a form ending in (1.1.72) the seventh sUP triplet (saptamī-sthám).

1. as a t.t. occurs in: 1.3.16,71,77; 4.105,106; 2.2.19; 3.14; 5.3.57; 6.2.139.
2. as a non-technical term it denotes 'a complementary form subjoined', cf. 1.4.106.

### 3.1.93 kṛt=á-tiÑ

(The t.t.) kṛt denotes (affixes 1 introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91) other than l-substitutes defined by the siglum tiÑ (3.4.78).

This rule also governs the present section and all affixes introduced other than tiÑ will bear the t.t. kṛt. These are primary nominal affixes for deriving nominal stems from verbal stems. As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.39; 2.46; 2.1.32; 2.7; 3.65; 3.4.67; 6.1.71,182; 2.50,133; 3.14,72; 7.2.8; 3.33; 8.4.29.

### 3.1.94 vā=á-sarūpa-ḥ=á-striyām

[In this section headed by the governing rule 91 above] an exception (apavādá) optionally (vā) blocks [a general rule (utsargá) regarding two affixes 1] if they are not identical in shape (á-sarūpa-ḥ) except in the case of [affixes 1] introduced to form feminine agent nouns (3.3.94ff.).

133 below introduces affixes NvuL and tṛC after all verbal stems while 135 introduces affix Ká after verbal stems containing iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) as penultimate; since the two sets are not identical in shape, a verbal stem such as kṣip- 'cast, throw' (IV 14, VI 5) has both of them introduced after it: vi+kṣip+NvuL/tṛC/Ká = vi-kṣép-aka-/vi-kṣep-tṛ-/vi-kṣip-á- since 135 does not block the operation of 133. On the other hand 3.2.1 introduces affix áÑ after a verbal stem co-occurring with a nominal stem ending in the second sUP triplet, while 3.2.2 introduces affix Ká if the verbal stem ends in the vowel phoneme °-ā and is not preceded by a preverb; since áÑ and Ká are identical in shape (= á) the latter (apavāda) blocks the preceding (utsargá).

With reference to feminine affixes 3.3.94 introduces KtiN to form feminine action nouns: kṛ+KtiN = kṛ-ti- 'action', while 3.3.102 introduces affix [á] after deriva-

tive verbal stems:  $k\bar{r}+saN+\acute{a} = ci-k\bar{r}-\bar{s}a+\acute{a} = ci-k\bar{r}-\bar{s}\bar{a}$  [ $*ci-k\bar{r}-\bar{s}a+\acute{a}+T\bar{a}P$ ] (3.3.102; 6.1.97; 4.1.4) and though both affixes are not identical in shape 102 blocks the operation of 94. If this rule had not been introduced [KtiN] would have been introduced after derived verbal stems.

### 3.1.95 $k\bar{f}ty\bar{a}h$ prāñ NvuL-ah

(The t.t.)  $k\bar{f}tya$  denotes [all affixes 1 introduced hereafter up to but excluding 133 below, after 2 a verbal stem 91].

This is a sub-class of  $k\bar{f}t$  (93) affixes and the word [ $k\bar{f}tya$ ] will recur in the subsequent rules prior to 133 below.

### 3.1.96 ${}^1tavy\grave{a}T-{}^2t\acute{a}vya={}^3an\acute{f}yaR-ah$

[The  $k\bar{f}tya$  95 affixes 1]  $tavy\grave{a}T$ ,  $t\acute{a}vya$  and  $an\acute{f}yaR$  are introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91].

1.  $tavy\grave{a}T$ :  $gam+tavy\grave{a}T = gan-tavy\grave{a}-$  (8.4.58) 'to be gone' (accent by 6.1.185).
2.  $t\acute{a}vya$ :  $gam+t\acute{a}vya- = gan-t\acute{a}vya-$  'to be gone'.
3.  $an\acute{f}yaR$ :  $gam+an\acute{f}yaR = gam-an\acute{f}ya-$  'to be gone' (accent by 6.1.217).

### 3.1.97 $aC-ah=y\grave{a}T$

[The  $k\bar{f}tya$  95 affix 1]  $y\grave{a}T$  is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme ( $aC-ah$ ).

$gai+y\grave{a}T = g\bar{a}+y\grave{a}T$  (6.1.45) =  $g\bar{a}+y\bar{I}T+y\grave{a}T$  (6.4.65) =  $g\acute{e}y-am \acute{s}\bar{a}ma$  'a  $s\bar{a}man$  to be sung' (accent according to 6.1.213).  $p\bar{a}+y\grave{a}T = p\acute{e}-ya-$  'to be drunk';  $j\bar{i}+y\grave{a}T = j\acute{e}-ya-$  'to be won';  $l\bar{a}+y\grave{a}T = lo-y\grave{a}T$  (7.3.84) =  $l\acute{a}v-ya-$  (6.1.79) 'to be cut or reaped'.

### 3.1.98 $pOr aT=upadh\bar{a}t$

[The  $k\bar{f}tya$  95 affix 1]  $y\grave{a}T$  97 is introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in 1.1.72] a labial stop phoneme ( $pU$ ) and containing short [a] as penultimate.

This is a prior exception to 124 below which introduces affix  $Ny\grave{a}T$ .  $j\bar{a}p+y\grave{a}T = j\acute{a}p-ya-$  'to be muttered';  $k\bar{a}b+y\grave{a}T = k\acute{a}b-ya-$  'to be dyed';  $l\bar{a}bh+y\grave{a}T = l\acute{a}bh-ya-$  'to be gained';  $d\bar{r}am+y\grave{a}T = d\acute{r}am-ya-$  'to be moved'.

### 3.1.99 <sup>1</sup>śaki-<sup>2</sup>śah-oś ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] śak- ‘be able’ (V 15) and śáh- ‘endure, bear’ (I 905).

Exception to NyàT (124 below).

1. *śak+yàT* = *śák-ya-* ‘possible’.
2. *śáh+yàT* = *śáh-ya-* ‘to be endured or borne; bearable’.

### 3.1.100 <sup>1</sup>gádA-<sup>2</sup>máda<sup>3</sup>-cárÁ-<sup>4</sup>yamaś ca=án-upa-sarge

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] is also introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] gád- ‘speak’ (I 53), mád- ‘rejoice’ (IV 99), cár- ‘move; graze’ (I 591) and yam- ‘restrain’ (I 1033) when not co-occurring with preverbs (án-upa-sarge).

Exception to (124 below).

1. *gad+yàT* = *gád-ya-*; *prá-gad+NyàT* (124) = *pra-gád-yà* ‘to be spoken or uttered’.
2. *mád-ya-/pra-mád-yà-* ‘to be rejoiced/perplexed’.
3. *cár-ya-/ā-cār-yà-* ‘to be visited’.
4. *yám-ya- (98)/pra-yām-yà-* ‘to be restrained’.

### 3.1.101 <sup>1</sup>avadyá-<sup>2</sup>páṇya-<sup>3</sup>varyāḥ <sup>1</sup>garhya-<sup>2</sup>pañitavya=<sup>3</sup>a-nirodheṣu

[The irregular forms with kṛtya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] a-vad-yá-, páṇ-ya- and varyā are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) ‘contemptible’ (garhyà), ‘vendible’ (pañitávyā) and ‘unrestricted’ (á-ni-rodha).

1. *náñ+vad+yàT* = *a-vad-yá-* [accent by 6.2.160] corresponding to the regular form *a+vad+KyaP* = *a+ud+KyaP* (6.1.15) = *an-úd-ya-* (6.3.74) ‘not to be uttered, unutterable’.
2. *pañ+yàT* = *pán-ya-*, but regularly *pañ+NyàT* = *pāñ-yà-* ‘praiseworthy, excellent’.
3. *vara+yàT* = *varθ+yàT* (6.4.48) = *var-ya+TāP* (4.1.4) = *vár-yā* ‘a girl who is free to choose her own husband’, or alternately: *vṛ+yaT+TāP* = *vár-yā* against the regular form: *vṛ+KyaP* (109)+*TāP* = *vṛ+tuK+yā* (6.1.71) = *vṛt-yā*.

### 3.1.102 váhyam káraṇam

[The irregular form with kṛtya 95 affix 1 yàT 97] váh-ya- is introduced to denote an instrument (káraṇa) (of transportation).

*váh-a-ti an-éna* = *vah+yàT* = *váh-ya-* ‘a carriage’, contra the regular form *vah+NyàT* (124) = *vāh-yà-* ‘to be borne’.

### 3.1.103 árya-ḥ <sup>1</sup>svāmi(n)=<sup>2</sup>vaiśyayoḥ

$r+yaT = \acute{a}r-ya-$ ; regular:  $r+NyaT = \acute{a}r-yā-$  ‘noble’.

### 3.1.104 upa-sáryā kályā pra-jané

[The irregular form with  $kṛtya$  95 affix 1  $yāT$  97] *upa-sáryā* is introduced to denote the female (of any species) who has matured (*kályā*) or is ripe for her first impregnation (*pra-jané*).

$upa=sr+yaT+TāP = upa-sār-yā$  *gauḥ* ‘a cow, ready for her first impregnation’; in other meanings the regular form is:  $upa=sr+NyaT+TāP = upa-sār-yā$  *śarād-i madhurā* ‘fennel is to be sought in autumn’.

### 3.1.105 a-jar-yám sám-gatam

(The irregular form) *a-jar-yā-* is introduced [with  $kṛtya$  95 affix 1  $yāT$  97] [introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91  $jṣ-$  co-occurring with the privative particle *nāñ*] to denote ‘permanent accord (*sám-gatam*).

$nāñ+jṣ+yaT = a-jár-ya-$  (6.2.160); in other senses:  $a-jṣ+iT+tyC = \acute{a}-jar-i-ty-$  ‘not aging’ (133).

### 3.1.106 vad-aḥ sUP-i KyaP ca

[The  $kṛtya$  95 affix] *KyaP* as well as (*ca*) [ $yāT$  97 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] *vad-* ‘speak’ (I 1058) [not co-occurring with a preverb 100] but co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet.

$bráhman-aḥ=vádanam = brahma\emptyset+\emptyset^1+vad+KyaP/yāT = brahma+úd-ya-$  (6.1.15)/ $brahma-vád-ya-$  ‘theological discussion’. When preceded by preverbs:  $pra+vad+NyaT = pra-vād-yā-$ , and when not co-occurring with a nominal stem ending in a sUP triplet:  $vad+NyaT = vād-yā-$ .

### 3.1.107 bhuv-ó bhāvé

[The  $kṛtya$  95 affix 1 *KyaP* 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] *bhū-* ‘become’ (I 1) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet 106 and not preceded by a preverb 100] to express a state or condition (*bhāvé*).

$bráhman-aḥ=bhāv-ám$   $gatá-ḥ = brhma\emptyset+\emptyset^1+bhū+KyaP$  (2.4.71; 8.2.7) =



*brahma-bhū-yaṁ gatā-h* ‘attained the state of being brahman’. But elsewhere:  
*(pra)+bhū+yāT* (97) = *(pra)-bhāv-ya-* (6.1.79).

### 3.1.108 han-as ta ca

[The *kṛtya* 95 affix 1 *KyaP* 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] *han-* ‘kill, strike’ (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal stem (ending in 1.1.72) a *sUP* triplet 106 and not preceded by a preverb 100, to express a state or condition 107] and (ca) phoneme [t] replaces (the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme).

*bráhmaṇ-aḥ=hán-anam* = *brahma*∅+∅<sup>1</sup>+*han+KyaP+TāP* (4.1.4) = *brahma-hát-yā*  
 ‘slaying of a brahmin’; similarly *bhrūṇa-hát-yā* ‘destroying an embryo’.

### 3.1.109 <sup>1</sup>éti-<sup>2</sup>stu-<sup>3</sup>sās=<sup>4</sup>vṛ-<sup>5</sup>ḍṛ-<sup>6</sup>juṣ-aḥ *KyaP*

[The *kṛtya* 95 affix 1] *KyaP* is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *iṆ* ‘go’ (II 36), *stu-* ‘praise’ (II 34), *sās-* ‘rule’ (II 66), *vṛÑ* ‘choose’ (V 8), *ḍṛÑ* ‘honor’ (VI 118) and *juṣ-* ‘is pleased’ (VI 8).

1. *i+KyaP* = *i+tuK+KyaP* (6.1.71) = *i-t-ya-* ‘fit to go’.
2. *stu+KyaP* = *stú-t-ya-* ‘praiseworthy’.
3. *sās+KyaP* = *śís-ya-* (6.4.34) ‘to be ruled, ordered or taught’.
4. *vṛ+KyaP* = *vṛ-t-ya-* ‘to be chosen’.
5. *ḍṛ+KyaP* = *ḍṛ-t-ya-* ‘to be honored’.
6. *juṣ+KyaP* = *júṣ-ya-* ‘to be pleased’.

The repetition of the expression [*KyaP*] here when it was already recurring from 106 above is for the purpose of blocking out the operation of 125 below; this is a prior exception to that rule: *avaśya*∅<sup>1</sup>+*stu+KyaP* = *avaśya-stú-t-ya-* ‘necessarily to be praised’.

### 3.1.110 ḥT=upadh-āt=ca=a-<sup>1</sup>kṛ<sup>2</sup>pi-<sup>2</sup>cṛte-ḥ

[The *kṛtya* 95 affix 1 *KyaP* 106 is introduced after 2 verbal stems 91] containing short [ṛ] as penultimate, except *kṛp* (*kṛp-* I 799) ‘be able’ and *cṛt-* ‘injure’ (VI 35).

*vṛt+KyaP* = *vṛt-ya-* ‘to be abided or stayed’, but *kṛp+NyaT* = *kalp-yā-* (124) ‘to be formed’, *cṛt+NyaT* = *cart-yā-* ‘to be harmed or injured’.

### 3.1.111 ī ca khan-aḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] khan- ‘dig, excavate’ (I 927), and phoneme long [ī] replaces the stem-final (1.1.52) phoneme.

*khan+KyaP = kha-ī+KyaP = khē-ya-* ‘to be excavated or dug’. The [ī]-replacement of stem-final phoneme is a prior exception to 6.4.43 and blocks out the optional [ā]-replacement indicated there.

### 3.1.112 bhr̥ñ-aḥ=á-saṁjñāyām

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] bhr̥- ‘bear, nourish’ (III 5) when not denoting a name (á-saṁjñāyām).

*bhr̥+KyaP = bhr̥-tuK+KyaP = bhṛ̥-t-ya-* ‘bearer, servant’, but *bhr̥+NyàT = bhār-yà-* ‘n.pr. of a kṣatriya or warrior’.

### 3.1.113 mṛje-r vibhāṣā

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] mṛj- ‘polish, rub’ (II 57).

*\*mṛj+KyaP/NyàT = (pari-)mṛj-ya/-mārj-yà-* ‘to be polished’.

### 3.1.114 <sup>1</sup>rājasūya-<sup>2</sup>sūrya-<sup>3</sup>mṛṣódya-<sup>4</sup>rúcyā-<sup>5</sup>kúpya-<sup>6</sup>kṛṣṭapácya=<sup>7</sup>avyathāḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced to generate the irregular nominal stems] rājasūya- ‘name of the coronation sacrifice’, sūrya- ‘sun’, mṛṣódya- ‘false speech’, rúcyā- ‘pleasant’, kúpya- ‘base metal’. kṛṣṭa-pácya- ‘ripening in cultivated ground’ and a-vyathā- ‘unshakable’.

1. *rājñ-ā so-távya-ḥ = rājaḥ+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+su+KyaP = rāja-sū-ya-ḥ* the irregularity being absence of final increment tuK before KyaP or replacement of stem-final by the long vowel.
2. *sṛ+KyaP = sur-ya- = sūr-ya-/su+KyaP = su+ruT+KyaP = sūr-ya = sūr-ya-*.
3. *mṛṣā vadati = mṛṣā+vad+KyaP = mṛṣā-úd-ya-* (6.1.115) = *mṛṣódya-* (irregularity lies in affix KyaP for yàT 106).
4. *róc-a-te asaú = ruc+KyaP = rúc-ya-*; KyaP for t̥C.
5. *gup+KyaP = kúp-ya-* (name; saṁjñā); elsewhere NyàT(124).
6. *kṛṣṭe pac-yā-nte = kṛṣṭa+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+pac+KyaP = kṛṣṭa-pác-ya-*
7. *ná vyāth-a-te = a-vyath+KyaP = a-vyath-yá* (6.3.73).

The irregularity in (4-7) lies in KyaP replacing the normally expected NyàT(124).

### 3.1.115 <sup>1</sup>bhíd-ya=<sup>2</sup>úddh-yau nadé

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] bhíd-ya- and úddh-ya- are introduced to denote a 'river' (nadé).

1. *bhi-nát-ti kūlam* = *bhíd+KyaP* = *bhid-ya-* (literally 'breaks the bank'). Exception to NyàT (124) or tḥC 133.
2. *ujjh-á-ti=udakám* = *udjh+KyaP* = *úddh-ya-* (literally 'releases water'). Exception to tḥC etc. 133.

### 3.1.116 <sup>1</sup>púṣ-ya=<sup>2</sup>sídh-yau náksatre

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] púṣ-ya- and sídh-ya- are introduced to denote asterisms (náksatre).

*puṣ-yánti asmín áarthāḥ* = *puṣ+KyaP* = *púṣ-ya-* (lit. 'increases wealth'); but in other meanings *puṣ+LyuT* = *póṣ-ana-*. *sidh-yánti asmín* = *sidh+KyaP* = *sídh-ya-* (lit. 'achieves success in this'), in other senses *sidh+LyuT* = *sédh-ana-*.

### 3.1.117 <sup>1</sup>vipúya=<sup>2</sup>vinfyā=<sup>3</sup>jítyāḥ <sup>1</sup>múnja=<sup>2</sup>kalká=<sup>3</sup>háliṣu

[The irregular nominal stems derived with kṛtya 95 affix KyaP 106] vipú-ya-, vi-ní-ya- and jít-ya- are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) the múnja grass, sediment (kalká) and plough (háli-).

1. *vi-pū+KyaP* = *vi-pú-ya-* = *vi-pū-ya-te*, but in other senses *vi-pū+yàT* = *vi-po-ya-* = *vipáv-ya-*.
2. *vi-nI+KyaP* = *vi-ní-ya-* contra *vi-nI+yàT* = *vi-né-ya-* in other meanings.
3. *jī+KyaP* = *jī+tuK+ya-* = *jít-ya-* but in other meanings *jī+yat-* = *jé-ya-*.

### 3.1.118 <sup>1</sup>práti=<sup>2</sup>ápi-bhyām graheś chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91] grāh- 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with preverbs práti-° and ápi-°.

The original sūtra does not contain the word [chándas-i]; it is an emendation proposed by a vārttika and is incorporated as part of the sūtra from Kāśikā onwards.

*práti+grah+KyaP* = *prati-grāh-ya-* (6.1.16) 'to be accepted' but in current speech *prati+grah+NyàT* = *prati-grāh-yà-*. *ápi+grah+KyaP* = *api-grāh-ya-* 'to be closed', but elsewhere *api-grāh-yà* .

### 3.1.119 <sup>1</sup>padá=<sup>2</sup>śsvairi(n)-<sup>3</sup>bāhyā-<sup>4</sup>paksyèṣu ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106 is introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 grah- 118] to denote (1) a finished word (padá), (2) a dependent (ś-svairin-), (3) 'external' (bāhyā) and (4) a partisan (paksyà).

1. padá: *pra+grah+KyaP* = *pra-gṛh-ya-* defined by 1.1.11 as a nominal or verbal pada ending in °-ī, °-ū or °-e and dual in number. *ava-gṛh-yam padám* 'a pada separated in a compound, etc.'
2. śsvairin: *gṛhya-kāḥ ime* 'these are domesticated'.
3. bāhyā: *grāma-gṛh-yā sēnā* 'an army quartered outside the village'.
4. paksyà: *vāsudeva-gṛhya-* 'belonging to the party of V.'

### 3.1.120 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>kṛ-<sup>2</sup>vṛṣoḥ

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP 106] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [introduced after 2 the verbal stems 91] kṛ- 'do' (VIII 10) and vṛṣ- 'rain' (I 738).

1. *kṛ+KyaP/NyāT* (124) = *kṛ+tuK+ya-* = *kṛ-t-ya-* / *kār-yā-* 'to be done or accomplished'.
2. *vṛṣ+KyaP/NyāT* = *vṛṣ-ya-/varṣ-yā-* 'to be rained upon'.

### 3.1.121 yúg-yam ca páttre

[The irregular form] yúg-ya- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 KyaP] is also (ca) introduced to denote a vehicle or a draught animal (páttre).

*yuj+KyaP* = *yúg-ya-* (with irregular velar replacement of palatal [j]) but in other meanings: *yuj+NyāT* = *yog-yā-*.

### 3.1.122 amāvasyàT=anyataráśyam

[The irregular form] amāvasyàT [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyāT 124, without accompanying vṛddhi replacement (7.2.116)] is introduced optionally (anyataráśyam).

*amā* = *sahá vás-a-taḥ a-smín kālē sūryā-candramás-au* = *amā+vas+NyāT* = *amā-vas-yā+TāP* = *amāvas-yā* 'new-moon day' contra regular *amā-vās-yā* (124).

**3.1.123**  $\text{chándas-i}^1\text{niṣṭarkyà-}^2\text{devahūya-}^3\text{prañīya=}^4\text{unnīya=}$   
 $^5\text{ucchīṣya-}^6\text{mārya-}^7\text{stāryā-}^8\text{dhvārya-}^9\text{khānyā-}^{10}\text{khānyā-}$   
 $^{11}\text{devayājyā-}^{12}\text{āp̥cchya-}^{13}\text{pratiṣīvyā-}^{14}\text{brahmavādyā-}$   
 $^{15}\text{bhāvya-}^{16}\text{stāvya=}^{17}\text{upacāyya-prḍāni}$

In the domain of Chándas [the irregular forms derived with  $\text{kṛtya}$  95 affixes 1  $\text{yàT}$  97,  $\text{KyaP}$  106 and  $\text{NyàT}$  124 variously] are introduced:

1.  $\text{nis}+\text{kṛt}+\text{NyàT} = \text{niṣ-ṭark-yà}$  'to be unscrewed', with irregular metathesis of the verbal stem and retroflexion of the sibilant of  $[\text{nis-}^\circ]$ .
2.  $\text{devāḥ hā-yānte asmín} = \text{deva}\emptyset^1+\text{hvé}+\text{KyaP} = \text{deva}+\text{hū}+\text{KyaP}$  (6.1.15; 4.2) =  $\text{deva-hū-ya-h}$  'invocation of the deities'. Alternately  $\text{deva}+\text{hu}+\text{KyaP}$  with irregular absence of  $\text{tṛK}$  increment and replacement of the short by the long vowel.
3.  $\text{pra}+\text{nī}+\text{KyaP} = \text{pra-ñī-ya}$  'to be led on'.
4.  $\text{ud}+\text{nī}+\text{KyaP} = \text{un-nī-ya}$  'to be led upwards'.
5.  $\text{ud}+\text{śis}+\text{KyaP} = \text{uc-chīs-ya}$  (8.4.40,63) 'to be left'.
6.  $\text{mṛ}+\text{yāT} = \text{mār-ya}$  'mortal'.
7.  $\text{str}+\text{yāT}+\text{TāP} = \text{stār-yā}$  'laying low'.  $\text{dhvṛ}+\text{yāT} = \text{dhvār-ya}$ .
8.  $\text{khan}+\text{yāT}/\text{Nyāt} = \text{khān-ya}/\text{khān-yā}$  'to be excavated'.
9.  $\text{deva}+\text{yaj}+\text{yāT}+\text{TāP} = \text{deva-yāj-yā}$  'worship of deities'.
10.  $\text{āñ}+\text{prach}+\text{KyaP} = \text{ā-p̥cch-ya}$  (6.1.16) 'to be questioned'.
11.  $\text{prāti}+\text{siv}+\text{KyaP} = \text{prat-ṣīvyā}$  (8.2.77) 'to be sewed on'.
12.  $\text{brahman}+\text{vad}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{brahma}\emptyset+\text{vād-yā}$  'theological controversy'.
13.  $\text{bhū}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{bhāv-yā}$  'to be effected'.
14.  $\text{stu}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{stāv-yā}$  'to be praised'.  $\text{upa}+\text{ci}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{upa-cāy}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{upacāy-ya-prḍā}$  'gold'.

### 3.1.124 $^1\text{ṛ-}^2\text{hāL}$ -or $\text{NyàT}$

[The  $\text{kṛtya}$  95 affix 1]  $\text{NyàT}$  is introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme  $[\text{ṛ}]$  or a consonant ( $\text{hāL}$ ).

1.  $\text{kṛ}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{kār-yā}$  (7.2.115) 'to be done'.
2.  $\text{pac}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{pāk-yā}$  (7.3.52) 'to be cooked'.

### 3.1.125 o-r āvaśyake

[The  $\text{kṛtya}$  95 affix 1  $\text{NyàT}$  124 is introduced after 2 a verbal stem 91 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme-class  $[\text{u}]$  to denote necessity (āvaśyake).

Exception to  $\text{yàT}$  97.  $\text{lū}+\text{Nyāt} = \text{lāv-yā}$  'necessarily to be cut or reaped', but  $\text{lū}+\text{yāT} = \text{lāv-ya}$  'to be cut'.

### 3.1.126 <sup>1</sup>ā-su-<sup>2</sup>yu-<sup>3</sup>vapi-<sup>4</sup>rāpi-<sup>5</sup>lāpi-<sup>6</sup>trāpi-<sup>7</sup>cāmaś ca

[The kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyàT 124] is also introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] ā+su- ‘distil’ (V 1), yu- ‘mix’ (II 23), vap- ‘sow’ (I 1052), rap-, lap- ‘speak’ (I 428-9), trap- ‘feel shy, be ashamed’ (I 399) and cam- ‘eat or drink’ (I 497).

Exception to yàT 97.  $\bar{a}\bar{N}+su+NyàT = \bar{a}-sāv-yà-$  ‘to be distilled’; similarly:  $yāv-yà-$ ,  $vāp-yà-$ ,  $rāp-yà-$ ,  $lāp-yà-$ ,  $trāp-yà-$ ,  $\bar{a}-cām-yà-$ .

### 3.1.127 ānāyyàḥ=á-nitye

(The irregular form) ānāyyà- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyàT 124] is introduced to denote ‘impermanent’ (á-nitye).

Exception to yàT 97.  $\bar{a}\bar{N}+nI+NyaT = \bar{a}-nāy-yà-$  (7.2.116) = *Dakṣiṇāgni* ‘(southern fire) which is not permanent’; the regular form is with (yàT):  $\bar{a}-né-ya-$  ‘to be brought’.

### 3.1.128 praṇāyyàḥ=á-sam-matau

(The irregular form) pra-ṇāy-yà- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyàT 124] is introduced to denote ‘disapproval (á-sam-matau).

Exception to [yàT] 97.  $pra+nI+NyaT = pra-ṇāy-yà-ḥ caurá-ḥ$  ‘the thief is to be disapproved/disliked’. The regular form is  $pra+nI+yàT = pra-ṇé-ya-$  ‘to be led’.

### 3.1.129 <sup>1</sup>pāyyà-<sup>2</sup>sām-nāyyà-<sup>3</sup>ni-kāyyà-<sup>4</sup>dhāyyāḥ <sup>1</sup>māna-<sup>2</sup>hāvis=<sup>3</sup>nivāsá-<sup>4</sup>sāmidhení-ṣu

(The irregular forms) pāy-yà-, sām-nāy-yà-, ni-kāy-yà- and dhāy-yà- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyàT 124] are introduced to denote respectively (1.3.10) a measure (māna), a particular oblation of Agnihotra (hāvis), a habitation (nivāsá) and a verse recited when the sacrificial fire is kindled (sāmidheníṣu).

1.  $mā+NyàT = pā+NyàT = pā+yūK+ya- = pā-y-yà-$ ; the regular form is:  $mā+yàT = mI+yàT$  (6.4.65) =  $mé-ya-$  ‘to be measured’.
2.  $sam+nI+NyàT = sām-nāy+NyàT = sām-nāy-yà-$ ; in other senses  $sam+nI+yàT = sam-né-ya-$  ‘to be led away’.
3.  $ni+ci+NyàT = ni-cāy+NyàT = ni-kāy-yà-$ ; in other senses  $ni-cé-ya-$  ‘to be heaped or piled’.
4.  $dhā+NyàT = dhā+yūK+yà+TāP = dhā-y-yà$  (7.3.33); in other senses  $dhā+yàT = dhI+yàT$  (6.4.65) =  $dhé-ya-$  ‘to be held or sustained’.

### 3.1.130 krátau <sup>1</sup>kuṇḍa-pāy-ya-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-cāy-yàṁ

(The irregular forms) kuṇḍa-pāy-ya- and saṁ-cāy-yà- [derived with kṛtya 95 affixes yàT 97 and NyàT 124] do denote names of particular sacrifices (krátau).

1. *kuṇḍ-ena pī-yá-te asmín* = *kuṇḍa-θ<sup>1</sup>+pā+yàT* = *kuṇḍa-pā-yuK+ya-* = *kuṇḍa-pā-y-ya-*; but in other meanings *kuṇḍa-pā+Lyut* = *kuṇḍa-pāna-* ‘drinking from a pot’.
2. *saṁ+ci+NyàT* = *saṁ-cay+NyàT* = *saṁ-cāy-yà-* in other meanings *saṁ+ci+yàT* = *saṁ-cé-ya-* ‘to be heaped or piled’.

### 3.1.131 agnaú <sup>1</sup>pari-cāy-yà=<sup>2</sup>upa-cāy-yà-<sup>3</sup>samūhyāḥ

(The irregular forms) pari-cāy-yà, upa-cā-y-yà- and sam-ūh-yà- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1 NyàT 124] are introduced to denote names of certain ritual fires (agnaú).

1. *pari/upa+ci+NyàT* = *pari/upa-cay+NyàT* = *pari-/upa-cāy-yà-*; in other meanings *pari-cé-ya-/upa-cé-ya* ‘to be heaped all around/near’.
2. *saṁ+vāh+NyàT* = *saṁ+uh+NyàT* (irregular vocalization) = *saṁ-ūh-yà-* (irregular replacement of short by long vowel); in other meanings: *saṁ-vāh-yà-* ‘to be carried well’.

### 3.1.132 <sup>1</sup>cit-yá=<sup>2</sup>agni-cit-yé ca

(The irregular forms) cit-yá- and agni-cit-yá- [derived with kṛtya 95 affix 1] yá are introduced [to denote the names of certain ritual fires 131].

1. *cī-yá-te asaú* = *ci+tuK+yá-* = *ci-t-yá-*; in other meanings *ci+yàT* = *cé-ya-* ‘to be heaped or piled’.
2. *agnī-h cī-yá-te asyām* = *agni+θ<sup>1</sup>+ci+tuK+yá+TāP* = *agni-ci-t-yá-*.

The affix [yá] indicated here is not among primary affixes listed in Aṣṭ. but mentioned in the vṛtti to explain the irregularity in accent.

### 3.1.133 <sup>1</sup>NvuL-<sup>2</sup>tṛC-au

[The kṛt 93 affixes 1] NvuL and tṛC are introduced [after 2 all verbal stems 91].

1. *kṛ+NvuL* = *kār-aka-* (7.1.1; 2.115) ‘doer, performer’.
2. *kṛ+tṛC* = *kar-tṛ-* ‘agent, doer’.

With this section only kṛt affixes are introduced denoting the agent (3.4.67).

### 3.1.134 <sup>1</sup>nándi-<sup>2</sup>gráhi-<sup>3</sup>pacá=ādibhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>Lyu-<sup>2</sup>Ṇíni-<sup>3</sup>áC-aḥ

[The kft 93 affixes l] Lyu, Ṇíni and áC are respectively (1.3.10) introduced [after 2 the classes of verbal stems 91] beginning with nand+NíC, gráh- and pac- [to denote the agent (3.4.47)].

Actually in the Gaṇapāṭha it is not the verbal stems that are included in these classes but their derived forms.

1. *nánd+NíC+Lyu* = *nánd-θ+ana-* (6.1.193; 4.51; 7.1.1) 'one who delights'.
2. *gráh+Ṇíni* = *gráh-ín-* 'who seizes or holds'.
3. *pac+áC* = *pac-á-* 'who cooks'.

### 3.1.135 <sup>1</sup>iK=upadha=<sup>2</sup>jñā-<sup>3</sup>prī-<sup>4</sup>kir-aḥ Ká-ḥ

[The kft 93 affix l] Ká is introduced [after 2 stems 91] containing iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) as penultimate, and jñā- 'know' (IX 36), prī- 'please, love' (IX 2) and kṛ- 'scatter' (VI 116) [to denote the agent (3.4.67)].

1. *vi-kṣip+Ká-* = *vi-kṣip-á-* 'scatterer'. Similarly *budh+Ká-* = *budh-á-* 'knower'; *kṛś-á-* 'lean'.
2. *jñā-ná-ti* = *jñā+Ká* = *jñθ+á* (6.4.64) = *jñ-á-* 'knower'.
3. *prī+Ká-* = *priy-á* (6.4.77) 'dear'.
4. *kṛ+Ká-* = *kir-á-* (7.1.100) 'scatterer, strewer'.

### 3.1.136 āT-aś ca=upasarge

[The kft 93 affix 1 Ká 135] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91 ending in (1.1.72)] the phoneme long [°-ā], co-occurring with preverbs (upasargé).

Prior exception to Na (141) below. *pra+sthā+Ká-* = *pra-sthθ+á-* = *pra-sth-á-* 'who abides in'; *su+glai+Ká* = *su-glā+Ká-* = *su-glθ+á-* = *su-gl-á-* 'very tired or weary'.

### 3.1.137 <sup>1</sup>pā-<sup>2</sup>ghrā-<sup>3</sup>dhmā-<sup>4</sup>dheṭ-<sup>5</sup>drś-aḥ Śáḥ

[The kft 93 affix 1] Śa is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] pā- 'drink' (I 972), ghrā- 'smell' (I 973), dhmā- 'blow, inflate' (I 974), dheṭ- 'drink' (I 951) and drś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [to denote the agent 3.4.67, when co-occurring with preverbs 136].

1. *ud+pā+Śá-* = *ut-pib-á* (7.3.78) 'drinking out'.
2. *ud+ghrā+Śá-* = *uj=jḡhr-á-* (7.3.78; 6.4.40) 'smelling out'.
3. *ud+dhmā+Śá-* = *ud-dham-á-* (7.3.78) 'blowing out'.



4. *ud+dhēṭ+Śá-* = *ud-dhay-á-* (6.1.78) 'drinking out'.

5. *ud+dṛś+Śá-* = *ut=paśy-á-* 'seeing out'.

The marker Ś of the affix indicates that it is *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113), bringing into operation 7.3.37, replacing the verbal stems by their substitutes introduced therein.

### 3.1.138 *án-upasargāt*=<sup>1</sup>*limpA*-<sup>2</sup>*vinda*-<sup>3</sup>*dhār-í*-<sup>4</sup>*pār-í*-<sup>5</sup>*vedí*-<sup>6</sup>*ud-ej-í*-<sup>7</sup>*cet-í*-<sup>8</sup>*sāt-í*-<sup>9</sup>*sāh-í*-*bhyaś ca*

[The kṛt 93 affix Śa 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *limp-* 'smear' (VI 139), *vind-* 'gain' (VI 138), *dhār-í* (= *dhṛ+* + *ṆíC* VI 119) 'carry', *pār-í* 'cross over' (X 363), *ved-í* 'proclaim, (X 168), *ud-ej-í* (= *ej+* + *ṆíC* I 253) 'shake', *cet-í* 'perceive, (X 135), *sāt-í* 'give pleasure, please' and *sāh-í* 'support' (X 267), when not co-occurring with preverbs (*án-upasargāt*) [to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *limp-a-ti* = *lip+Śá-* = *li-nuM-p+á-* (7.1.59) 'plasterer', but *pra+lip+Ká* = *pra-lip-á-*.
2. *vid+Śá-* = *vi-n-d-á-* 'gainer', but *ko-vid-á-* 'learned'.
3. *dhār-ay-a-ti* = *dhār-i+Śá-* = *dhāri+ŚaP+á-* = *dhār-ay-á-* 'carrying, bearing'.
4. *pār-ay-á-* 'carrying across'.
5. *ved-ay-á-* 'proclaimer'.
6. *ud-ej-ay-á-* 'agitator, shaker'.
7. *cet-ay-á-* 'giver of pleasure'.
8. *sāt-ay-á-* 'aide, supporter, helper, assistant'.
9. *sāh-ay-á-* 'supporting, causing to bear'.

### 3.1.139 <sup>1</sup>*dá-dā-ti*=<sup>2</sup>*dá-dhā-ty*-or *vibhāṣā*

[The kṛt 93 affix 1 Śa 137] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *dā-* 'give' (III 9) and *dhā-* 'bear, nourish' (III 10) [when not co-occurring with preverbs 138 to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *dá-dā-ti* = *dā+Śá* = *dā+Ślu+á* = *da-dā+á-* = *da-dḥ-á-* (2.4.75; 3.1.68; 6.1.10; 4.1.11; 7.4.59) = *da-d-á-/dā+Ṇa-* (141) = *dā+yṁK+a* (7.3.33) = *dā-y-á-* 'donor, supporter'; but *pra+dā+Ka-* (136) = *pra-dḥ+á* = *pra-dá-*.
2. *dá-dhā-ti* = *dhā+Śá-* = *da-dh-á-/dhā+Ṇá-* = *dhā-y-á-* 'bearer, supporter; nourisher'. But *pra+dhā+Ká* = *pra-dh-á-*.

### 3.1.140 jvāl-iti=kás-antebhyaḥ=Náḥ

[The kft 93 affix 1] Ná is [optionally 139 introduced after 2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with jvāl- 'shine, burn' (I 884) and ending with kás- 'go, move' (I 913) [to denote the agent 3.4.67 when not co-occurring with preverbs 138].

This is an exception to áC (134 above). *jvāl+Ná/áC* = *jvāl-á-/jvāl-á-* 'burning, shining', but *pra+jvāl+áC* = *pra-jvāl-á-* 'flaring up, shining brightly'.

### 3.1.141 <sup>1</sup>śyā-<sup>2</sup>āT=<sup>3</sup>vyadh<sup>4</sup>Á=<sup>4</sup>ś-sru-<sup>5</sup>sām-sru-<sup>6</sup>āti-iN=<sup>7</sup>áva-sā=<sup>8</sup>áva-hṛ-<sup>9</sup>lih<sup>10</sup>Ā-<sup>11</sup>śliṣ<sup>12</sup>Ā-<sup>13</sup>śvas-aś ca

[The kft 93 affix 1 Ná 140] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] syā- (= śyaiN I 1012) 'go move', stems (ending in 1.1.72) the phoneme long [ā] and vyadh- 'pierce' (IV 79), ś+sru- and sām+sru- 'flow' (I 987), āti+iN- 'go beyond, transgress' (II 36), áva+sā- (= so- IV 39) 'terminate, end', áva+hṛ- 'take down' (I 947), lih- 'lick' (II 6), śliṣ- 'embrace, clasp' (IV 77), śvas- 'breathe' (II 60) [to denote the agent 3.4.67].

1. *śyai+Ná* = *śyā+Nā* (6.1.45) = *śyā+yūK+a-* = *\*śyā-y-á-, prati-śyā-y-á-* 'frost'.
2. stems ending in [-ā]: *dā-y-á-, dhā-y-á-* (139). The verbal stem [śyā-] comes under this category, but is separately mentioned in order to block out the prior exception 136 above so that this affix is introduced after this stem even when it co-occurs with preverbs.
3. Similarly: *vyadh-á-* 'hunter', *āsrāv-á-* 'discharge', *sām-srāv-á-* 'conflux', *aty-āy-á-* 'transgression', *ava-sāy-á-* 'termination, end', *ava-hār-á-* 'taking down', *leh-á-* 'licker', *śleṣ-á-* 'clasper, embracer', *śvāś-á-* 'breath'.

### 3.1.142 <sup>1</sup>du-<sup>2</sup>ny-or án-upasarge

[The kft 93 affix Ná 140 is introduced after 2 the verbal stems 91] du- 'burn' (V 10) and nī- 'lead' (I 950) when not co-occurring after preverbs (án-upasarge).

*du-nó-ti iti* = *du+Ná-* = *dāv-á-* (7.2.115) 'forest fire', but

*pra+du+áC* (134) = *pra-dāv-á-*; *nay-a-ti iti* = *nī+Ná-* = *nāy-á-* 'leader', but *pra+nī+aC* = *pra-nāy-á-* 'love, lover'.

### 3.1.143 vibhāṣā grāheḥ

[The kṛt 93 affix 1 Ṇa 140] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] grāh- ‘seize, grasp, take hold of’ (IX 61).

Exception to áC (134). *grāh+Ṇá/áC* = *grāh-á-/grah-á-*. This is an ordered or regulated option (vyavasthta-vibhāṣā) whereby *grāh-á-* is used to denote a marine animal like a shark or killer whale, while *grah-á-* denotes a planet.

### 3.1.144 gehé Káḥ

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] Ká is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91 grāh- 143] to denote a house (gehé).

*grāh+ká* = *grh-á-* (6.1.16) ‘house’.

### 3.1.145 śilpín-i ṢvuN

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] ṢvuN is introduced [after a verbal stem 91] to denote an artisan (śilpín-)

By virtue of a vārttika this rule is restricted to the verbal stems nṛt- ‘dance’ (IV 9), khán- ‘dig, excavate’ (I 927) and ránj- ‘dye, color’ (I 865); the marker [Ṣ] of the affix denotes that the feminine affix [NfS] is introduced to generate a feminine stem: *nṛt+ṢvuN* = *nárt-aka-* ‘dancer’; *+NfS* = *nart-akṇ-f* = *nart-ak-f* ‘female dancer’. Similarly *khán-aka-* m./*khan-ak-f* ‘excavator, digger’; *raj-aka-/raj-ak-f* ‘washerman/laundress’.

### 3.1.146 gaṣ thakaN

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] thakaN is introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] gā (= gai- I 965) ‘sing’ [to denote an artisan 145].

*gāy-a-ti iti gai+thakaN* = *gā-thaka-/gāthi-k-ā* f. ‘singer’.

### 3.1.147 Nyuṭ ca

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] Nyuṭ is also (ca) [introduced after 2 the verbal stem 91 gā- 146 to denote an artisan 145].

*gai+Nyuṭ* = *gā+yuk+ána-* (7.3.33) = *gāy-ána-* m. *+Nṛp* (4.1.15) = *gāy-anṇ-I* (6.4.148) = *gāy-án-I* f. ‘singer’.

### 3.1.148 haś ca <sup>1</sup>vrīhī-<sup>2</sup>kālāyoh

[The kṛt 93 affix 1 *Ṇyuṭ* 147] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 the verbal stem 91] *hā* (= O-*hā*-K *tyāge*, O-*hā*-*Ṇ* *gatau* III 8,7) to denote (respectively 1.3.10) rice (*vrīhī*-) and time or season ( °-*kālāyoh*).

1. *ja-hā-ti udakām* = *hā+Ṇyuṭ* = *hā+yuk+ána* (7.3.33) = *hā-y-ána*- 'a variety of rice'.
2. *ji-hī-té bhāvdn* = = *hā+Ṇyuṭ* = *hāy-ána*- 'year (because it passes through all seasonal states)'.

### 3.1.149 <sup>1</sup>pru-<sup>2</sup>sr-<sup>3</sup>lv-ah sam-abhi-hāré vuN

[The kṛt 93 affix 1] *vuN* is introduced [after 2 the verbal stems 91] *pru*- 'go' (I 1008), *sr*- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) and *lv*- 'cut, reap' (IX 13) to denote excellence (*sam-abhi-hāré*).

1. *pru+vuN* = *pró+aka*- (8.3.84) = *práv-aka*- (7.1.78) 'one who proceeds well'.
2. *sr+vuN* = *sár-aka*- 'who moves or flows well'.
3. *lv+vuN* = *láv-aka*- 'an excellent reaper'.

### 3.1.150 āśís-i ca

[The kṛt 93 affix 1 *vuN* 149] is also (ca) introduced [after 2 a verbal stem 91] to express benediction (*āśís-i*).

- jñv-a-tāt* 'may (one) live' = *jñv+vuN* = *jñv-aka*-.

### 3.2.1 kármaṇ-i=áN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] áN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as the direct object (kármaṇ-i).

*kumbh-ám kar-o-ti* = *kumbha-θ<sup>1</sup>+kṛ+áN* = *kumbha-kār-á-* (7.2.115) ‘a potter’;  
*kāṇḍ-am lu-ná-ti* = *kāṇḍa-lāv-á-* ‘a branch cutter’; *véd-am adhī-te* =  
*veda+adhi+āy-á-* = *vedādhyāy-á-* ‘a student of Veda’.

### 3.2.2 <sup>1</sup>hvā-<sup>2</sup>vā-<sup>3</sup>amaś ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áN 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] hvā- (= hveÑ I 1057) ‘challenge’, vā- (= veÑ I 1055)/ ‘weave’ and mā(Ñ) ‘measure’ (IV 34) [co-occurring with a nominal padá serving as (its) direct object 1].

This is a prior exception to 3 below, blocking out affix Ká.

1. *svarg-ám hváy-a-ti* = *svarga+θ<sup>1</sup>+vhe+áN* = *svarga+hvā+yuk+á-* = *svarga-hvā-y-á-* (6.1.45; 7.3.33) ‘invoker of heaven’.
2. *tántu+am+ve+ŚaP+tiP* = *tantu+θ<sup>1</sup>+vā-y-á-* ‘weaver’.
3. *dhānyā+am mā+ŚyaN+te* = *dhānya-θ<sup>1</sup>+mā+áN* = *dhānya-mā-y-á-* ‘corn-measurer’.

### 3.2.3 āTah=án-upa-sarge Káh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ká is introduced [after 1.2. a verbal stem 1.2 (ending in 1.1.72)] the phoneme long [ °-ā] when not co-occurring after a preverb (án-upa-sarge), [but with a nominal pada functioning as (its) direct object 1].

Exception to áN (1 above). *gó+am dā+Ślu+tiP* = *go+θ<sup>1</sup>+dā+Ká-* = *go-dθ+á-* = *go-dá-* ‘donor of a cow’; similarly *kambala-dá-* ‘donor of a blanket’, *aṅgúli+am trai+Śap+te* = *aṅguli-tr-á-* ‘thimble’, but *gó+Śas sam+dā+Ślu+tiP* = *go-θ<sup>1</sup>+sam=dā+aN* = *go-sam-dā-y-á-* ‘ceremonious donor of kine’.

### 3.2.4 sUP-i sthah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3] is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sthā- ‘stand, remain’ (I 975), co-occurring after a nominal padá (ending in 1.1.72) a sUP triplet.

This sūtra is divided into two parts by a process called yoga-vibhāgá ‘splitting of a rule into parts’: [sUPi], which yields the following rendering: “The kft affix Ká

is introduced after verbal stems ending in [ °-ā] when co-occurring with nominal stems ending in a sUP triplet\*: *dvā-bhyām pṣ-a-ti* = *dvī+bhyām pā+Śap+tiP* = *dvi+θ<sup>1</sup>+pā+Ká* = *div-pṣ-a-* = *dvi-p-á-* ‘elephant’ and similarly *pāda-p-á-* ‘a tree’. The second half [sthah] is then construed as above; this provides for the operation of this affix in generating both agent and action nouns: (a) agent noun: *sam-é tisth-a-ti* = *sama-θ<sup>1</sup>+sthā+Ká* = *sama-sth-á-* ‘remaining at the same level, even’; (b) action noun (bhāvē): *ākhā-nām utthānam* = *ākhu+θ<sup>1</sup>+ut-sthā+Ká* = *ākhu-tth-á-* ‘swarming of rats or moles’. The second sUP triplet occurs with the nominal padā in the case of transitive verbal stems while the remaining sUP triplets occur in the case of intransitive verbal stems.

### 3.2.5 <sup>1</sup>tundā-<sup>2</sup>śokāy-oh <sup>1</sup>pāri-mṛj= <sup>2</sup>āpa-nud-oh

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *pāri+mṛj-* ‘cleanse, wipe off’ (II 57) and *āpa-nud-* ‘drive away’ (VI 2) co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) with the nominal padās *tundā-* ‘navel’ and *śokā-* ‘grief’ [functioning as (their) direct objects 1].

1. *tundā+am pāri=mṛj+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* (2.4.72) = *tunda+θ<sup>1</sup>+pari-mṛj+Ká* = *tunda-pari-mṛj-á-* ‘a sluggish person (lit. one who cleanses or rubs the navel)’; in other meanings: *tunda-pari-mārj-á* (1) by a vārttika.
2. *śoka+am āpa-nud+Śa+ti* = *śoka+θ<sup>1</sup>+apa-nud+Ká* = *śokāpa-nud-á-* ‘harbinger of joy’, but in other senses: *śokāpa-nod-á-* ‘remover of grief’.

### 3.2.6 pré <sup>1</sup>dā-<sup>2</sup>jñ-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *dā-* ‘give’ (III 9) and *jñā-* ‘know’ (IX 36) co-occurring after the preverb *prá-°* (*pré*) [and a nominal padā functioning as (their) direct object 1].

Exception to áN. 1.

1. *sārva+am prá+dā+Ślu+tiP* = *sarva-θ<sup>1</sup>-pra-dā+Ká* = *sarva-pra-d-á-* ‘giving everything or all’, but *go-sam-dā-y-á-* (3 above).
2. *pāthin+am prá+jñā+Snā+tip* = *pathin-θ<sup>1</sup>+pra-jñā+Ká-* = *pathiθ-pra-jñ-á-* (6.4.64; 8.2.7) = *pathi-pra-jñ-á-* ‘who knows the road well’.

### 3.2.7 sám-i khyah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Ká 3 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *khyā-* ‘proclaim, speak’ (II 7) co-occurring after the preverb *sám-°* [and a nominal padā functioning as its object 1].

Exception to áN 1. *gó+am sám-khyā+θ<sup>1</sup>+te* = *go-θ<sup>1</sup>+sam-khyā+Ká* = *go-sam-khy-á-* ‘cowherd’.

There are two verbal stems [khyā] ‘proclaim’ (II 51) and ‘speak’ (II 7) which is a substitute morpheme (dhatv-ādeśa) for [caks-] (II 7). The *vytti* indicates that [khyā] in this rule refers to the latter; however both could yield the same meaning.

### 3.2.8 <sup>1</sup>gā<sup>2</sup>poḥ=ṬáK

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ṬáK s introduced [after 1.2. the verbal stems 1.91] gā- (=gai- I 965) ‘sing’ and pā- ‘drink’ (I 972) [not co-occurring after a preverb 3, but with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1].

Exception to Ká (3 above).

1. *sāman+am gai+ŚaP+tiP* = *sāman+θ<sup>1</sup>+gā+Ṭák* = *sāmaθ+gθ+á-* = *sāma-gá-* ‘singer of sāman’ m., and with [NIP 4.1.15] *sāma-gθ-f* f.
2. *sūrā+am pā+ŚaP+tiP* = *surā+θ<sup>1</sup> pθ+á-* = *surā-p-á-* m./ ‘p-f f. ‘wine-bibber, drunkard’.

### 3.2.9 hár-a-ter án-ud-yamane=áC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] áC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hṛ- ‘remove, take away’ (I 947) [co-occurring after a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] to denote a meaning other than ‘raising’ (án-ud-yamane).

Exception to áN (1). *ámśa+am hṛ+ŚaP+tiP* = *ámśa+θ<sup>1</sup>+hṛ+áC* = *ámśa-har-á-* ‘inheritor, partner’, but *bhārā+am hár-a-ti* = *bhāra+θ<sup>1</sup>+hṛ+aN* = *bhāra-hār-á-* ‘porter’.

### 3.2.10 váyas-i ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hṛ- 9, co-occurring with a nominal padá serving as its object 1] to denote age (váyas-i).

An exception to the constraint [ud-yámāna] of 9 above. *ásti+am hár-a-ti* = *ásti+θ<sup>1</sup>+hṛ+aC* = *ásti-har-á-h* *svā* ‘a dog which has reached the age when it can lift a bone’; similarly *kāvaca+am hár-a-ti* = *kavaca-har-á-h* *ksatriya-kumārā-h* ‘a warrior boy who has reached the age for wearing a coat of mail’.

### 3.2.11 āN-i tác-chīlye

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 h<sub>g</sub>- 9] co-occurring after preverb āN [and a nominal pada functioning as its object 1] to denote addiction or regular disposition (tác-chīlye).

*púspāñi ā+har-a-ti- = púspa+θ<sup>1</sup>+ā-h<sub>g</sub>+áC = puspā-har-á- 'accustomed or habituated to pluck flowers', but bhārām ā-har-a-ti = bhār-hār-á(N) 'occasional porter'.*

### 3.2.12 árh-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] árh- 'deserve, merit, honor' (I 776) [co-occurring after a nominal pada functioning as its object 1].

Exception to áN (1). *pūjā+am árh-a-ti = pūjā+θ<sup>1</sup>+arh+áC+TāP = pūjā-rh-á brāhmaṇī 'a brahmin lady deserving respect'. If [áN] were the affix, the feminine would have been with the affix[NiP] (4.1.15) instead of [TāP].*

### 3.2.13 <sup>1</sup>stámba-<sup>2</sup>kárṇay-oḥ <sup>1</sup>rámī-<sup>2</sup>jáp-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] rām- 'sport' (I 906) and jáp- 'mutter' (I 425) co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) with the nominal stems stámba- 'clump of grass' and kárṇa- 'ear' [ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet 4].

(a) *stámbe rām-a-te = stambe+rām+áC = stambe-ram-á- 'an elephant (lit. delighting in a clump of grass)'; non-replacement of sUP affix °-i by 6.3.14. In other meanings stambe+ram+t<sub>g</sub>C (1.133) = stámbe ran-t<sub>g</sub>-. kárṇa+i jáp-a-ti = karṇe-jap-á- 'slanderer (lit. 'one who whispers in the ear)'; in other meanings karṇe jap+i+t<sub>g</sub>-. Constraints on the meanings by a vārttika.*

### 3.2.14 sám-í dhāt-oḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2] a verbal stem (dhātoḥ) co-occurring with the particle sám 'goodness, auspiciousness' to denote a proper name (saṁjñā-yām).

*sám+kar-ó-ti = sám+k<sub>g</sub>+áC = sám-kar-á- 'n.pr. of the god of auspiciousness, Siva'; sám+bhū+áC = sam-bhav-á- 'id'. The repetition of the word [dhātu] here when it was recurring from the governing rule 1.91 is for the purpose of blocking out the operation of 20 below in connection with the verbal stem [k<sub>g</sub>N], and the introduction of [NiP] (4.1.15) as a feminine affix. In the present case the feminine*



affix is [TāP] (4.i.4):  $\acute{s}\acute{a}m+kar-\acute{a}+T\acute{a}P = sam-kar-\acute{a}$  'n.pr. of a female mendicant/ascetic'.

### 3.2.15 adhikāraṇe śeteḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 áC 9 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] śī(Ñ)- 'lie down, sleep' (II 22) [co-occurring with a nominal padá (ending in 1.1.71) a sUP triplet 4] functioning as a locus or substratum (adhikāraṇe).

$kha+í\acute{s}\acute{e}-te = kha+\emptyset^1+\acute{s}\acute{t}+aC = kha-\acute{s}ay-\acute{a}$  'resting in the sky'; similarly  $g\acute{a}rt-e\acute{s}\acute{e}-te' = garta-\acute{s}ay-\acute{a}$  'lying in a hole'.

### 3.2.16 cáreś Táh

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Táh is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] cár- 'go, wander' (I 591) [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 4 functioning as a locus/substratum 15].

$kúru-\acute{s}u\ cár-a-ti = kuru+\emptyset^1+car+T\acute{a} = kuru-car-\acute{a}$  m./+ °ÑiP =  $kuru-car-\acute{f}$  f. 'wandering in the Kúru country'.

### 3.2.17 <sup>1</sup>bhikṣā-<sup>2</sup>śenā=<sup>3</sup>ādāye-ṣu ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Táh 16 s introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 cár- 16] also [when co-occurring with the nominal padás] bhikṣā 'alms', śenā 'army' and ādā-ya 'having taken' [functioning in meanings other than the locus or substratum].

1.  $bhikṣ\acute{a}+am\ cár-a-ti = bhikṣ\acute{a}+\emptyset^1+car+T\acute{a} = bhikṣ\acute{a}-car-\acute{a}$  m./ °-car- $\acute{f}$  f. 'alms-person (who collects alms by moving from place to place)'.
2.  $\acute{s}en\acute{a}+am\ cár-a-ti = sen\acute{a}-car-\acute{a}$  m./ °-car- $\acute{f}$  f. 'person enlisted in the army'.
3.  $\acute{a}+d\acute{a}+Ktv\acute{a} = \acute{a}-d\acute{a}-ya\ cár-a-ti = \acute{a}-d\acute{a}-ya-car-\acute{a}$  m./ °-car- $\acute{f}$  f. 'who moves or eats after receiving alms'.

A separate rule has been formed to indicate that the (upapadás) mentioned here are not covered by the preceding rule, thus blocking out the [adhikāraṇa kāraka] by implication.

### 3.2.18 <sup>1</sup>púras=<sup>2</sup>agrátas=<sup>3</sup>ágre-ṣu sart-eh

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 sṛ- ‘move, flow’ (I 982, III 17) co-occurring with the nominal padás púr-as ‘in front’, agra-tás ‘ib.’, ágr-e ‘ib’.

*púras sár-a-ti* = *puras+sar+Ṭá* = *purah-sar-á-* m./ *°-sar-í* f. (8.3.15) ‘leader’;  
similarly *agra-tah-sar-á-* m./ *°-sar-í* f., *agre-sar-á-* m./ *°-sar-í* f.

### 3.2.19 púrv-e kartár-i

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 sṛ- 18 co-occurring with the nominal padá] púrva- ‘front’ [ending in (1.1.72) a sUP triplet 4] functioning as (its) agent (kartár-i).

*púrva+sU sár-a-ti* = *púrva+θ<sup>1</sup>+sar-(Ṭ)á-* m./ *°-sar-í* f. ‘leading, moving in front’,  
but *púrva+am (deś-ám) sár-a-ti* = *púrva-sār-á(N)* ‘moving eastwards’.

### 3.2.20 kṛÑ-ah=<sup>1</sup>hetú-<sup>2</sup>táčchīlya-<sup>3</sup>ānulomye-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10) [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in (1.1.72) the second sUP triplet] when the agent is characterized as the cause (hetú-) of the object or is habitually performing the activity (táč-chīlya-) or is complying (ānulomya-).

1. hetu: *yásas+am kar-o-ti* = *yásas+kṛ+Ṭa+ÑIP* (4.1.15) *yásas-kar-í* *vidyá* ‘wisdom, producing renown’.
2. táčchīlya: *śráddha+am kár-o-ti* = *śráddha-kar-á-* ‘habitually performing śráddha’.
3. ānulomya: *praiś-ám kar-ó-ti* = *praiśa-kar-á* ‘who carries out orders, obedient servant’.

But *kumbh-ám kar-ó-ti* = *kumbha-kār-á(N)* (1).

### 3.2.21 <sup>1</sup>dívā-<sup>2</sup>vibbhá-<sup>3</sup>nísā-<sup>4</sup>prabhá-<sup>5</sup>bhás-<sup>6</sup>kārā=<sup>7</sup>ánta=<sup>8</sup>án-anta=<sup>9</sup>ādí-<sup>10</sup>bahú-<sup>11</sup>nāndí-<sup>12</sup>kím-<sup>13</sup>lípi-<sup>14</sup>líbi-<sup>15</sup>balí-<sup>16</sup>bhákṭi-<sup>17</sup>kartṛ-<sup>18</sup>citrá-<sup>19</sup>kṣétra-<sup>20</sup>saṁkhyá-<sup>21</sup>jaṅghá-<sup>22</sup>bāhú-<sup>23</sup>áhan=<sup>24</sup>yád=<sup>25</sup>tád=<sup>26</sup>dhānus=<sup>27</sup>áruṣ-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ- 20] co-occurring with the following nominal padás [(ending in 1.1.72) sUP triplets 1,4] dívā ‘day’, vibbhá ‘lustre’, nísā ‘night’, prabhá

‘splendor’, bhās- ‘light’, kārā- ‘work’, ānta- ‘end’, ān-anta- ‘endless, infinite’, ādī- ‘beginning’, bahú- ‘numerous, many’, nāndī ‘benediction’, kīm- ‘what?’, lípi-, líbi- ‘writing’, balí- ‘offering’, bhákti- ‘devotion’, kartṛ- ‘agent, doer’, citrá- ‘painting’, kṣétra- ‘field’, saṁkhyā ‘number-name’, jānghā ‘thigh’, bāhú- ‘arm’, áhan- ‘day’, yád- ‘which, what’, tát- ‘that’, dhānuṣ- ‘bow’ and árus- ‘wound’.

The words [kármaṇ-i 1 and sUP- 4] both occur in this rule and apply as required in each case. [sUP-i 4] applies only in the case of dívā (= áhn-i). The forms generated are: *dívā-kar-á-*, *vibhā-kar-á-*, *prabhā-kar-á-*, *bhās-kar-á-*, *ahan+kr+Tá* = *ahas-kar-á-* (8.2.68) ‘sun (= maker of day)’; *niśā-kar-á-* ‘moon (= night-maker)’; *kāra-kar-á-* ‘agent’; *anta-kar-á-* ‘death’; *an-anta-kar-á-* ‘magnifying infinitely’; *ādi-kar-á-* ‘founder, creator’; *bahu-kar-á-* ‘busy-body’; *nāndī-kar-á-* ‘stage-manager’; *kim-kar-á-* ‘servant’ *lipi-kar-á-*, *libi-kar-á-* ‘scribe’; *bali-kar-á-* ‘sacrificer’ *bhakti-kar-á-* ‘devotee’; *karṭṛ-kar-á-* ‘agent’; *citra-kar-á-* ‘painter’ *kṣetra-kar-á-* ‘cultivator, agriculturalist’; *eka-kar-á-* ‘doing one thing only’; *jānghā-kar-á-* ‘courier, runner’; *bāhu-kar-á-* ‘laborer’; *yat-kar-á-* ‘doing what’; *tat-kar-á-* ‘doing that’; *dhanuṣ-kar-á-* ‘maker of bows’; *aruṣ-ka-rá-* ‘causing a wound’.

### 3.2.22 kármaṇ-i bhṛt-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Tá 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ 20] co-occurring with the nominal padá kárman- ‘action, work’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote ‘hired for wages’ (bhṛt-au).

*kárman+am kar-ó-ti* = *karman+Ø<sup>1</sup>+kar-á-* = *karmaØ-kar-á-* (8.2.7) ‘hired servant’, but *karma-kār-á(N)* (1) ‘who works without wages, honorary worker’.

### 3.2.23 ná <sup>1</sup>sábda-<sup>2</sup>ślóka-<sup>3</sup>kalahá-<sup>4</sup>gāthā-<sup>5</sup>vaira-<sup>6</sup>cāṭu-<sup>7</sup>sūtra-<sup>8</sup>mántra-<sup>9</sup>padé-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Tá 16] is not introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem kṛÑ 20] co-occurring with nominal padás sábdā- ‘word’, ślóka- ‘verse’, kalahá- ‘strife’, gāthā ‘song’, vaira- ‘enmity’, cāṭu- ‘flattery’, sūtra- ‘string, aphorism’, mántra- ‘sacred formula’, padá- ‘finished word’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*sábdā+am kar-ó-ti* = *\*sábdā+Ø<sup>1</sup>+kr+Tá* = *sábdā-kār-á(N)* (1) ‘grammarian (lit. maker of words)’; similarly *śloka-kār-á-* ‘poetaster’ *kalaha-kār-á-* ‘quarrelsome person’; *gāthā-kār-á-* ‘song-writer’; *vaira-kār-á-* ‘causing enmity’; *cāṭu-kār-á-* ‘flatterer’; *sūtra-kār-á-* ‘author of sūtras’; *mantra-kār-á-* ‘seer, composer of mantras’; *pada-kār-á-* ‘composer of Pada-pāṭha (of a Veda)’.

### 3.2.24 <sup>1</sup>stambá-<sup>2</sup>śákṛt-or iN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] iN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ- 20] co-occurring with the nominal padás stambá- ‘clump of grass’ and śákṛt- ‘ordure’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

A vārttika restricts the operation of this rule to denote respectively rice and a calf.

*stambá+am kar-ó-ti = stamba- $\emptyset^1$ +kṛ+iN = stamba-kár-i-* ‘rice which makes a clump’; similarly *śákṛt-kár-i-* ‘a calf’; in other senses: *stamba-kār-á-*, *śákṛt-kār-á-*.

### 3.2.25 hárateḥ=<sup>1</sup>dṛti-<sup>2</sup>nātháy-oḥ paśaú

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 iN 24 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] hṛ- ‘take away, remove’ (I 947) co-occurring with the nominal padás dṛti- ‘a leather bag’ and nāthá- ‘master’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote a domestic animal (paśaú).

1. *dṛti+am hár-a-ti = dṛti+ $\emptyset^1$  hṛ+iN = dṛti-hár-i-* ‘(a draught animal) carrying a leather bag’.
2. *nātha-hár-i-* ‘(an animal) carrying the master’.

### 3.2.26 <sup>1</sup>phale-gráh-ir-<sup>2</sup>ātmam-bháris ca

[The irregular forms] phale-gráh-i- and ātmam-bhár- are introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 iN 2r].

*phālāni gṛh-ñá-ti = phala+ $\emptyset^1$ +grah+iN = phal-e-gráh-i-* ‘bearing fruit’ (irregular sUP triplet Ñi).

*ātmán+am+bhṛ+Ślu+tiP = ātmán+ $\emptyset^1$ +bhṛ+iN = ātma $\emptyset$ +muM+bhár-i-* ‘self-nourishing, selfish’.

### 3.2.27 chándas-i <sup>1</sup>vánÁ-<sup>2</sup>sánÁ-<sup>3</sup>rákṣi-<sup>4</sup>máth-ām

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 iN 24 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ván-, sán- ‘honor’ (I 491-2), rákṣ- ‘protect’ (I 688) and máth- ‘churn, agitate’ (I 901) [co-occurring with nominal padás ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*bráhman+am ván-a-ti = bráhman+ $\emptyset^1$ +van+iN = brahma $\emptyset^1$ +ván-i-* ‘gains or honors brahman’; similarly: *gó+am+sán-a-ti = go-śán-i-* ‘winning or honoring kine’; *páthin+am rákṣ-a-ti = pathi $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset^1$ +rákṣ-i-* ‘road protector’ and *hávīṣ+am+máth-a-ti = havis+ $\emptyset^1$ +math+iN = havir-máth-i-* (8.2.66) ‘churning or agitating the oblation’.

### 3.2.28 ejéh KHÁŚ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KHÁŚ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ej-í- (= ejR+ÑiC I 253) ‘agitate, shake’ [co-occurring with a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

The marker Ś in KHÁŚ is to indicate that this affix belongs to the sārvaadhātuka group (3.4.113), while KH operates an infixed increment muM to nominal stems ending in a vowel (6.3.67).  $aṅgā+am+ej+ÑiC+ŚaP+tiP = aṅgā+0+ej-é+a+KHÁŚ = aṅgā+nuM+ej-áy-a+á = aṅga-m-ej-ay-á-$  (6.1.97) ‘shaking the limb’ and similarly  $jana=m-ej-ay-á-$  ‘causing men to tremble’, ‘n.pr. of a king’.

### 3.2.29 <sup>1</sup>nāsikā-<sup>2</sup>stánay-oḥ=<sup>1</sup>dhmā-<sup>2</sup>dheṬ-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dhmā- ‘blow, inflate’ (1.974) and dheṬ- ‘drink’ (1 951) co-occurring with the nominal padás nāsikā ‘nose’ and stána- ‘breast’ respectively (1.3.10) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

A vārttika, however, blocks the operation of the meta-rule 1.3.10 by stating that [dhmā] co-occurs with both while dheṬ co-occurs only with [stana-]; this interpretation is derived from the fact that the dvaṁdva compound [nāsikā-stanáy-oḥ] contravenes the operation of 2.2.34.

1.  $nāsikā+am+dhmā+ŚaP+tiP = nāsikā+0^1+dhama+ŚaP+KHÁŚ = nāsika+muM+dhama-a+KHÁŚ$  (6.4.94) =  $nāsika-m-dham-á-$  ‘who blows through the nose’; similarly  $nāsika-m-dhay-á-$  ‘who drinks through the nose’.
2.  $stána+am+dheṬ+ŚaP+tiP = stána+0^1+muM+dheṬ+a+kháŚ = stana-m-dhay-á-$  ‘an infant sucking the breast (of the mother)’ m./ °-dhay-a+Ñip (4.1.15) = °-dhay-í.

### 3.2.30 nāḍī-muṣṭi-ós ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 dhmā- and dheṬ- 29 co-occurring with the nominal padás] nāḍī ‘tube, pipe’ and muṣṭi- ‘fist’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

Here also the reverse order in the dvaṁdva cmpd. [nāḍī-muṣṭi-] contra 2.2.32 is interpreted as barring the operation of metarule 1.3.10 and both verbal stems co-occur with both upapadás.

1.  $nāḍī+am+dhmā+ŚaP+tiP = nāḍī+0^1+muM+dhama+ŚaP+KHÁŚ = nāḍi-m-dham-á-$  (6.1.97) ‘blowing through a pipe or reed’; similarly  $nāḍi-m-dhay-á-$  ‘sucking through a reed or straw’ (6.3.66).
2.  $muṣṭi-m-dham-a-$  ‘blowing through the fist’;  $muṣṭi-m-dhay-á-$  ‘sucking the fist’.

### 3.2.31 ud-i kúl-e <sup>1</sup>ruji-<sup>2</sup>vah-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ruj- ‘break into pieces, destroy’ (VI 123) and vah- ‘carry, convey’ (I 1053) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [and the nominal padá] kûla- ‘bank’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*kûla+am+ud+rúj+Śap+tiP = kûla+θ<sup>1</sup>+m<sub>u</sub>M+úd-ruj-a+kHáŚ = kûla-m-ud-ruj-á-* ‘shattering the bank’; similarly *kûla-m-ud-vah-á-* ‘overflowing the bank’.

### 3.2.32 <sup>1</sup>váha=<sup>2</sup>abhr-é lih-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] lih- ‘lick’ (II 6) co-occurring with [nominal padás] váha- ‘shoulder’ and abhrá- ‘cloud’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*váha+am+lih+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP = váha+θ<sup>1</sup>+m<sub>u</sub>M+lih+KHáŚ = váha-m-lih-á-* ‘shoulder-licking (cow or bull, etc.)’; similarly *abhra-m-lih-á-* ‘cloud-licking (wind)’.

### 3.2.33 parimāṇ-e pac-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pac- ‘cook’ (I 1045) co-occurring with [a nominal padá ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] denoting a measure (parimāṇe).

*prasthá+am+pác-a-ti = prastha+θ<sup>1</sup>+m<sub>u</sub>M+pac-a+KhaŚ = prastha-m-pac-á-* ‘who cooks a prasthá measure’ m., +TāP = *prastha-m-pac-á* (4.1.4) f.

### 3.2.34 <sup>1</sup>mitá-<sup>2</sup>nakh-é ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pac- 33] also (ca) when co-occurring with (nominal padás) mitá- ‘limited quantity’ and nakhá- ‘nail’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*mitá+am+pác-a-ti = mita+θ<sup>1</sup>+m<sub>u</sub>M+pac-a+KHáŚ = mita-m-pac-á-ḥ brāmaṇa-ḥ* ‘a brahmin who cooks a limited quantity (of food)’; similarly *nakha-m-pac-á+TāP = nakha-m-pac-á yavāgū-ḥ* ‘rice gruel, scalding the thumb-nail’.

### 3.2.35 <sup>1</sup>vidhú=<sup>2</sup>áruṣ-oḥ=tud-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] tud- ‘bruise, vex’ (VI 1) co-occurring with (nominal padás) vidhú- ‘moon’ and áruṣ- ‘wound’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

$vidhú+am+tud+Śá+tiP = vidhu+θ^1+mūM+tud-á+KHáŚ = vidhu-m-tud-á-$   
‘vexing (= eclipsing) the moon’; likewise  $áruṣ+mūM+tud+á+KHáŚ =$   
 $aru-m-s+tud-á- = aru-mθ-tud-á-$  (8.2.23) ‘hurting the wound, painful, sore’.

### 3.2.36 <sup>1</sup>á-sūrya-<sup>2</sup>lalāṭay-oḥ-<sup>1</sup>drśī-<sup>2</sup>tap-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] drś- ‘see, perceive’ (I 1037) and tap- ‘heat’ (I 1034) co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) (with nominal padás) á-sūrya- ‘what is not the sun’ and lalāṭa- ‘forehead’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

$á-sūrya+am+drś+ŚaP+tiP = a-sūrya+θ^1+mūM+paśy+a+KHáŚ = a-sūrya-m-$   
 $paśy-á+TāP$  (4.1.4) =  $asūrya-m-paśyāḥ rāja-dārāḥ$  ‘king’s wives, not even seeing the sun’.

Similarly  $lalāṭa+am+tāp-a+ti = lalāṭa+θ^1+mūM+tap-a+KHáŚ = lalāṭa-m-tap-á-$   
‘burning or scorching the forehead (said of the sun)’.

The first derivative is irregular since the privative particle [náñ] in [á-sūrya-] is not connected with [sūrya-] but with [drś] as  $sūryam ná paśy-a-nti$  ‘do not see the sun’. It is therefore called an [a-samartha-samāsá] since it contravenes 2.1.1.

### 3.2.37 <sup>1</sup>ugra-m-paśy-á=<sup>2</sup>ira-m-mad-á-<sup>3</sup>pāṇi-m-dhamāḥ

[The irregular forms] ugra-m-paśy-á- ‘fierce-looking’, ira-m-mad-a- ‘delighting in liquors’ and pāṇi-m-dham-á- ‘where blowing into hands takes place’ are introduced [as derived with the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáŚ 28].

1.  $ugrá+am+paśy-a-ti = ugra-θ^1+mūM+paśy-a+KHáŚ = ugra-m-paśy-á-$  as an exception to áN (1).
2.  $īrayā mād-ya-ti = īrā+Tā+mad+ŚyaN+tiP = īrā+θ^1+mád+ya=KHáŚ =$   
 $ira+mūM+mad+θ+á-$  (with irregular  $θ$  replacement of the class-marker) (6.3.66) =  $ira-m-mad-á-$ .
3.  $pāṇáyo dh mā-yānte esu = pāṇi+θ^1+mūM+dham+ŚaP+KHáŚ =$   
 $pāṇi-m-dham-á+Jas pānthān-aḥ$  ‘crowded roads where one blows one’s hands to attract attention’.

### 3.2.38 <sup>1</sup>priyá-<sup>2</sup>vás-e vad-aḥ KHÁC

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] KHÁC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vad- ‘speak’ (I 1058), co-occurring with [the nominal padas] priyá- ‘pleasant’ and vása- ‘submission’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1.  $\text{priyá}+am+\text{vad}+\acute{S}aP+tip = \text{priya}+\emptyset^1+m\bar{u}M+\text{vad}+KHÁC = \text{priya}-\bar{m}-\text{vad}-a-$  ‘affable, speaking pleasantly’.
2.  $\text{vásá}+am+\text{vad}-a-ti = \text{vásá}+\emptyset^1+m\bar{u}M+\text{vad}+KHÁC = \text{vásá}-\bar{m}-\text{vad}-á-$  ‘obedient, submissive to the will of another’. The new affix KHÁC is introduced for the sake of the following sūtras; here it makes no difference if KHaŚ operates.

### 3.2.39 <sup>1</sup>dviṣát-<sup>2</sup>páray-os=tāpéh

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] tāp-í- (= tap- I 1034 + NíC/tap- X 275) ‘burn, scorch’, co-occurring with (nominal padás) dviṣát- ‘hostile’ and pára- ‘adversary’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

$\text{dviṣát}(t)+am+tāp-í+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \text{dviṣat}+\emptyset^1+tāp-i+KHÁC = \text{dviṣat}+m\bar{u}M+tāp-\emptyset+á-$  (6.4.51,94) =  $\text{dviṣa}-\bar{m}-t+tāp-á-$  (8.3.24) =  $\text{dviṣant}-tāp-á-$  ‘scourger of enemies’; similarly  $\text{para}-\bar{m}-tāp-á-$  ‘chastiser of enemies’.

The geminated phoneme [t] of [dviṣat(t)] is to block the operation of this rule in the case of the feminine derivative:  $\text{dviṣát}m\bar{t}āp-áy-a-ti = \text{dviṣat}I+tāp-á-$  where the feminine form is derived with the affix [NíP 4.1.6] from the masculine ending in affix [ŚatR].

### 3.2.40 vāc-í yama-ḥ=vrat-é

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHÁC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yam- ‘restrain’ (I 1033), co-occurring with (the nominal padá) vāc- ‘speech’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1] to denote a vow (vrat-é).

$\text{vāc}+am+\text{yam}+\acute{S}aP+tip = \text{vāc}+\emptyset^1+\text{yam}+KHÁC = \text{vāc}+am$  (6.3.69)+ $\text{yam}+á-$  =  $\text{vāc}-a\bar{m}-\text{yam}-á-$  ‘restrained in speech, silent (while observing a vow)’. Elsewhere  $\text{vāc}+\emptyset^1 \text{yam}+aN = \text{vāg}-yām-á-$  (8.1.30).



### 3.2.41 <sup>1</sup>púr=<sup>2</sup>sárvay-oh <sup>1</sup>dār-í-<sup>2</sup>sáh-oh

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dār-í (= dġ- IX 23+NíC) ‘destroy’ and sáh- ‘bear, endure’ (I 905), respectively (1.3.10) co-occurring with (nominal padás) púr- ‘city fort’ and sárvá- ‘all’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *pur+am+dār-i+ŠaP+tiP* = *pur-θ<sup>1</sup>+dār-i+KHáC* = *pur+am* (6.3.69)+*dar-θ-á-* (6.4.51,94) = *pur-am-dar-á-* ‘destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra’.
2. *sárva+am+sáh-a-te* = *sarva-θ+sah+KHáC* = *sarva+muM+sah-á-* = *sarva-m-sah-á-* ‘all-forbearing’.

### 3.2.42 <sup>1</sup>sarvá-<sup>2</sup>kūla=<sup>3</sup>abhrá-<sup>4</sup>kārīṣe-ṣu káṣ-ah

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93] káṣ- ‘injure, rub, polish’ (I 716) co-occurring with (nominal padás) sarvá- ‘all, kūla- ‘bank’, abhrá- ‘cloud’ and kārīṣa- ‘cow-dung’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

1. *sárva+am+káṣ-a-ti* = *sarva+θ<sup>1</sup>+kaṣ+KHáC* = *sarva+muM+kaṣ-á-* = *sarva-m-kaṣ-á-* ‘injuring everyone (said of a villain)’.
2. Similarly: *kūla-m-kaṣ-á-*, *abhra-m-kaṣ-á-*, *karīṣa-m-kaṣ-á-* ‘corroding the bank (said of a river)’/‘rubbing the clouds (said of a mountain)’/‘carrying away cow-dung (said of a hurricane)’.

### 3.2.43 <sup>1</sup>meghá=<sup>2</sup>ġti-<sup>3</sup>bhayé-ṣu kṛÑ-ah

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10), co-occurring with (nominal padás) meghá- ‘cloud’, ġti- ‘misfortune’ and bhayá- ‘fear’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*meghá+am+kṛ+ú+ti* = *meghá+kṛ+KHáC* = *megha-m-kar-á-* ‘producing clouds’;  
similarly: *ġti-m-kar-á-* ‘causing misfortune’; *bhaya-m-kar-á-* ‘producing fear, fearsome’.

### 3.2.44 <sup>1</sup>kṣéma-<sup>2</sup>priyá-<sup>3</sup>madré-é áN ca

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38] and (ca) áN are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛÑ- 43] co-occurring with [nominal padás] kṣéma- ‘peace, security, welfare’, priyá- ‘pleasure’ and madrá- ‘joy’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 1].

*kṣéma+am+kar-ó-ti* = *kṣéma+Ø<sup>1</sup>+mṡM+kr̥+KHáC* = *kṣema-m-kar-á/-*  
*kṣema-kār-a* ‘bestower of welfare/happiness’; similarly: *priya-m-k-ar-a/-*  
*priya-kār-á-; madra-m-kar-á-/madra-kār-á-*.

### 3.2.45 áśít-e bhúv-aḥ <sup>1</sup>káraṇa-<sup>2</sup>bhāváy-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū-* ‘become’ (I 1), co-occurring with (the nominal *padá*) *áśita-* ‘satiated, sated’; functioning as an instrument (*káraṇa-* °) or denoting a state or condition (*-bhāváy-oḥ*).

1. *káraṇe: áśita-ḥ=bháv-a-ti=anéna* = *áśita+Ø<sup>1</sup>+bhū+KHáC* = *áśita-m-bhav-á-* ‘what satisfies or satiates (such as rice)’.
2. *bhāvē: áśita-sya bháv-anam* = *áśita-m-bhav-ám* ‘becoming satisfied, satiety’.

### 3.2.46 saṃjñā yām <sup>1</sup>bhr̥-<sup>2</sup>tṛ̥=<sup>3</sup>vṛ̥-<sup>4</sup>jí-<sup>5</sup>dhār-í-<sup>6</sup>sáh-<sup>7</sup>tapí-<sup>8</sup>dam-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *bhr̥-* ‘bear, nourish’ (III 5), *tṛ̥-* ‘cross over’, (I 1018), *vṛ̥-* ‘choose’ (V 8), *jí-* ‘conquer’ (I 59), *dhār-í* (= *dhṛ-* I 948+NíC) ‘hold’, *sáh-* ‘bear, endure’ (I 905), *tap-* ‘heat’ (I 1034) and *dam-* ‘tame, subdue’ (IV 94) [co-occurring with nominal *padás* ending in sUP triplets 1.4] to denote names (*saṃjñā-yām*).

Both [*kármaṇ-i* (1)] and [*sUP-i* (4)] recur here, covered by the cover term “nominal *padás*” as required by each particular context.

*viśva+am+bhr̥+kHáC* = *viśva+Ø<sup>1</sup>+mṡM+bhar-á+TāP* = *viśva-m-bhar-á* ‘the earth (bearing all)’; likewise *ratha+Tā+tār-a-ti* = *rátha-Ø<sup>1</sup>+tṛ̥+KHáC* = *ratha-mṡM+tar-á-* = *ratha-m-tar-á-* ‘n.pr. of a *sāman*’; *pátim vṛ̥-ṇu-té* = *pati-m-var-á+TāP* = *pati-m-var-á* ‘(a maiden) ready to choose her husband’; *śátrūn jáy-a-ti* = *śátru-m-jay-á-* ‘n.pr. of an elephant (lit. conquering enemies)’; *yugám dhār-áy-a-ti* = *yuga-m-dhar-á-* ‘n.pr. of a mountain’; *śátrum sáh-a-te* = *śátru-m-sah-á-* ‘n.pr. (lit. enduring enemies)’; similarly *śátru-m-tap-á-*, *ari-m-dam-á-* ‘proper names’.

### 3.2.47 gam-aś ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KHáC 38 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *gam-* ‘go’ (I 1031) [co-occurring with nominal *padás* ending in a sUP triplet 4 to denote a name 46].

*bhujá+Tā+gam+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhujá+Ø<sup>1</sup>+gam+KHáC* = *bhujá-m-gam-á-* ‘snake’.

### 3.2.48 <sup>1</sup>ánta=<sup>2</sup>áty-anta=<sup>3</sup>adhva(n)-<sup>4</sup>dūra-<sup>5</sup>pār-á-<sup>6</sup>sarvá- <sup>7</sup>án-ante-su Dá-h

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] Dá is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 gam- 47] co-occurring with (nominal padás) ánta- ‘end’, áty-anta- ‘excessive’, ádhvan- ‘road’, dūr-á ‘far’, pār-á ‘across’, sarvá-, ‘all’, and án-anta- ‘endless, infinite’ [functioning as the direct object (i.e., ending in the second sUP triplet) 1].

*ánta+am+gam+ŚaP+tiP = anta+θ<sup>1</sup>+gam+Dá - anta-gθθ+á (6.4.143) = anta-g-á-* ‘gone to the end = thoroughly conversant’; and similarly: *aty-anta-g-á-/adhvaθ-g-á- (8.2.7)/dūra-g-á-/pāra-g-á-/sarva-g-á-/an-anta-g-á-* respectively denoting ‘going excessively fast/traveler, passenger or going far/going across/going everywhere/going on for ever’.

### 3.2.49 āśís-i han-aḥ

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Dá 48 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- ‘kill, strike’ (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] to denote benediction (āśís-i).

*śátrūn vadh-yāt* ‘may he destroy enemies’ = *śátru+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+Dá = śátru-hθθ-á = śátru-h-a-*; when benediction is not denoted: *śátru+han+áN (1) = śátru-ghāt-á-* (7.3.32,54) ‘destroyer of enemies’.

### 3.2.50 ápa-e <sup>1</sup>kleśa-<sup>2</sup>támas-oḥ

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Dá 48 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with the preverb ápa-° and [the nominal padás] kleśa- ‘pain’ and támas- ‘darkness’ [functioning as its object 1].

*kleśam ápa-han-ti = kleśa+θ<sup>1</sup>+apa+han+Dá = kleśāpa-h-á-* ‘painkiller’; similarly *támas+apa+han+Dá = tama-rU+apa-hθθ+á- = tamopa-h-á-* (8.2.66; 6.1.87,109,113) ‘destroyer of darkness (an epithet of the sun)’.

The present rule is for the purpose of blocking out the constraint of benediction (49).

### 3.2.51 <sup>1</sup>kumār-á-<sup>2</sup>śīrṣáy-oh=Níni-h

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] Níni is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padás) kumār-á ‘infant’ and śīrṣá- ‘head’ [functioning as its object 1].

*kumār-á+am han+θ<sup>1</sup>+ti = kumāra+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+Níni = kúmāra-ghāt-in-* (7.3.32,54)

'child-killer, infanticide'; similarly *śṛṣa-ghāt-in-* 'executioner'. Accent by 6.2.79.

### 3.2.52 lakṣaṇ-é <sup>1</sup>jāyā-<sup>2</sup>pāty-oh=Ṭāk-

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ṭāk is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padás) jāyā 'wife' and pāti- 'husband' [functioning as its objects 1] to denote an omen [lakṣaṇ-é].

The word [lakṣaṇ-é] is here interpreted as a secondary derivative from *lákṣaṇa+áC* (5.2.127) = *lákṣaṇa-vat-* so as to give the sense 'an agent noun possessed of a sign which is the omen for the prognostication of the derived form'.

*jāyā+am+han-θ<sup>1</sup>+ti* = *jāyā+han+Ṭāk* = *jāyā+hθn+á* (6.4.98) = *jāyā-ghn-á-* (7.3.54) 'destined to kill his wife (on account of a sign [lakṣaṇa] such as a mole (cf. 53) on the body)'. Similarly *pāti-ghn-á+NIP* (4.1.15) = *pāti-ghn-f* 'destined to kill the husband (on account of a sign [lakṣaṇá-] such as a line on the palm serving as an omen)', cf. 53 below.

### 3.2.53 á-manuṣya-kartṛk-e ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭāk 52 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49 co-occurring with a nominal padá functioning as its object 1] when the agent of the verbal stem is not a human being (á-manuṣya-kartṛk-e).

*jāyā-ghn-á-h tilakalaká-h* (52) 'a mole (on his body) predicting a wife-murderer'; similarly *pāti-ghn-f pāñi-rekhā* 'a line on the palm (of the wife) indicating a murderess of the husband' (52). Likewise *pitta-ghn-ám ghytám* 'ghee or clarified butter as an antidote for bile' and *ślesma-ghn-á-m mādhu* 'honey as an antidote for phlegm'.

### 3.2.54 śákt-au <sup>1</sup>hastí(n)=<sup>2</sup>kapāṭay-oh

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ṭāk 52 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 49] co-occurring with (nominal padás) hastín- 'elephant' and kapāṭa- 'door, gate' [functioning as its objects 1] to denote capacity (śákt-au).

*hastín+am+hán-ti* = *hastín+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+Ṭák* = *hastíθ+ghn-á-* 'capable or strong enough to kill an elephant'; similarly *kapāṭa-ghn-á-* 'capable or strong enough to break the door (said of a thief)'.

### 3.2.55 <sup>1</sup>pāṇi-gh-á-<sup>2</sup>tāḍa-gh-aú śilpín-i

(The irregular forms) pāṇ-gh-á- and tāḍa-gh-á- are introduced [as derived with the kṛt 1.93 affix Tāk 52] to denote artisans (śilpínī).

*pāṇinā hán-ti* = *pāṇi+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+Tāk* = *pāṇi+hθθ* (irregular)+á = *pāṇi-gh* (irregular)+á = *pāṇi-gh-á-* ‘a drummer (beating with the hand/hands)’.  
Similarly *tāḍa-gh-á-* ‘a metal-smith’.

With reference to non-artisans: *pāṇim hanti* = *pāṇi-ghāt+áN* ‘striking the hand’.

### 3.2.56 <sup>1</sup>āḍhyá-<sup>2</sup>subhága-<sup>3</sup>sthūlá-<sup>4</sup>palitá-<sup>5</sup>nagná=<sup>6</sup>andhá-<sup>7</sup>priyé-ṣu Cvī=arthe-ṣu=á-Cvau kṛÑ-aḥ káraṇ-e KHyuN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KHyuN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10), co-occurring with (nominal padás) āḍhyá- ‘rich’, su-bhága- ‘fortunate’, sthūlá- ‘large’, palitá- ‘grey’, nagná- ‘naked’, andhá- ‘blind’ and priyá- ‘agreeable, pleasant’ [functioning as its direct objects 1] denoting an instrument (káraṇe) in the sense of the affix Cvī (Cvī=arthe-ṣu) though not ending in it (á-Cvau).

*án-āḍhyam āḍhyám kar-ó-ti anéna* = *āḍhya+θ<sup>1</sup>+kṛ+KHyuN* = *āḍhya+mūM+kar-aṇ-am* = *āḍhya-m-kár-aṇam* ‘enriching’; similarly: *subhaga-m-káraṇam* / *sthūla-m-kár-aṇam* / *palita-m-kár-aṇam* / *nagna-m-kár-aṇam* / *andha-m-kár-aṇam* to denote respectively ‘making fortunate/enlarging/making grey/stripping/making blind’; *priya-m-kár-aṇam* ‘making pleasant’.

### 3.2.57 kartár-i bhúv-aḥ <sup>1</sup>KHiṣṇúC-<sup>2</sup>KHukaÑ-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] KHiṣṇúC and KHukaÑ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhū- ‘become’ (II) [co-occurring with nominal padás āḍhyá- . . . priyá- 56] functioning as its agents (kartár-i) to denote the agent.

*án-āḍhyaḥ āḍhyó bháv-a-ti* = *āḍhya+θ<sup>1</sup>+bhū+KHiṣṇúC/KHukaÑ* = *āḍhya-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-* ‘becoming rich’; similarly: *subhaga-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-*; *sthūla-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-*; *palita-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-*; *nagna-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-*; *andha-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-*; *priya-m-bhav-iṣṇú-/°-bháv-uka-* to denote respectively: ‘becoming fortunate; becoming large; becoming grey; becoming naked; becoming blind; becoming pleasant or agreeable’.

### 3.2.58 sprś-aḥ=án-udak-e KvīN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sprś- ‘touch’ (VI 128) co-occurring with a nominal padá other than udaká- ‘water’ [to denote the agent 57].

*ghṛtām sprś-a-ti* = *ghṛta*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*sprś*+KvīN = *ghṛta-sprś*+ $\emptyset$  (6.1.97) ‘touching ghee or clarified butter’; *māntr-ēna sprś-a-ti* = *mantra-sprś*- ‘touching with a sacred formula’; *jal-ēna sprś-a-ti* = *jala-sprś*- ‘touching with water’, but *udaka-sparś*+a(N) (1).

### 3.2.59 ${}^1$ ṛtv-fj= ${}^2$ dadhṛṣ= ${}^3$ sráj= ${}^4$ dís= ${}^5$ uṣṇíh= ${}^6$ āñcU= ${}^7$ yujī- ${}^8$ kruñc-āñ ca

(The irregular forms) ṛtv-fj- ‘name of a class of priests’; dadhṛṣ- ‘audacious’, sráj- ‘garland’, dís- ‘direction’, uṣṇíh- ‘name of a metre’, are introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīN 58] and [the same affix 1.1 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] āñc(U) ‘worship, go’ (I 203), yuj- ‘join’ (VII 7) and kruñc- ‘be crooked’ (I 201).

*ṛt-au ṛtúm vā yáj-a-ti* = *ṛtu*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*yaj*+KvīN = *rtu-íj*+ $\emptyset$  (6.1.15,67) ‘who sacrifices regularly or in season (name of a class of priests)’; similarly: *dhṛṣ*+KvīN = *da-dhṛṣ*+ $\emptyset$  (irregular reduplication) = *dhṛṣ-nó-ti*; *srj-ánti tām* = *srj*+KvīN = *srj*+aM+ $\emptyset$  = *sr-á-j*- (despite 6.1.58); *dis-ánti tām* = *dis*+KvīN = *dís*+ $\emptyset$  = *dís*-; *úd+snih*+KvīN = *u*+ $\emptyset$  (irregular)+*snih*+ $\emptyset$  (irregular retroflexion).

*prá+añc-a-ti* = *prá+añC*+KvīN = *prāñc*+ $\emptyset$  = *prāñc*- ‘going forward/east, etc.’; affix KvīN is introduced after this verbal stem only when co-occurring with nominal padás. *yuj*+KvīN = *yuj*+ $\emptyset$ +sUT = *yuj*+nuM+sUT = *yun*+sUT (7.1.71) but when co-occurring with a nominal padá affix KvīP is introduced by 61 below: *ásvam yu-ná-k-ti* = *aśva-yuj*+KvīP = *aśva-yúj*+sU = *aśva-yúk*+ $\emptyset$  (6.1.68; 8.2.30); *kruñc*+KvīN = *kruñc*+ $\emptyset$  (with irregular retention of the penultimate nasal contra 6.4.24).

### 3.2.60 tyád-ādi-ṣu dṛś-aḥ=án-ālocane Kañ ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīN 58] and (ca) Kañ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dṛś- ‘see, perceive’ (I 1037), co-occurring with the class of nominal padás beginning with tyád- ‘that’ except when it denotes the sense of perceiving with the eye (án-ā-locane).

*tyád+dṛś*+Kañ/KvīN = *tyá-a+dṛś*+Kañ/KvīN (7.2.102) = *tyā-dṛś*+Kañ/KvīN (6.3.91) = *tyā-dṛś-a*- / ‘-dṛś- ‘such a one as that’; likewise : *tā-dṛś-a*- / ‘-dṛś-’, etc.

A vārttika adds the words samāná- ‘equal’ and anyá ‘another’ as additional co-occurring padás, and affix Ksa as an alternate: *tā-dṛś*+Ksa = *tā-dṛś*+sa- = *tādṛk-sá*- (8.2.41).

### 3.2.61 <sup>1</sup>sád=<sup>2</sup>sū-<sup>3</sup>dviṣ-<sup>4</sup>drúh-<sup>5</sup>duh-<sup>6</sup>yuja-<sup>7</sup>vid-<sup>8</sup>bhida-<sup>9</sup>chida-<sup>10</sup>jí-<sup>11</sup>nī-<sup>12</sup>rāj-ām upasargé=ápi KvīP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sád- ‘sit down’ (I 907), sū- ‘give birth to’ (II 21), dviṣ- ‘hate’ (II 3), drúh- ‘hurt, harm, injure’ (IV 88), duh- ‘milk’ (II 4), yuj- ‘join, unite’ (IV 68), vid- ‘know’ (II 55), bhid- ‘break into pieces’ (VII 2), chid- ‘split, rend’ (VII 3), jí- ‘win, conquer’ (I 59), nī- ‘lead’ (I 950) and rāj- ‘shine’ (I 874), co-occurring with or without preverbs (upasargé=ápi) [and with nominal padás 4].

*śúc-au śíd-á-ti* = *śuci+θ<sup>1</sup>+sád+KvīP* = *śuci-śád-θ* ‘abiding in purity’ (retroflexion by 8.3.106 as this is a Vedic word), but in *div-ś śíd-á-ti* = *dyu+sád+KvīP* = *dyu-sád-* ‘divine being’, there is no retroflexion. *upa-sád-* ‘sitting near’. Similarly: *aṇḍa-sū-* ‘oviparous’; *pra-sū-* ‘giving birth to’; *mitra-dviṣ-* ‘treacherous, hating a friend’; *pra-dviṣ-* ‘hating’; *mitra-drúh-* ‘betrayal, injuring a friend’; *pra-drúh-* ‘harming, injuring’; *go-dúh-* ‘milkman’, *pra-dúh-* ‘who milks’; *aśva-yúj-* ‘harnessing a horse’; *pra-yúj-* ‘joining’; *veda-vid-* ‘Vedic scholar’, *pra-vid-* ‘knower’; *kāṣṭha-bhíd-* ‘cleaver of wood’, *pra-bhíd-* ‘cleaver, breaker’; *rajjū-cchíd-* ‘slicer of ropes’, *pra-cchíd-* ‘slicer’; *śatru-jít-* ‘conqueror of enemies’, *pra-jít-* ‘victorious’; *sena-ní-* ‘army commander’; *grāma-ñí-* ‘village head’, *pra-ñí-* ‘leader’; *viśva-rāj-* ‘universal ruler’, *sam-rāj-* (8.3.25) ‘emperor’.

### 3.2.62 bhaj-aḥ=Nvī-h

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Nvī is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhaj- ‘share, enjoy’ (I 1047) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4, but with or without preverbs 61].

*árdham bháj-a-te* = *ardha+θ<sup>1</sup>+bhaj+Nvī* = *ardha-bháj+θ* ‘sharing half’; *pra-bháj-* ‘division’.

### 3.2.63 chándas-i sáh-aḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nvī 62 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sáh- ‘bear, endure, suffer’ (I 905) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

*pṛtanām sáh-a-te* = *pṛtanā+θ<sup>1</sup>+sah+Nvī* = *pṛtanā-sáh-θ* ‘victorious in battle’ and similarly *turā-sáh-* ‘overpowering the mighty, n.pr. of Indra’.

### 3.2.64 vah-aś ca

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Nṽi 62 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] vah- 'carry, convey' (I 1053) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

*pr̥sth-é váh-a-ti* = *pr̥stha+θ<sup>1</sup>+vah+Nṽi* = *pr̥stha-váh-θ* 'a young bull being trained for the plough' and similarly *ditya-váh-* 'two-year old bull'.

### 3.2.65 <sup>1</sup>kavyá-<sup>2</sup>púrīṣa-<sup>3</sup>purīṣyè-ṣu Ñyuṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ñyuṭ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 vah- 64 co-occurring with nominal padás 4] kavyá- 'funerary obligation', púrīṣa and purīṣyà- 'ordure'.

*kavyám váh-a-ti* = *kavya+θ<sup>1</sup>+vah+Ñyuṭ* = *kavya-váh-ana-* (7.1.1) 'conveyor of funerary oblation to the Manes', and similarly: *purīṣa-°/purīṣya-°/°-váh-ana-* 'scavenger, remover of rubbish or ordure'.

### 3.2.66 hávy-e=án-antaḥ-pādam

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ñyuṭ 65 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 vah- 64 co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] hávy- 'sacrificial oblation', provided (the word so derived) does not occur in the middle of the verse quarter (án-antaḥ-pādam).

*agnír no havya-váh-ana-h* (RV 4.24.4) 'and Agni is the conveyor of the sacrificial oblation', but *havya-vád agnír a-jára-h pitá naḥ* (RV 5.4.2) 'the immortal carrier of sacrificial oblations, Agni, is our father'.

### 3.2.67 <sup>1</sup>jánA-<sup>2</sup>sánÁ-<sup>3</sup>khána-<sup>4</sup>kráma-<sup>5</sup>gam-o viṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 63 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] viṭ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ján- 'be born' (III 24, IV 41), sán- 'gain' (I 492), 'donate' (VIII 2), khán- 'dig, excavate' (I 927), krám- 'march, tread' (I 502) and gam- 'go' (I 1031) [co-occurring with nominal padás 4 or with or without preverbs 61].

*ap-sú já-ya-te* = *ap+θ<sup>1</sup>+jan+viṭ* = *ap-jaā+θ* (6.4.41) = *ab-já-* 'water-born, produced in waters'; *gám san-ó-ti* = *go+θ<sup>1</sup>+san+viṭ* = *go-saā+θ* = *go-sá-* 'winning cattle'; similarly *kāpa-khá-* 'well-digger'; *dadhi-krá-* 'n.pr. of a divinity'; *agre-gá-* 'going in front, leader'.



### 3.2.68 ad-aḥ=án=anne

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 viṭ 67 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ad- ‘eat, consume’ (II 1) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] other than anná- ‘food’.

*āmám át-ti* = *āma*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*ad*+*viṭ* = *āmā́d*- ‘consumer of raw or uncooked food’;  
*sasyám át-ti* = *sasyā́d*- ‘vegetarian’ but *annā́d-ā*(N 1) ‘food consumer’.

### 3.2.69 kravy-é ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 viṭ 67] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ad- 68 co-occurring with the nominal padá 4] *kravyá*- ‘raw or uncooked meat, flesh’.

*kravyám at-ti* = *kravya*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*ad*+*viṭ* = *kravyā́d*- ‘flesh-eater, carnivorous’, but  
*kravyā́d-ā*(N 1) ‘consumer of cooked meat’.

### 3.2.70 duh-aḥ KaP=gha-ś ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KáP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] duh- ‘milk’ (II 4) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] and (ca) the phoneme [gh] replaces (the final 1.1.52) stem-phoneme.

*kāmam dóg-dhi* = *kāma*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*duh*+*KaP* = *kāma-dugh+a+ṭāP* (8.2.32; 4.1.4) =  
*kāma-dúgh-ā* ‘the wish-granting divine cow’.

### 3.2.71 mántre <sup>1</sup>śveta-vah-a-<sup>2</sup>uktha-śás=<sup>3</sup>puro-dās-o NviN

In the domain of the Mántra (portion of the Veda) [the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] NviN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] °-vah- (I 1053) co-occurring with śvetá-, °-śáns- (I 764) co-occurring with ukthá-° and °-dās- (I 931) co-occurring with purás-°.

1. *śvetá enám vāh-anti* = *śveta*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*vah*+*NviN* = *śveta-vā́h*- ‘borne by white (steeds), n.pr. of Indra’.
2. *uktháni śáms-a-ti* = *uktha*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*śáns*+*NviN* = *uktha-śá́ṅs*- (irregular  $\emptyset$  replacement of nasal) ‘praising with hymns’.
3. *puró dās-ante enám* = *purás*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*dās*+*NviN* = *puro=dā́s*- ‘a sacrificial oblation’ (irregular retroflexion).

### 3.2.72 av-e yaj-ah

[In the domain of Mántra 71 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 NvīN 71 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) co-occurring with the preverb áva-°.

$áva+yaj+NvīN = ava-yáj+sU = ava-yáj+Das$  (by a vārttika) =  $ava-yás = ava-yáh$  :  
*tvám yajñé varuṇasyāvayá asi* 'you are the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

### 3.2.73 viC=up-e chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1] viC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 yaj- 72] co-occurring with the preverb úpa-°.

$upa+yaj+viC = upa-yáj+θ$  'n.pr. of eleven sacrificial formulae':  $upa-yád-bhir$   
*ūrdhvám vah-anti* (8.2.36) 'they carry it up with upayáj formulae'.

### 3.2.74 āT-ah 'manīN=²KvanīP-³vanīP-aś ca

[In the domain of Chándas 73 the kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 viC 73] and manīN, KvanīP and vanīP are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ā] [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 and also with or without a preverb 61].

1.  $su+dā+manīN = su-dā-man-$  'bountiful'.
2.  $su+dhā+KvanīP = su-dhā-van-$  (6.4.66) 'intelligent'.
3.  $bhāri+dā+vanīP = bhāri dā-dā-ti = bhāri-dā-van-$  'munificent'.
4.  $kīlālam pī-a-ti = kīlāla+θ¹+pā+viC = kīlāla-pā+θ$  'who drinks the sweet beverage called kīlāla'.

### 3.2.75 anyé-bhyaḥ=ápi drś-yánte

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 manīN, KvanīP and vanīP 74] are also (ápi) introduced [after 1.2] other [verbal stems 1.91 (i.e., those not ending in long °-ā) along with viC 73].

1. manīN: *śobhanam śr-ñā-ti = su-śr+manīN = su-śār-man-* 'good protection, refuge'.
2. KvanīP:  $prātār+é-ti = pratār+i+KvanīP = prātar-i+tuK+van-$  (6.1.72) 'going out early (in the morning)'.
3. vanīP:  $ágr-e gácch-a-ti = agre+gam+vanīP = agre-ga-ā+van-$  (6.4.41) =  $agre-gā-van-$  'leader, going in front'.
4. viC:  $riṣ+viC = réṣ+θ$  'who injures' in the expression  $reṭ=a-si$  (8.4.55) 'thou art an injurer'.

### 3.2.76 KvīP ca

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 all verbal stems 1.91, whether co-occurring or not with nominal padás 4 or preverbs 61, both in the domain of Chándas 73 or elsewhere 75].

*ukhā-yāḥ srāms-a-te* = *ukhā+θ<sup>1</sup>+srans+KvīP* = *ukhā+srāθs+θ* (6.4.24) 'falling from the pot'; *parṇāni dhvāms-a-te* = *parṇa+dhvans+KvīP* = *parṇa-dhvāθs+θ* 'causing leaves to fall'.

### 3.2.77 sth-aḥ Ká ca

[The křt 1.93 affix KvīP 76] as well as Ká are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sthā 'stay, remain' (I 975) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4 or a preverb 61].

The introduction of affix [Ká] here while it was already introduced by 4 above is to block out the operation of 14 when [sthā-] co-occurs with the nominal padá sám-°: *śám tiṣṭh-a-te* = *śam+sthā+Ka/KvīP* = *śam-sthθ+á-/°-sthā+θ* 'happy, prosperous'. Accent by 6.2.79.

### 3.2.78 sUPy á-jāt-au Nīni-s táčchilye

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] Nīni is introduced [after a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] not denoting a species (á-jāt-au) to express the meaning of 'habitually addicted' (táčchilye).

*uṣṇám bhók-tum śīlam asyá* = *uṣṇa+θ<sup>1</sup>+bhuj+Nīni* = *uṣṇa-bhoj-in-* 'habitually accustomed to eat hot (food)'. But *uṣṇám bhunk-té kadācit* 'occasionally eats hot (food)', and *brāhmaṇán ā-mantr-ay-i-tṣ(C)* 'accustomed to invite brahmins' since this is a species word (jāti). Accent by 6.2.79.

### 3.2.79 kartár-i=upa-mān-e

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Nīni 78 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as an agent (kartár-i) and serving as an object of comparison (upamāne).

*ústra-ḥ iva krós-a-ti* = *uṣṭra+θ<sup>1</sup>+kruś+Nīni* = *ústra-kroś-in-* 'making a noise like a camel'; similarly *dhvānkṣa-ḥ iva rau-ti* = *dhvānkṣa+θ<sup>1</sup>+ru+Nīni* = *dhvānkṣa-rāv-in-* 'sounding like a crow'; when the co-occurring nominal padá is not an agent: *apūpán iva māsān bhakṣ-áy-a-ti* 'eats māsā grain like a cake of flour'; when not an object of comparison: *ústraḥ krós-a-ti* 'the camel cries harshly'. Accent by 6.2.79.

### 3.2.80 vrat-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] to denote a religious vow (vrat-é).

*sthaṇḍil-e śé-te* = *sthaṇḍila*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*śt*+*Nini* = *sthaṇḍila-śāy-in-* 'sleeping on the bare ground (as a religious vow)'. Accent by 6.2.79.

### 3.2.81 bahulám ābhīkṣṇy-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced] variously (bahulám) [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote repetition (ābhīkṣṇy-e).

[ābhīkṣṇya-] 'repetition' here is distinct from [tācchīya-] 'habitual disposition':  
*kaśāya-pā-yuK+ín* (7.3.33) = *kaśāya-pā-y-ín-* 'repeatedly drinking juice' in the phrase *kaśāya-pā-y-in-aḥ uśmarāḥ* 'the residents of Uś. constantly drink juice'. (6.2.79 for accent).

### 3.2.82 man-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nini 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] man- 'think' (IV 67)[co-occurring with a nominal padá 4].

*darsāṇīyam mán-ya-te* (*kām-cit*) = *darsāṇīya*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*man*+*Nini* = *darsāṇīya-mān-in-* 'considers (someone) as handsome or good-looking'.

### 3.2.83 ātma-mān-é KHáŚ=ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 Nini 78] as well as (ca) KHáŚ are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 man- 82, co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] when the object of the verbal stem is oneself (ātma-māné).

*darsāṇīyam ātmānam mán-ya-te* = *darsāṇīya*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*man*+*KhaŚ*/*Nini* = *darsāṇīya-muM+man+ŚyaN+á-* = *darsāṇīya-m-man-yá* (3.1.69; 6.3.67) / *darsāṇīya-mān-in-* 'considering one's self as good-looking'.

### 3.2.84 bhūt-é

(When the action refers to) the general past (bhūt-é).

This is a governing rule extending up to 122 below. All affixes hereafter introduced, prior to 123, are with reference to the general past tense. The word [bhūté] 'in the general past tense' will recur in all subsequent rules coming under this head.

### 3.2.85 káran-e yaj-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nīni 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.92] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as an instrument (i.e., ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet) [to denote the general past tense (bhūt-é) 84].

*agni-ṣtoména iṣṭávān = agniṣṭoma+θ+yaj+Nīni = agniṣṭoma-yāj-in-* 'one who has performed the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice'.

### 3.2.86 kárman-i han-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Nīni 78 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 4] functioning as its object (kárman-i) [to denote the general past tense 84].

*pitṛvyam hatávān = pitṛvya+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+Nīni = pitṛvya-ghāt-in-* (7.3.32,54) 'who has murdered his paternal uncle'.

### 3.2.87 <sup>1</sup>bráhm(n)-<sup>2</sup>bhrūṇá-<sup>3</sup>vṛtré-ṣu KvīP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 86, co-occurring with nominal padás 4] bráhman- 'brahmin', bhrūṇá- 'embryo' and vṛtrá- 'n.pr. of a demon, destroyed by Indra' [functioning as its direct object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

*bráhman+am+ha-távān = brahman+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+KvīP = brahmaθ+hán-* 'who has murdered a brahmin'; similarly *bhrūṇa-hán-* / *vṛtra-hán-* respectively denoting 'who has killed the embryo / the demon Vṛtra'.

In view of the general rule 76 introducing this affix after all verbal stems, there is a four-fold application derived from that fact: (a) KvīP is introduced after [han-] when co-occurring with these three nominal padás only; (b) with these three úpapadas only, [han-] is followed by this affix, not other verbal stems; in *brahma adhi-távān* it is inoperative; (c) with these úpapadas it is only to denote the general past time that KvīP is introduced after [han-]; in *bráhmāṇam hán-ti* 'kills a brahmin', it is inoperative; and (d) also in *bráhmāṇ-am han-i-ṣyá-ti* 'will kill a brahmin' it is inoperative.

### 3.2.88 bahulám chandas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīP 87] is variously (bahulám) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 86, co-occurring with other nominal padás 4 functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

*mātr̥-am ha-távān* = *mātr̥+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+KviP* = *mātr̥-hān-* ‘who has killed his mother’ in the passage: *mātr̥-hā saptamām narakam prā-viś-et* ‘a matricide will enter the seventh hell’.

### 3.2.89 <sup>1</sup>sú-<sup>2</sup>kárma(n)-<sup>3</sup>pāpá-<sup>4</sup>mántra-<sup>5</sup>pún̄ye-su kr̥Ñah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kr̥Ñ* ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10) [co-occurring with nominal *padás* 4] *sú-* ‘well’, *kárman-* ‘work’, *pāpá-* ‘sin’, *mántra-* ‘sacred hymn’, and *pún̄ya-* ‘virtue, merit’ [functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

*sú+kr̥+KviP* = *su-kṛ-tuK+θ* (6.1.71) = *śobhanam kr̥-távān* ‘who has done well’; similarly: *karma-kṛ-t-*, *pāpa-kṛ-t-*, *mantra-kṛ-t-*, *punya-kṛ-t-* respectively denoting: ‘who has performed all work/committed a sin/composed a sacred hymn/done a virtuous deed’.

There is a three-fold application here: (a) this affix is applicable only when denoting the general past time: in *kárma kr̥-távān* KviP alone is applicable, not *áñ* (1); (b) with other *úpapadas*, KviP is not applicable, but only *áñ* as in *mántram adhī-tavān* = *mantrādhyāy-á-* ‘who has studied sacred hymns’; (c) through introducing KviP in the general past tense, it is not applicable when other tenses are indicated: *mántram kari-syá-ti/kar-ó-ti* = *mantra-kār-á(N)* ‘who will compose/is composing sacred hymns’. Since no regulation is intended, in the view of the recurrence of the word [bahulám 88], this rule is applicable also with other *úpapadas*: *bhāṣya-kṛ-t-/śāstra-kṛ-t* ‘who has composed a commentary/treatise on science’ respectively.

### 3.2.90 sóm-e suñ̄-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *suñ̄-* ‘press or distil the Soma’ [co-occurring with the nominal *padá* 4] *sóma-* [functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

*sómam su-távān* = *soma+su+KviP* = *soma-sú-t-* ‘who has pressed Soma’. Here also the four-fold application (in 87 above) is valid.

### 3.2.91 agn̄-aú ce-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 KviP 87 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *ci-* ‘heap, pile, arrange’ (V 5) [co-occurring with the nominal *padá* 4] *agn̄-* ‘fire’ [serving as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84].

*agnīm ci-tāvān* = *agni-cf-t-* ‘who has built the sacrificial fire’.

### 3.2.92 *kārmaṇ-i=agni=ākhyā-yām*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *KviP* is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *ci- 91*, co-occurring with a nominal *padá 4* functioning as its object 86 to denote the general past tense 84] (and the form derived) with the passive construction (*kārmaṇ-i*) denotes the name of a ritual fire (*agni=ākhyā-yām*).

*śyená-h=iva ci-tá-h* = *śyena+θ<sup>1</sup>+ci+KviP* = *śyena-cf-t-* ‘a sacrificial fireplace piled in the shape of a hawk’.

### 3.2.93 *kārmaṇ-i=iniḥ=ví-kriy-aḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ini* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vi+krī-* ‘sell’ (IX 1) [co-occurring with a nominal *padá 4* functioning as its direct object 85 when indicating the general past tense 84] to denote a despicable act (*kārmaṇ-i*).

The repetition of the word [*karmaṇ-i*] here while it is already recurring from 92 above is to indicate not ‘an object’ as defined by 1.4.49 but to denote a despicable or unworthy act and censure the agent of the verbal stem: *sómam ví-krī-tāvān* = *soma+θ<sup>1</sup>+vi-krī+ín* = *soma-vi-kray-ín-* ‘who has sold Soma’ implying censure; but *dhānya+vi-krī+áN* = *dhānya-vi-kṛāy-á-* ‘who has sold grain’ with no censure implied.

### 3.2.94 *dṛśe-ḥ KvaniP*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *KvaniP* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *dṛś-* ‘see, perceive’ (I 1037) [co-occurring with a nominal *padá 4* functioning as its object 86 when referring to the general past tense 84].

*pārám dṛś-tāvān* = *pāra+θ<sup>1</sup>+dṛś+KvaniP* = *pāra-dṛś-van-* ‘who has seen the opposite shore’.

### 3.2.95 *rājan-i <sup>1</sup>yudh-i-<sup>2</sup>krÑ-aḥ*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *KvaniP* 94 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *yudh-* ‘fight’ (IV 64) and *krÑ-* ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10) [co-occurring with the nominal *padá 4*] *rājan-* ‘king’ [serving as their object 86 when referring to the general past tense 84].

*rājān-am yodh-i-tāvān* = *rājan+θ<sup>1</sup>+yudh+KvaniP* = *rājaY+yúdh-van-* ‘who has made war against the king / who has made the king fight a war’; similarly *rājān-am kṛ-tāvān* = *rāja=kṛt-van-* ‘who has crowned or enthroned the king’.

### 3.2.96 sah-é ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *KvaniP* 94] is introduced also (ca) [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 *yudh-* and *kṛ* 95 when co-occurring with the nominal *padá* 4] *sahá-* ‘with’ [when referring to the general past tense 84].

*sahá yodh-i-tāvān* = *saha+yudh+KvaniP* = *saha-yúdh-van-* ‘who has fought along with’; similarly *saha-kṛt-van-* ‘who has cooperated with’.

### 3.2.97 saptamy-ām jāṇe-r Ḍáḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *Ḍá* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *ján-* ‘be born’ (IV 41) [co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 4 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-ām) [when denoting the general past tense 84].

*upa-sar-é jā-tá-ḥ* = *upa-sarā-θ<sup>1</sup>+jan+Ḍá* = *upa-sára-jθθ+a-* (6.4.143) ‘born by impregnation’; similarly *pañk-e jā-tá-ḥ* = *pañka-j-á-* ‘born in mud, a lotus’. Cf. 6.2.83 for accent.

### 3.2.98 pañcamy-ām á-jāt-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *Ḍá* 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *ján-* 97, co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 4 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-ām), not specifying a species (á-jāt-au) [and referring to the general past tense 84].

*búddhe-r jā-tá-ḥ* = *búddhi+θ<sup>1</sup>+jan+Ḍá* = *buddhi-j-á-* ‘arisen or originated in the intellect’, but *ásvāt=jā-tá-ḥ* ‘born of a horse’.

### 3.2.99 upa-sarg-é ca saṁjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *Ḍá* 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *ján-* 97] also when co-occurring with a preverb (*upa-sarg-é*) [and referring to the general past tense 84] to form a name (saṁjñāyām).

*pra+jā-tá-ḥ* = *pra+jan+Ḍá* = *pra-j-á+TāP* = *pra-j-á* ‘progeny’ as in *áthemá mānavī pra-j-á* ‘now these born of Manu’.



### 3.2.100 án-au kármaṇ-i

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Dá 97 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] co-occurring with the preverb ánu-° [and a nominal padá 4] functioning as its direct object (kármaṇ-i) [when referring to the general past tense 84].

*rāmám anu-jā-tá-h* = *rāma+θ<sup>1</sup>+anu-jan+Dá* = *rāmānu-θθ-á* 'born after Rāma (i.e., his younger brother)'.

### 3.2.101 anyé-ṣu=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 Dá 97] is also (ápi) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ján- 97] co-occurring with other (anyé-ṣu) [nominal padás 4 when referring to the general past tense 84].

*nāñ+jā-ta-h* = *a-j-á* 'was not born'; similarly *dvīr-jā-tá-h* = *dvi-j-á* 'twice-born/born again'.

The word [anyé-ṣu] not only refers to the nominal padás but also to different kárakas, other than the fifth and seventh referred to above. The word [ápi] also permits the introduction of other verbal stems: *parí-tas=khā-tá-h* = *pari-θ<sup>1</sup>+khan+Dá* = *pari-khθθ+á+TāP* = *pari-kh-á* 'a moat dug all around'.

### 3.2.102 niṣṭhá

[The křt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhá (1.1.26 = Ktá- and KtávatU) are introduced [after 1.2 all verbal stems 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

*kṛ+Ktá(vatU)* = *kṛ-tá* 'was done', *kṛ-távat(U)* 'has done'.

### 3.2.103 <sup>1</sup>su-<sup>2</sup>yaj-or ṆvaniP

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] ṆvaniP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] su- 'press, extract' (V 1) and yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051) [to denote the general past tense 84].

*su+ṆvaniP* = *su+tuK+van-* = *sú-t-van-* 'who has pressed or extracted'; similarly *yáj-van-* 'who has sacrificed'.

### 3.2.104 j̥r-ya-te-r atṚN

[The k̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] atṚN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] j̥r- ‘grow old, age’ (IV 22) [to denote the general past tense 84].

*j̥r+atṚN* = *jār-atṚ* ‘who has grown old or aged’; the marker [Ṛ] indicates that before sUP triplets denoted by [Śi] and [sUT] an infixed nuM is introduced after the last vowel of the nominal stem (7.1.70).

### 3.2.105 chándas-i lIT

In the domain of Chándas (l-substitutes of) lIT ‘Perfect Tense’ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past 84].

*ahám sūryam ubhayā-to da-darś-a* ‘I saw the sun from both sides’; *ahám dyāvā-prthivī ā-ta-tān-a* ‘I stretched heaven and earth’. This is a prior exception to 115 below.

### 3.2.106 lIT-aḥ KānāC=vā

[In the domain of Chándas 105 the k̥t 1.92 affix 1.1] KānāC optionally (vā) replaces (the l-substitutes of) lIT [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

*ci+lIT* = *ci-ci+eŚ* (3.4.81; 6.1.8) = *ci-ki-é* (7.3.58) = *ci-ky-é/ci-ci+KānāC* = *ci-ky-ānā-* as in : *agnīm ci-ky-āna-h* ‘he constructed the sacrificial fire’.

### 3.2.107 KvásU-s=ca

[In the domain of Chándas the k̥t 1.93 affix 1.1] KvásU also (ca) [optionally replaces the l-substitutes of lIT 105 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the general past tense 84].

*pā+lIT* = *pa-pā+iT+KvásU* = *pa-pḥ+i-vás* = *pa-p-i-vás-* ‘drank’, the marker [U] operating under 7.1.70.

### 3.2.108 bhāṣā-yām <sup>1</sup>sádā-<sup>2</sup>vasĀ-<sup>3</sup>śruv-aḥ

In the domain of the spoken language (= current speech: bhāṣā-yām) [the k̥t 1.93 affix 1.1 KvásU 107 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sád- ‘sit down’ (I 907, VI 133), vas- ‘abide, dwell, reside’ (I 1054) and śru- ‘hear, listen’ (I 980) [as a replacement for l-substitutes of lIT 106 to denote the general past tense 84].

$\acute{u}pa+sad+II\ddot{T} = \acute{u}pa-sa-sad+Kv\acute{a}sU = \acute{u}pa-\emptyset-sed+i\ddot{T}+v\acute{a}s- (6.4.120) = \acute{u}pa-sed-i-v\acute{a}\dot{n}$   
*Ka\acute{u}tsa-h P\acute{a}ṇinim* ‘K. became a pupil of P.’ The alternate forms are:  
 $\acute{u}p\acute{a}-sad-a-t (I\ddot{U}\dot{N})$ ,  $\acute{u}p\acute{a}-s\acute{a}d-a-t (I\dot{A}\dot{N})$  and  $\acute{u}pa-sa-s\acute{a}d-a (II\ddot{T})$ .

Similarly:  $\acute{a}nu+vas+II\ddot{T} = \acute{a}nu+va-vas+Kv\acute{a}sU = \acute{a}nu-u-us+i\ddot{T}+v\acute{a}s- (6.1.15,17) =$   
 $\acute{a}n\ddot{u}-s-iv\acute{a}s = \acute{a}n\ddot{u}-siv\acute{a}\dot{n}$  *Ka\acute{u}tsa-h P\acute{a}ṇinim*.

$\acute{u}pa+\acute{s}ru+II\ddot{T} = \acute{u}pa-\acute{s}u-\acute{s}ru+Kv\acute{a}sU = \acute{u}pa-\acute{s}u-\acute{s}ru-v\acute{a}s : \acute{u}pa-\acute{s}u-\acute{s}ruv\acute{a}\dot{n}$  *Ka\acute{u}tsa-h P\acute{a}ṇinim*.

### 3.2.109 <sup>1</sup>upey-i-v\acute{a}\dot{n}=<sup>2</sup>an\acute{a}s-v\acute{a}\dot{n}=<sup>3</sup>an\ddot{u}c\acute{a}n\acute{a}s-s=ca

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84 the k\ddot{t} 1.93 affix 1.1 Kv\acute{a}sU 107 replaces the l-substitutes of II\ddot{T} 109 to generate the irregular forms] upeyi-v\acute{a}\dot{n} ‘approached’, an\acute{a}s-v\acute{a}\dot{n} ‘did not eat’ and an\ddot{u}c\acute{a}n\acute{a}- ‘studied’ [with K\acute{a}n\acute{A}C replacement 106].

1.  $\acute{u}pa+i\dot{N}+II\ddot{T} = \acute{u}pa+i-i+Kv\acute{a}sU = \acute{u}pa-i-i+Kv\acute{a}sU (7.4.69) = \acute{u}pa+i\ddot{y}-i\ddot{T}+Kv\acute{a}sU$   
 (contra 7.2.67) =  $\acute{u}pe-y-i-v\acute{a}s+sU = \acute{u}pe-y-i-v\acute{a}\dot{n} (7.1.70; 6.4.10; 8.2.23)$ .
2.  $na\dot{N}+a\acute{s}+Kv\acute{a}sU = an-\acute{a}-a\acute{s}+vas+sU = an\acute{a}-s-v\acute{a}\dot{n}$  (with irregular absence of initial i\ddot{T} increment).
3.  $\acute{a}nu+vac+K\acute{a}n\acute{A}C = \acute{a}nu-u-uc+\acute{a}n\acute{A} (5.1.15,17) = an\ddot{u}-c-\acute{a}n\acute{A}-sU = an\ddot{u}-c-\acute{a}n\acute{A}-h$ .

### 3.2.110 I\ddot{U}\dot{N}

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84, the l-substitutes of] I\ddot{U}\dot{N} ‘Aorist’ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$k\ddot{r}+I\ddot{U}\dot{N} = k\ddot{r}+C\dot{l}i+t (3.1.43) = k\ddot{r}+s\dot{i}C+t (3.1.44) = d\ddot{T}+k\ddot{r}+s\dot{i}C+t (6.4.71) =$   
 $\acute{a}-k\acute{a}r+o+i\ddot{T}+t (7.2.1; 3.96) = \acute{a}-k\acute{a}r-\acute{s}-i-t$  ‘made, performed, did’.

### 3.2.111 \acute{a}n-adya-tane I\dot{A}\dot{N}

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84] excluding the current day (\acute{a}n-adya-tane) [the l-substitutes of] I\dot{A}\dot{N} ‘Imperfect Tense’ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$k\ddot{r}+I\dot{A}\dot{N} = k\ddot{r}+u+t = \acute{a}-kar-o-t (3.1.79; 7.3.84)$  ‘did, made’ (not referring to the current day).

### 3.2.112 abhij\ddot{n}\acute{a}-vacan\acute{e} I\ddot{R}\ddot{T}

[When the action refers to the general past tense 84 excluding the current day 111] (the l-substitutes of) I\ddot{R}\ddot{T} (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with an expression implying recollection (abhij\ddot{n}\acute{a}-vacan\acute{e}).

Exception to laÑ 111 above. *smár-a-si devadatta kaśmīre-su vat-syá-mah* 'do you remember, Devadatta, how we lived in Kashmir?' from *vas+IṚṬ* = *vas+syá+mas* (3.1.33) = *vat-syá-mah* (7.3.102; 4.43; 8.3.15).

### 3.2.113 ná yád-i

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, the l-substitutes of IṚṬ 112] are not introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the expression implying recollection co-occurs 112 with] the particle yád 'which, what'.

*smár-a-si devadatta yát kaśmīre-su á-vas-āma* where the Imperfect (laÑ 111) operates instead.

### 3.2.114 vibhāṣā śākāñkṣ-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111 and the expression implying recollection 112 co-occurs or not with yád 113, l-substitutes of IṚṬ 112] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] if the speaker needs (another) expression for completion of the sense (śākāñkṣ-e).

*smár-a-si devadatta (yát) kaśmīre-su vat-syá-mah/á-vas-ā-ma, tátra odanam bhok-syá-mahe/á-bhuñj-mahi* 'do you remember, Devadatta, that we lived in K. and there we ate porridge?'. The second phrase complements the first for completion of the sense.

### 3.2.115 parókṣ-e IṬ

[When the action refers to the general past time 84 excluding the current day 111] and beyond the perception of the speaker (parókṣ-e), l-substitutes of IṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

*gam+IṬ* = *gam-gam+IṬ* (6.1.8) = *ga-gam+NaL* (3.4.82; 7.4.60) = *ja+gam+NaL* (7.4.62) = *ja-gám-a* (7.2.116) 'has gone (before the current day) but I did not see it myself'.

### 3.2.116 <sup>1</sup>ha-<sup>2</sup>śásvat-or laÑ ca

[When the action refers to the general past time 84 excluding the current day 111 beyond the perception of the speaker 115] l-substitutes of laÑ 'Imperfect' as well as (ca) [those of IṬ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles ha 'verily, indeed' and śásvat 'constantly'.

1. *iti ha ca-kār-a/ā-kar-o-t* 'indeed he has done'.
2. *śáśvat=ca-kār-a/ā-kar-o-t* 'has repeatedly done'.

### 3.2.117 praśn-é ca=ā-sanna-kāl-é

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, beyond the perception of the speaker 115, the l-substitutes of IIT 115 and IAN̄ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote a recent (ā-sanna-kāle) past time in an interrogation (praśn-é).

X asks Y: *ja-gām-a/ā-gacch-a-t devadattā-h?* 'Has D. gone?'. Recent past [ā-sanna-kāla] by interpretation is defined as within five years.

### 3.2.118 IAṬ sm-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111, beyond the perception of the speaker 115] l-substitutes of IAṬ 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma.

*yāj-a-ti sma yudhīṣṭhira-h* 'Y. has sacrificed'.

### 3.2.119 ā-parokṣ-e ca

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111] and is within the perception of the speaker (ā-parokṣ-e) [the l-substitutes of IAṬ 118 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with the particle sma 118].

*evām sma pitā bráv-ī-ti* 'thus has the father spoken'.

### 3.2.120 nan-aú pṛṣṭa-prati-vacan-é

[When the action refers to the general past 84, the l-substitutes of IAṬ 118 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle nanú in a response to a question (pṛṣṭa-prati-vacan-é).

*ā-kār-s-ī-h káṭam devadatta? nanú kar-ó-mi bhoh* 'O Devadatta! have you made a mat? Yes, I have made (it)'.

### 3.2.121 <sup>1</sup>ná-<sup>2</sup>nv-ór vibhāṣā

[When the action refers to the general past 84 the l-substitutes of IAT are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] optionally (vibhāṣā) when co-occurring with the particles ná and nú [in response to a question 120].

Q. *á-kār-ṣ-I-h kátam devadatta?* R. *ná kar-ó-mi bhoḥ / ahám nú kar-ó-mi* 'Have you made a mat, O Devadatta? I have not made (it) / I have certainly made (it)'. Alternately *á-kār-ṣ-am* replaces *kar-ó-mi*.

### 3.2.122 pur-í IUN̄ ca=á-sm-e

[When the action refers to the general past 84 excluding the current day 111 the l-substitutes of IAT 118] and (ca) IUN̄ [are optionally 121 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle purá 'formerly', provided the particle sma does not co-occur.

*vās-anti=ihá purá chātrāḥ* 'pupils lived here formerly' or with IUN̄: *á-vas+siC+us* = *á-vās+s+us* (7.2.3) = *á-vāt-s-uh* (7.4.49); in addition, when these do not co-occur, IIT and IAN̄ also operate: *ūs-úḥ / á-vas-an* but *yáj-a-ti sma yudhiṣṭhira-h*

### 3.2.123 vártamān-e IAT

When the action refers to the present time (vártamān-e) l-substitutes of IAT 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93].

*bhú+IAT* = *bhú+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.68; 4.78) = *bhó+a+ti* (7.3.84) = *bháv-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'becomes'; similarly *pác-a-ti/ád-mi* 'is cooking/am eating'.

### 3.2.124 IAT-ah̄ <sup>1</sup>ŚátR̄-<sup>2</sup>ŚánáC-au=á-prathamā-samāna=adhi-karaṇ-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] ŚátR̄ and ŚánáC replace the l-substitutes of IAT when it has the same reference (samāna=adhi-karaṇé) [with a nominal padá 4 (ending in 1.1.72 a sUP triplet)] other than the first (á-prathamā-°).

*pac+IAT* = *pac+ŚaP+IAT* = *pac+a+ŚátR̄/ŚánáC* = *pác-at-* (6.1.97) *pác-a+m̄K+ānā-* (7.2.82) = *páca-m+āna-* in constructions like *pác-ant-am/páca-m-ānam devadattám pásy-a* 'behold D. who is cooking'; *pác-at-ā pác-a-m-ān-ena kṛtám* 'prepared by one who is cooking', but *devadattá-h̄ pác-a-ti*. (Cf. 6.1.186).

The repetition of the word [LAT] when it is already recurring from 123 above is to permit occasional use of these affixes even when co-occurring with a padá ending in the first sUP triplet: *sán/ás-ti/víd-ya-te/vid-yá-m-āna-h brāhmaṇá-h* ‘the brahmin is’.

### 3.2.125 sam-bódhan-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátR and ŚānÁC 124 replace the l-substitutes of LAT 124 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when it has the same reference with a nominal padá 124 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 124] used in invocation or address (sam-bódhan-e).

*he pácan/pác-a-m-āna* ‘O thou who art cooking’.

### 3.2.126 <sup>1</sup>lákṣaṇa-<sup>2</sup>hetv-óḥ kriyá-yāḥ

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátR and ŚānÁC replace the l-substitutes of LAT 124 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] the action denoted by which is a characteristic (lákṣaṇa) or cause (hetú) of (another) action (kriyá-yāḥ).

1. *lákṣaṇa*: *śay-ānā bhuñj-áte yavanāḥ* ‘the Yavanas eat while lying down or reclining’.
2. *hetú*: *adhīy-ānó vās-a-ti* ‘he is staying in order to study (or for the purpose of studying)’.

### 3.2.127 t-au SAT

(The technical term) SAT denotes those two [kft 1.93 affixes 1.1 ŚátR and ŚānÁC 124].

As a t.t. occurs in 2.2.11; 3.3.14.

### 3.2.128 <sup>1</sup>pūN-<sup>2</sup>yaj-oḥ ŚānaN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚānaN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pūN- ‘purify’ (I 1015) and yaj- ‘sacrifice’ (I 1051).

1. *pū+ŚānaN* = *pū+ŚaP+āna* = *pó+a+āna-* (7.3.84) = *páv-a+muK+āna* (6.1.78; 7.2.82) = *páv-a-m-āna-* ‘Soma, the purifier’.
2. Similarly *yáj-a-m-āna-* ‘sacrificer’.

This affix generates nominal stems, while [ŚānÁC] is a replacement for l-substitutes of LAT.

### 3.2.129 <sup>1</sup>táčchīlya-<sup>2</sup>vayovacaná-<sup>3</sup>śákti-ṣu CānaŚ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] CānaŚ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote habitual disposition (táč-chīlya), age (vayo-vacaná) or capacity (śákti).

1. *bhóg-am bhuj-ānā-* (= *bhuj+CānaŚ* = *bhuj+ŚnáM+CānaŚ* = *bhu-ṭn-j-ānā-* 6.4.111) 'habitually disposed to enjoy food'.
2. *vayo-vacané: kávac-am bi-bhr-ānā-* (= *bhr+Śtu+CānaŚ* = *bi-bhr-ānā-* = *bi-bhr-ānā-* 7.4.76; 8.4.2) 'of an age to wear a coat of mail'.
3. *śákt-au: śátrum ni-ghn-ānā-* 'able to destroy enemies' = *ni-han+CānaŚ* = *ni-hṭn-ānā-* (6.4.98) = *ni-ghn-ānā-* (7.3.54).

### 3.2.130 <sup>1</sup>iÑ=<sup>2</sup>dhāry-óḥ ŚátR=kṛcchrñ-i

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ŚátR is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] iÑ (with ádhi- °) 'study' (I 37) and dhār-í = dhṛ+ÑíC (I 948) 'hold' to denote that the agent is free from difficulty (á-kṛcchrñ-i).

1. *adhī-án vyākaraṇam* (= *adhī+iÑ+ŚátR+sU* = *adhī-án* 7.1.70) 'studying grammar without difficulty', but *kṛcchr-ēṇa adhī-té* 'studies with difficulty'.
2. *dhār-áy-an=upaniṣad-am* (= *dhār-í+ŚátR* = *dhār-áy-at+sU* = *dhār-áy-an*) 'easily quoting or remembering the Upaniṣad'; but *kṛcchr-ēṇa dhār-áy-a-ti* 'remembers with difficulty'.

### 3.2.131 dviṣ-aḥ=a-mítr-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚátR 130 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3) to denote an enemy (a-mítr-e).

*dviṣ+ŚátR* = *dviṣ-ṭ<sup>1</sup>+át-* 'unfriendly, inimical', but *dvēṣ-ṭi bhāryā pátim* 'the wife dislikes the husband'.

### 3.2.132 suÑ-aḥ=yajña-saṁ-yog-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚátR 130 is introduced after 1 the verbal stem 1.91] suÑ- 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) when expressing a participation in a sacrifice (yajña-saṁ-yog-é).

*sáru-e sunv-ántaḥ* (= *su+Śnú+ŚátR+Jas* = *sunv-ánt-aḥ*) 'all are participating in the sacrifice', but *su-nó-ti sūrām* 'distils liquor'.



### 3.2.133 árh-aḥ pūjā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ŚátR̥ 130 is introduced after the verbal stem 1.91] árh- ‘merit’ (I 776) to denote eulogy (pūjā-yām).

*arh+ŚátR̥ = árh+ŚaP+át+sU = árh-ant=sU = árh-an∅∅* (6.1.97; 8.2.23) in *árh-an=īha bhāvān pūjām* ‘you are worthy of honor here’.

### 3.2.134 ā-kve-ḥ <sup>1</sup>tác-chīla-<sup>2</sup>tád-dharma-<sup>3</sup>tát-sādhū-kārī-ṣu

Up to and including sūtra 177 below [the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 introduced here after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] are meant to express that the agent performs the action as (a) a part of his habitual disposition (tác-chīla-) or (b) as his duty (tád-dharma) or efficiently (tat-sādhū-kārīṣu).

This is a governing or [adhikārā] sūtra and these three meaning conditions will recur in each of the succeeding rules up to and including 177 below.

### 3.2.135 tṛN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] tṛN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the agents natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*kṛ+tṛN = kár-tṛ-* ‘doer, performer’; (a) natural or habitual disposition: *kár-tā kátam* ‘who habitually makes a mat’; (b) duty: *múṇḍ-ay-i-tār-aḥ śráviṣṭhāyanāḥ=bhāv-anti vadhām ādhām* ‘Śráviṣṭhāyanas shave the head of their married daughter-in-law’; (c) efficient performance: *kár-tā kátam* ‘excellent maker of mat(s)’.

### 3.2.136 <sup>1</sup>álām-kṛÑ-<sup>2</sup>nir-ā-kṛÑ-<sup>3</sup>prá-janā=<sup>4</sup>út-pacA=<sup>5</sup>út-pata=<sup>6</sup>ún-mada-<sup>7</sup>rúci-<sup>8</sup>ápa-trapa-<sup>9</sup>vṛtU-<sup>10</sup>vṛdhU-<sup>11</sup>sáhA-<sup>12</sup>cárÁ iṣṇúC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] iṣṇúC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] álām-kṛ- ‘adorn’ (VIII 10), nir-ā-kṛ- ‘reject’, prá-jan- ‘be born’ (IV 41), út+pac- ‘ripen’ (I 1045), út+pat- ‘fly up’ (I 898), ún+mad- ‘be mad’ (IV 99), rúc- ‘shine’ (I 781), ápa+trap- ‘be ashamed’ (I 399), vṛt- ‘turn; abide’ (I 795), vṛdh- ‘increase’ (I 796). sáh- ‘bear, endure’ (I 905) and cár- ‘move, graze’ (I 591) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*alam+kṛ+iṣṇúC = alam-kar-iṣṇú-* ‘decorating or adorning’ (in any of the three senses referred to in 134); similarly: *nir-ā-kar-iṣṇú-* ‘repudiating’; *pra-jan-iṣṇú-*

'being born'; *ut-pac-iṣṇú-* 'ripening'; *ut-pat-iṣṇú-* 'flying up'; *un-mad-iṣṇú-* 'intoxicating'; *roc-iṣṇú-* 'shining brightly'; *apa-trap-iṣṇú-* 'becoming bashful'; *vart-iṣṇú-* 'abiding'; *vardh-iṣṇú-* 'growing, increasing'; *sah-iṣṇú-* 'tolerating'; *cari-iṣṇú-* 'moving, grazing, practising'.

### 3.2.137 NÉ-ś chā́ndas-i

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 iṣṇúC 136 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affix 1.1] Ní(C) in the domain of Chā́ndas [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*dr-śád-am dhār-ay-iṣṇáv-ah* 'capable of or accustomed to carry or bear stones'.

### 3.2.138 bhúv-aś ca

[In the domain of Chā́ndas 137 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 iṣṇúC 135 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhú- 'become' (I 1) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

This is a prior exception to the following sūtra 139. The implication of the particle [ca] here is not for the purpose of recurrence of [Ní] from the preceding rule, but to extend the scope of this rule to other verbal stems not specifically mentioned. *bhav-iṣṇú-* 'becoming'; *bhrāj-iṣṇú-* 'shining brightly'.

### 3.2.139 <sup>1</sup>glā-<sup>2</sup>jí-<sup>3</sup>sthāś ca Ksnú-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Ksnú (= \*Gsnú-) is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] glā- (glāí- I 862) 'be weary', jí- 'win' (I 159) and sthā 'remain, stand' (I 975) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

The affix [Ksnú] is by interpretation derived from the underlying form [\*G-snú] in order to derive the correct surface form from [sthā]. The presence of [G] as an IT-marker is also posited by interpretation in the case of 1.1.5 [KN-IT = \*G-K-N-IT]. *glāí+Ksnú* = *glā=snú-* (6.1.45) 'exhausted, weary, tired'; similarly: *jí-sṇú-* 'victorious'; *sthā+\*G-snú-* = *sthāsnú-* 'disposed to remain firm'; since the marker here is \*G and not K, the operation of 6.4.66 is blocked and there is no replacement of stem-vowel by [i]. The implication of [ca] in this rule is for the recurrence of verbal stem [bhú-] from the preceding rule: *bhū-sṇú-* 'becoming'.

### 3.2.140 <sup>1</sup>trási-<sup>2</sup>gḡdhi-<sup>3</sup>dhḡṣi-<sup>4</sup>kṣip-eh Knú-h

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Knú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] trás- ‘tremble’ (IV 10), gḡdh- ‘be greedy’ (IV 136), dhḡṣ- ‘be bold’ (V 22) and kṣip- ‘throw, cast, toss’ (IV 14, VI 15) [to denote the agent’s natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*tras+Knú* = *tras-nú-* ‘trembling’; *gḡdh-nú-* ‘greedy’; *dhḡṣ-nú-* ‘bold, daring’; *kṣip-nú-* ‘tossing, casting, throwing’ [8.2.2 in-applicable, cf. 8.4.39].

### 3.2.141 sám-iti=aṣṭā-bhyáh GHínūN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] GHínūN is introduced [after 1.2] eight [verbal stems 1.91] beginning with sám- ‘be calm’ (IV 92=99) [to denote the agent’s natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

The marker [GH] of the affix is for the operation of 7.3.52 (of velar replacement of palatal phonemes [c, j]) applicable to the subsequent sūtras and [N] for the purpose of 7.2.116. In the case of the seven verbal stems referred to here ending in \*-m, 7.3.34 blocks the operation of 7.2.116.

*sám+GHínūN* = *sám-ín-* ‘calm’; similarly *tam-ín-* ‘subduing, taming’; *śram-ín-* ‘laboring, exerting’; *bhram-ín-* ‘wandering’; *klam-ín-* ‘fatiguing’; *kṣam-ín-* ‘forebearing’; *un=māḍ-ín-* ‘maddening’.

### 3.2.142 <sup>1</sup>sám-prca=<sup>2</sup>ánu-rudha=<sup>3</sup>āN-yamÁ=<sup>4</sup>āN-yasa- <sup>5</sup>pári-sṛ-<sup>6</sup>sám-sṛjÁ-<sup>7</sup>pári-devi-<sup>8</sup>sám-jvarÁ=<sup>9</sup>pári-kṣipÁ- <sup>10</sup>pári-vadÁ-<sup>11</sup>pári-dahÁ-<sup>12</sup>pári-muhÁ-<sup>13</sup>duṣÁ-<sup>14</sup>dviṣÁ- <sup>15</sup>drúhÁ-<sup>16</sup>duhÁ-<sup>17</sup>yujā-<sup>18</sup>ā-kṛīḍa-<sup>19</sup>ví-vica-<sup>20</sup>tyajÁ-<sup>21</sup>rājÁ- <sup>22</sup>bhajÁ=<sup>23</sup>āti-carÁ=<sup>24</sup>āpa-carÁ=<sup>25</sup>ā-muṣÁ=<sup>26</sup>abhy-ā-han-aś ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínūN 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sám+prc- ‘connect, contact’ (VII 25), ánu+rudh- ‘surround’ (VII 1), ā+yam- ‘stretch’ (I 1033), ā+yas- ‘work hard’ (IV 101), pári+sṛ- ‘go round’ (I 982), sám+sṛj- ‘mix together’ (VI 121), pári+dev- ‘lament’ (I 529), sám+jvar- ‘be in great fever or heat’ (I 813), pári+kṣip- ‘cast all around’ (VI 5), pári+raṭ- ‘scream’ (I 319), pári+vad- ‘shout’ (I 1058), pári+dah- ‘consume’ (I 1040), pári+muḥ- ‘be bewildered’ (IV 89), duṣ- ‘err’ (IV 76), dviṣ- ‘hate’ (II 3), drúh- ‘be hostile’ (IV 85), duh- ‘milk’ (II 4), yuj- ‘join’ (VII 5), ‘concentrate’ (IV 68), ā-kṛīḍ- ‘sport’ (I 373), ví+vic- ‘separate’ (VII 5), tyaj- ‘abandon’ (I 1035), rāj (= rānj- I 865) ‘desire’, bhaj- ‘share’ (I 1047), āti+car- ‘overtake’ and āpa+car- ‘depart’, ā+muṣ- ‘steal’ (I 707) and abhi+ā+han- ‘wound’ (II 2) [to denote the agent’s natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*sam+prc+GHínúN* = *sam-park-ín-* (7.3.52,86) ‘mixing, blending’; similarly: *anu-rodh-ín-* ‘obliging, compliant’; *ā-yām-ín-* ‘stretching’; *ā-yās-ín-* ‘exhausted by work’; *pari-sār-ín-* ‘wandering about’; *sam-sarg-ín-* ‘mixing together’; *pari-dev-ín-* ‘bewailing’; *sam-jvār-ín-* ‘feeling the heat of fever’; *pari-kṣep-ín-* ‘scatterer’; *pari-rāt-ín-* ‘screaming’; *pari-vād-ín-* ‘blaming’; *pari-dāh-ín-* ‘burning hot’; *pari-moh-ín-* ‘perplexed’; *doṣ-ín-* ‘guilty of an offence’; *dveṣ-ín-* ‘hating’; *droh-ín-* ‘hurting’; *doh-ín-* ‘milking’; *yog-ín-* ‘uniting’; *ā-krīd-ín-* ‘sporting’; *vi-vek-ín-* ‘discriminating’; *tyāg-ín-* ‘renouncing’; *rāg-ín-* ‘hankering after’; *bhāg-ín-* ‘sharer’; *ati-cār-ín-* ‘wrong-doer, transgressor’; *apa-cār-ín-* ‘wrong-doer’; *ā-moṣ-ín-* ‘thief, robber’; *abhy-ā-ghāt-ín-* ‘attacker, attacking’ (7.3.32,54).

### 3.2.143 v-aú <sup>1</sup>kāṣ-<sup>2</sup>lās-<sup>3</sup>kātthA-<sup>4</sup>srámbh-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínúN 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *kāṣ-* ‘injure’ (I 716), *lās-* ‘embrace, sport’ (I 745), *kātth-* ‘praise’ (I 37) and *srámbh-* ‘trust, believe in’ (I 794), co-occurring with the preverb *ví-*° [to denote the agent’s natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*vi-kāṣ-ín-* ‘injuring’; *vi-lās-ín-* ‘sportful’; *vi-kātth-ín-* ‘boasting’; *vi-srambh-ín-* ‘confiding’.

### 3.2.144 ápa-e ca lās-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínúN 142 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *lās-* ‘desire’ (I 937), co-occurring with the preverb *ápa-*° and (ca) [*ví-*° 143, to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*apa-lās-ín-* ‘free from desire’; *vi-lās-ín-* ‘desirous’.

### 3.2.145 pr-é <sup>1</sup>láp-<sup>2</sup>sr-<sup>3</sup>dru-<sup>4</sup>mátha-<sup>5</sup>vád-<sup>6</sup>vas-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHínúN 141 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *láp-* ‘prattle’ (I 429), *sr-* ‘flow’ (I 982, III 17), *dru-* ‘run’ (I 992), *máth-* ‘churn, agitate’ (I 901), *vad-* ‘speak’ (I 1058), and *vas-* ‘reside, dwell, abide’ (I 1054), co-occurring with the preverb *prá-*° [to denote the agent’s natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*pra-lāp-ín-* ‘prattler’; *pra-sār-ín-* ‘flowing or moving around’; *pra-drāv-ín-* ‘running away’; *pra-máth-ín-* ‘churner, agitator’; *pra-vād-ín-* ‘reporter’ and *pra-vās-ín-* ‘traveller’.

**3.2.146** <sup>1</sup>nínda-<sup>2</sup>himsa-<sup>3</sup>kliśA-khāda-<sup>4</sup>vī-nāśa-<sup>5</sup>pāri-kliśÁ-  
<sup>6</sup>pāri-raṭÁ-<sup>7</sup>pāri-vād-í-<sup>8</sup>vyā-bhāṣA=<sup>9</sup>asūy-aḥ vUÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] nínd- ‘blame’ (I 66), hims- ‘hurt, injure’ (VII 19), kliś ‘torment’ (IV 52a), khād- ‘eat’ (I 50), ví+nāś- (= naś+NíC IV 85) ‘destroy’, pári+kṣip- ‘scatter’ (VI 5), pári+raṭ- ‘scream’ (I 319), pári+vād-í (= vad+NíC I 1058) ‘accuse, blame’ and vy-ā-bhāṣ- ‘declare’ (I 643) and asūy- (kaṇḍv-ādi) ‘envy’ [to denote the agent’s natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*nind+vuÑ* = *nínd-aka-* (7.1.1; 6.1.117) ‘who blames or censures’; similarly: *hims-aka-* ‘who injures’; *kléś-aka-* ‘tormentor’; *khād-aka-* ‘eater’; *vi-nāś-aka-* ‘destroyer’; *pāri-kṣép-aka-* ‘scatterer’; *pāri-rāṭ-aka-* ‘screamer, clamorer’; *pāri-vād-aka-* ‘accuser, censurer’; *vy-ā-bhāṣ-aka-* ‘announcer, declarer’; and *ásūy-aka-* ‘envier’.

**3.2.147** <sup>1</sup>dev-í-<sup>2</sup>kruś-os=ca=upasargé

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 vuÑ 145] is also (ca) [introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dev-í (= dév- I 529+NíC) ‘lament’ and kruś- ‘cry’ (I 909) when co-occurring with preverbs (upasarg-é) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*ā-dev-í+vuÑ* = *ā-dév-Ø+aka-* (6.4.51) = *ā-dév-aka-* ‘sporting, playful’; *pāri-dév-aka-* ‘who laments, wailer’. Here two sets of verbal stems appear to be involved: [div- IV 1, X 166, and X 185 with I 529 as indicated above].  
*ā-kroś-aka-* ‘reviler’, *pāri-kroś-aka-* ‘who laments, wailer’.

**3.2.148** <sup>1</sup>cálana-<sup>2</sup>śábda=arth-āt=á-karmak-āt=yuC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.93] signifying movement (cálana-°) or sound (°-śábda=arthāt) and are in-transitive (á-karmak-āt) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

1. *cálana*=arthe: *cal+yuC* = *cal-aná-* (7.1.1) ‘moving’; similarly *gam-aná-* ‘going’.
2. *śábda*=arthe: *śabd-aná-* ‘sounding’; *rav-aná-* ‘crying’.

### 3.2.149 ánuḍāṭṭa=IT-as=ca hāl-āde-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is introduced after 1.2 an intransitive 148 verbal stem 1.91] beginning with a consonant (hāl-āde-ḥ) and having a low pitch as an IT marker (án-udāṭṭa-IT-aḥ) (when first introduced in the Dhp.) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*ṽṛtU* (I 795)+*yuC* = *vart-aná-* 'abiding'; similarly *ṽṛdhU* (I 796)+*yuC* = *vardh-aná-* 'increasing, growing'; but *bhú+iT+ṭṛN* = *bháv-i-ṭṛ-* 'becoming'.

### 3.2.150 <sup>1</sup>ju-<sup>2</sup>cañ-kram-yá-<sup>3</sup>dan-dram-yá-<sup>4</sup>sṛ-<sup>5</sup>gr̥dhī-<sup>6</sup>jvālÁ-<sup>7</sup>śúcÁ-<sup>8</sup>lāsA-<sup>9</sup>pátā-<sup>10</sup>pad-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ju- 'go', cañ-kram-yá- 'walk constantly', dan-dram-yá- 'roam about constantly', sṛ- 'flow' (I 982), gr̥dh- 'envy' (IV 136), jvāl- 'burn' (I 842), śúc- 'lament' (I 198), lās- 'desire' (I 937), pát- 'fly, fall down' (I 898) and pad- 'tread, walk' (IV 60) [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Verbal stems having the sense of 'movement' and [pad-], covered by the preceding rule, are included here when they function as transitive verbs. The verbal stems [cañ-kram-yá-] and [dan-dram-yá-] are derived intensive or frequentative stems from [kram-] 'walk, tread' (I 502) and [dram-] 'roam' (I 494).

*ju+yuC* = *jav-aná-* 'fleet, swift'; and similarly: *cañ-kram-yṅ+yuC* (6.4.48) = *cañ-kram-ṅṅ-aná-* (6.4.49; 8.4.2) 'moving about constantly' and *dan-dram-ṅṅ-aná-* 'wandering about frequently'; *sar-aná-* 'flowing', *gardh-aná-* 'envying, greedy'; *jval-aná-* 'burning, fire'; *śoc-aná-* 'lamenting'; *laš-aná-* 'yearning'; *pat-aná-* 'flying, falling'; *pad-aná-* 'moving, treading'.

### 3.2.151 <sup>1</sup>krudhÁ-<sup>2</sup>maṇḍá=arthe-bhyas=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] signifying 'be angry' [krudhÁ-(arthe-bhyaḥ IV 80)] and 'adorn' [maṇḍ-(ārthe-bhyaḥ I 344)] [to denote the agent's natural disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*krudh+YuC* = *krodh-aná-* 'wrathful', *roṣ-aná-*, *kop-aná-* 'irate'; similarly: *maṇḍ-aná-*, *bhūṣ-aná-* 'adorning'.

### 3.2.152 ná y-ah

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148] is not introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme °-y- [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*knūy+iT+trN* = *knūy-i-tr-* 'stinking'.

### 3.2.153 <sup>1</sup>sūdA-<sup>2</sup>dīpa-<sup>3</sup>dīkṣ-as=ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 148 is not introduced 152 after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *sūd-* 'fight, slay' (I 25), *dīp-* 'shine, be bright' (IV 42) and *dīkṣ-* 'initiate' (I 640) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Exception to 149 above. *sūd-i-tr-* 'fighter, combatant'; *dīp-i-tr-* 'illuminator'; *dīkṣ-i-tr-* 'initiator'. The general affix [trN 135] above is introduced in the place of yuC in 152-3.

### 3.2.154 <sup>1</sup>lāṣA-<sup>2</sup>pātā-<sup>3</sup>padA-<sup>4</sup>sthā-<sup>5</sup>bhū-<sup>6</sup>vṛṣa-<sup>7</sup>hanÁ-<sup>8</sup>kāma-<sup>9</sup>gama-<sup>10</sup>śṭ-bhyaḥ=ukaÑ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ukaÑ* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *lāṣ-* 'desire' (I 937), *pāt-* 'fly, fall' (I 898), *pad-* 'walk, tread' (IV 60), *sthā-* 'stand, remain' (I 975), *bhū-* 'become' (I 1), *vṛṣ-* 'rain' (I 738), *han-* 'strike, kill' (II 2), *kām-* 'love' (I 470), *gam-* 'go' (I 1031), *śṭ-* 'destroy' (IX 18) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*apa+laṣ+ukaÑ* = *apa-lāṣ-uka-* 'undesirable'; similarly: *pra-pāt-uka-* 'falling down, miscarrying'; *upa-pād-uka-* 'coming into existence or being'; *upa-sthā-y-uka-* (7.3.33) 'nearing, approaching'; *pra-bhūv-uka-* 'powerful, mighty'; *pra-vārṣ-uka-* 'precipitating, raining'; *ā+han+ukaÑ* = *āghān-ukaÑ* (8.3.54) = *āghāt-uka-* (7.3.32) 'killing, fatal'; *kām-uka-* 'lustful, desirous'; *ā-gām-uka-* 'arriving'; *kim-śār-uka-* 'destroying everything'.

### 3.2.155 <sup>1</sup>jālpÁ-<sup>2</sup>bhīkṣA-<sup>3</sup>kuṭṭÁ-<sup>4</sup>luṇṭÁ-<sup>5</sup>vṛÑ-bhyaḥ=ṢākaN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *ṢākaN* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *jālp-* 'prattle, murmur' (I 425), *bhīkṣ-* 'beg, seek alms' (I 637), *kuṭṭ-* 'to crush, abuse' (X 23), *luṇṭ-* 'rob, plunder' (X 27), and *vṛÑ-* 'choose' (IX 38) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*jálp+SākaN* = *jálp-āka-* ‘prattler’, *bhikṣ-āka-* ‘seeking alms’, *kúṭṭ-āka-* ‘crusher, abuser’; *lúnṭ-āka-* ‘robber, plunderer’, *vār-āka-* ‘choosing’. The marker [S] of affix is to indicate that the feminine derivative has NfS (4.1.41).

### 3.2.156 *prá-jo-r íni-h*

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *íni* is introduced [after the verbal stem 1.91] *prá+ju-* ‘hasten’ [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*pra+ju+ín-* = *pra-jav-ín-* ‘rapid, swift, hastening’.

### 3.2.157 <sup>1</sup>*jí-<sup>2</sup>dṛ-<sup>3</sup>kṣí-<sup>4</sup>ví-śrí=*<sup>5</sup>*iN-<sup>6</sup>vámÁ=*<sup>7</sup>*á-vyathA=*<sup>8</sup>*abhý-amA-<sup>9</sup>pári-bhū-*<sup>10</sup>*prá-sū-bhyas=ca*

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *íni* 156 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *jí-* ‘win’ (I 59), *dṛ-* ‘honor’ (VI 18), *kṣí-* ‘waste away’ (I 255), ‘reside, move’ (VI 114), *ví+śrí-* ‘depend on, rely’ (I 945), *iN-* ‘go’ (II 36), *vam-* ‘vomit, throw out’ (I 902), *náñ+vyath-* ‘not tremble’ (I 801), *abhí+am-* ‘attack, hurt’ (I 493), *pári+bhū-* ‘despise’ (I 1) and *prá+sū-* ‘urge, incite, impel’ (VI 115) also (ca) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*jí+ín* = *jay-ín-* ‘victorious, winning’; similarly: *dar-ín-* ‘honoring’; *kṣay-ín-* ‘wasting away’; *vi-śray-ín-* ‘depending on, relying upon’; *aty-ay-ín-* ‘exceeding’; *vam-ín-* ‘vomiting, throwing out’; *a-vyath-ín-* ‘not hurting’; *abhý-am-ín-* ‘attacking’; *pari-bhav-ín-* ‘despising’; *pra-sav-ín-* ‘urging, inciting, impelling’.

### 3.2.158 <sup>1</sup>*spṛh-í-<sup>2</sup>grh-í-<sup>3</sup>pat-í-<sup>4</sup>dáyí-<sup>5</sup>ní-drā-<sup>6</sup>tándrā-<sup>7</sup>śrād-dhā-bhyaḥ=*ālúC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *ālúC* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *spṛh-í-* ‘desire’ (X 325), *grh-í-* ‘grasp, seize’ (X 351), *pat-í-* ‘go’ (X 315), *dáy-* ‘give’ (I 510), *ní-drā-* ‘fall asleep’ (II 45), *tándrā-* ‘be tired’ (II 45), *śrād-dhā-* ‘have faith, believe in’ (III 10) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*spṛh-i+ālú-* = *spṛh-ay-ālú-* (6.4.55) ‘desirous’; similarly: *grh-ay-ālú-* ‘disposed to grasp’; *pat-ay-ālú-* ‘apt to fly or fall’; *day-ālú-* ‘kind, compassionate’; *ni-dr-ālú-* ‘disposed towards sleep, sleepy’; *tan-dr-ālú-* ‘tired, lazy, weary’; *śrad-dh-ālú-* ‘disposed towards faith, trusting’.



### 3.2.159 <sup>1</sup>dā-<sup>2</sup>dheṭ-<sup>3</sup>si-<sup>4</sup>śadā-sad-aḥ=rúḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *rú* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *dā* 'give' (III 9), *dheṭ*- 'drink' (I 951), *si*- 'blind' (V 2), *śad*- 'fall' (I 908, VI 134) and *sad*- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*dā+rú*- = *dā-rú* 'liberal, bounteous'; *dhe+rú*- = *dhā-rú* (6.1.45) = 'suckling (baby)';  
*se-rú*- 'binding'; *śad-rú*- 'unstable, liable to fall down'; *sad-rú*- 'stable, resting'.

### 3.2.160 <sup>1</sup>ṣṛ-<sup>2</sup>ghásī-<sup>3</sup>ad-aḥ Kmarác

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *Kmarác* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *ṣṛ*- 'flow' (I 982, III 17), *ghás*- 'eat' (I 747) and *ad*- 'eat' (II 1) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*ṣṛ+Kmarác* = *ṣṛ-marác*- 'running well, a kind of gazelle'; *ghas-marác*-, *ad-marác*- 'voracious, gluttonous'.

### 3.2.161 <sup>1</sup>bhanjā-<sup>2</sup>bhāśa-<sup>3</sup>míd-aḥ=GHurác

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *GHurác* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *bhanj*- 'break' (VII 16), *bhāś*- 'shine' (I 655) and *míd*- 'be fat' (I 920) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*bhañj+GHurác* = *bhañj-urác*- (7.3.52) 'fragile'; *bhāś-urác*- 'luminous, shining';  
*med-urác*- 'fat, thick'.

### 3.2.162 <sup>1</sup>vidī-<sup>2</sup>bhidī-<sup>3</sup>cchidē-ḥ Kurác

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *Kurác* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *vid*- 'know' (II 55), *bhid*- 'split' (VII 2) and *chid*- 'cut' (VII 3) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*vid+Kurác* = *vid-urác*- 'learned, knowledgeable'; *bhid-urác*- 'fragile, brittle';  
*chid-urác*- 'easily breaking'.

### 3.2.163 <sup>1</sup>iṅ-<sup>2</sup>naś-<sup>3</sup>jí-<sup>4</sup>sar-ti-bhyaḥ KvaraP

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *KvaraP* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *iṅ*- 'go' (II 36), *naś*- 'disappear' (IV 85), *jí*- 'win' (I 59), and *ṣṛ*- 'flow' (I 982, III 17) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$i\dot{N}+K\text{vara}P = \text{f-t}\dot{u}K+\text{vara-} = \text{f-t-}\text{vara-}$  (6.1.71) ‘traveler’;  $n\acute{a}\acute{s}\text{-}\text{vara-}$  ‘perishable, transitory’;  $j\acute{i}\text{-t-}\text{vara-}$  ‘victorious’;  $s\acute{f}\text{-t-}\text{vara-}$  ‘swift, running’.

### 3.2.164 $g\acute{a}\text{-t-}\text{vara-s}=\text{ca}$

(The irregular form)  $g\acute{a}\text{-t-}\text{vara-}$  is introduced [as derived with  $k\acute{f}t$  1.93 affix 1.1  $K\text{vara}P$  163 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93  $gam\text{-}$  (I 1031) to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$gam+K\text{vara}P = ga\emptyset+K\text{vara}P$  (irregular  $\emptyset$  replacement) =  $g\acute{a}\text{-t-}\text{vara-}$  ‘transient, perishable’.

### 3.2.165 $j\grave{a}gu\text{-r } \acute{u}ka\text{-h}$

[The  $k\acute{f}t$  1.93 affix 1.1]  $\acute{u}ka$  is introduced [after 1.1 the verbal stem 1.91]  $j\grave{a}gr\text{-}$  ‘wake up’ (II 63) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$j\grave{a}gr+\acute{u}ka = j\grave{a}gar\text{-}\acute{u}ka\text{-}$  ‘wakeful, alert’.

### 3.2.166 ${}^1yaj\grave{A}\text{-}{}^2j\acute{a}p\grave{A}\text{-}{}^3da\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{a}m\text{ } ya\dot{N}\text{-}a\dot{h}$

[The  $k\acute{f}t$  1.93 affix 1.1  $\acute{u}ka$  165 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91]  $yaj\text{-}$  ‘sacrifice’ (I 1051),  $jap\text{-}$  ‘mutter’ (I 424) and  $da\acute{s}\text{-}$  (=  $dan\acute{s}\text{-}$  I 1038) ‘bite’, co-occurring with the derivative affix  $y\acute{a}\dot{N}$  (of the frequentative stem) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$yaj+ya\dot{N}+\acute{u}ka\text{-} = y\acute{a}\text{-}yaj+ya+\acute{u}ka\text{-} = y\acute{a}yaj\text{-}\emptyset\emptyset+\acute{u}ka\text{-}$  (2.4.74) =  $y\acute{a}\text{-}yaj\text{-}\acute{u}ka\text{-}$  ‘constantly sacrificing’; similarly:  $ja\dot{n}\text{-}jap\text{-}\acute{u}ka\text{-}$  (7.4.86; 2.4.72) ‘constantly muttering’;  $dan\text{-}da\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{u}ka\text{-}$  ‘biting repeatedly’.

### 3.2.167 ${}^1nam\dot{i}\text{-}{}^2k\acute{a}mp\dot{i}\text{-}{}^3sm\dot{i}={}^4\acute{a}\text{-}jas\text{-}{}^5k\acute{a}ma\text{-}{}^6h\dot{i}ms\text{-}{}^7d\acute{i}p\text{-}a\dot{h}=\text{ra-h}$

[The  $k\acute{f}t$  1.93 affix 1.1]  $r\acute{a}\text{-}$  is introduced [after 1.1 the verbal stems 1.91]  $nam\text{-}$  ‘bend, bow down’ (I 1030)  $k\acute{a}mp\text{-}$  ‘tremble’ (I 400),  $sm\dot{i}\text{-}$  ‘smile’ (I 996),  $\acute{a}+jas\text{-}$  ‘not be exhausted’ (IV 102),  $k\acute{a}m\text{-}$  ‘love’ (I 470),  $h\dot{i}ms\text{-}$  ‘injure, hurt’ (VII 19) and  $d\acute{i}p\text{-}$  ‘shine’ (IV 42) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$nam+r\acute{a} = nam\text{-}r\acute{a}\text{-}$  ‘tender, easily bending’;  $k\acute{a}mp\text{-}r\acute{a}\text{-}$  ‘tremulous’;  $sm\dot{i}\text{-}r\acute{a}\text{-}$

'smiling'; *a-jas-rá-* 'inexhaustible'; *kam-rá-* 'loving' ; *hims-rá-* 'predatory';  
*dīp-rá-* 'shining, luminous'.

### 3.2.168 <sup>1</sup>saN=<sup>2</sup>ā-śāmsa-<sup>3</sup>bhīkṣ-aḥ=ú-h

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ú is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] (ending in 1.1.72) the stem-forming affix saN (= marker of the desiderative) and ā+śāms- 'hope' (I 660) and bhīkṣ- 'seek alms, beg' (I 637) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*kṛ+saN+ú* = *ci-kṛ-ṣa+ú* (cf. 1.7) = *ci-kṛ-ṣ+ú-* (6.4.48) = *ci-kṛ-ṣ-ú-* 'wishing to do'; similarly: *ā-śāms-ú-* 'hoping, wishing, desiring'; *bhīkṣ-ú-* 'almsman, medicant, monk'.

### 3.2.169 vind-ú-r icch-ú-h

(The irregular forms) vind-ú- 'intelligent' and icch-ú- 'who desires or wishes' are introduced [as derived with the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ú 168 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem vid- 'know' (II 5) and iṣ- 'wish, desire' (VI 59) to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*vid+u-* = *vid+nuM+ú-* (irregular increment) = *vind-ú-* 'intelligent, disposed to know'; *iṣ+u-* = *ich+ú* (irregular replacement of stem-final by [ch] before a non-Ś-IT affix, cf. 7.3.77) = *icch-ú-* (6.1.73).

### 3.2.170 Kyāt=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ú 168 is introduced after 1.2 a (denominative) verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affixes 1.1 denoted by the cover term] Kyá (= KyáC, KyáÑ and KyáṢ 1.8,11,13 respectively) [to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

1. KyáC: *mitr-ám ātmán-aḥ=icch-á-ti* = *mitra+KyáC* (1.8)+ú- = *mitra-ya+ú-* = *mitra-yḥ-ú-* = *mitra-y-ú-* 'friendly', corresponding to non-Vedic *mitrI-ya+iT+tṛN* (135) = *mītrI-yḥ+i-tṛ-*.
2. *sumná iva ā-car-a-ti* = *sumna+KyáÑ+ú-* = *sumna+yḥ+ú-* = *sumna-y-ú-* 'gracious, benevolent'.
3. *sañ-svedó bháv-a-ti* = *sañ+sved+KyáṢ+ú-* = *sañ-sved+yḥ+ú-* = *sañsveda-y-ú-* (7.4.35) 'perspiring'.

### 3.2.171 <sup>1</sup>āt=<sup>2</sup>r-<sup>3</sup>gama-han-<sup>4</sup>jān-aḥ <sup>1</sup>Kí-<sup>2</sup>Kin-au=IIṬ ca

[In the domain of Chándas 170 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.2] Kí and KiN are introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the phonemes] long [ā] and phoneme-class [r] as well as gam- ‘go’ (I 1031), han- ‘kill, strike’ (II 2) and jan- ‘be born’ (IV 41) and these affixes function like IIṬ ‘Perfect Tense’ [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

Interpretation indicates that the phoneme [t̪] of [āt̪] is not a marker which by 1.1.70 would have constrained the following phoneme [r] to the short variety only; Patañjali even suggests that its replacement [d] in saṁdhi served the purpose of separating the two vowels and is used for ease of pronunciation only. When saṁdhi is separated the alternative reading would be [ãḍ-r̥] in the place of [āt̪-r̥].

1. °-ā:  $pā+Kí = pa-pā+Kí$  (6.1.8; 7.4.59) =  $pa-p\emptyset+i$  (6.4.64)  $pa-p-f-h$  *sóm-am dad-ír gá-h* ‘imbiber of Soma and donor of cattle’ (RV 6.23.4).
2. °-r̥ (phoneme class):  $tṛ+KiN = tá-tṛ+i-$  =  $tá-tur-i-$  (7.4.78 *bahulam chandas-i*) ‘conquering, going over’.
3.  $gam+KiN = já-gam+KiN = ja-g\emptyset m+i-$  (6.4.98) =  $ja-gm-f-$  ‘going’.
4.  $han+KiN = já-han+KiN = ja-h\emptyset n+KiN = já-ghn-i-$  (7.3.54; 4.62) in  $já-ghn-ir vṛtr-ám$  ‘destroyer of V.’ (RV 9.61.20).
5.  $jan+KiN = já-jan+KiN = já-j\emptyset n+KiN = já-jn-i$  *bījam* ‘germinating seed’.

### 3.2.172 <sup>1</sup>svapi-<sup>2</sup>tṛṣ-oh̐=nájiṆ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] nájiṆ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] svap- ‘lie down, sleep’ (II 59) and tṛṣ- ‘be thirsty’ (IV 118) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$svap+nájiṆ = svap-náj-$  ‘sleepy’;  $tṛṣ-ṇaj-$  (8.4.1) ‘thirsty’.

### 3.2.173 <sup>1</sup>śṛ-<sup>2</sup>vándy-or áru-h̐

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] áru is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śṛ- ‘injure, hurt’ (IX 18) and vánd- ‘salute’ (I 11) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

$śṛ+áru-$  = *śar-áru-* ‘injurious’;  $vand-áru-$  ‘saluting’.

### 3.2.174 bhiy-aḥ <sup>1</sup>Krú-<sup>1</sup>KlukaN-au

[The kft 1.93 affixes 1.1] Krú and KlukaN are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bhī- ‘fear’ (III 2) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*bhī+Krú/KlukaN* = *bhī-rú-/bhī-luka-* ‘timid, timorous’.

A vārttika introduces in addition the affix KrukaN: *bhī-ruka-*.

### 3.2.175 <sup>1</sup>sthā-<sup>2</sup>śśA-<sup>3</sup>bhāsA-<sup>4</sup>pśa-<sup>5</sup>kās-aḥ=varáC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] varáC is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91]sthā- ‘stand, remain’ (I 975), śś- ‘rule’ (II 10), bhās- ‘shine’ (I 655), pś- ‘go’ (I 751) and kās- ‘go’ (I 913) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*sthā+varáC* = *sthā-vará-* ‘stationary, immovable’; similarly: *śś-vará-* ‘ruler, lord, master’; *bhās-vará-* ‘luminous, shining’; *pś-vará-, kās-vará-* ‘moving’.

### 3.2.176 y-as=ca yaÑ-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 varáC 175 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yā- ‘go’ (II 40) (ending in 1.1.72 the stem-forming affix) yaÑ (marker of the Intensive or Frequentative 1.22) [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*yā+yaÑ+varáC* = *yā+yā-vará-* ‘vagrant, rambling’.

### 3.2.177 <sup>1</sup>bhrāj-<sup>2</sup>bhās-<sup>3</sup>dhúrvī-<sup>4</sup>dyútA=<sup>5</sup>ūrjī-<sup>6</sup>pṛ-<sup>7</sup>ju-<sup>8</sup>grāva-stuv-aḥ KvīP

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KvīP is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhrāj- ‘shine’ (I 194), bhās- ‘shine’ (I 650), dhúrv- ‘injure’ (I 604), dyút- ‘shine’ (I 777), ūrj- ‘be strong’ (X 16), pṛ ‘fill up’ (IX 19), ju- ‘move rapidly’, grāva+stu- ‘praise the Soma stones’ [to denote the agent’s habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

*vi-bhrāj+KvīP* = *vi-bhrāj+∅* ‘splendid, luminous’; *bhās-* ‘luster, brightness’; *dhurv+KvīP* = *dhúr+∅* (6.4.21) = *dhúr-* ‘yoke, pole or shaft of a wagon’; *vi-dyút-* ‘shining, lightning’; *ūrj-* ‘strength, vigor’; *pṛ+KvīP* = *pur+∅* = *púr-* ‘fortified city’; *ju+KvīP* = *jū-* (irregular replacement by long vowel, contra 6.1.71) ‘swift’; *grāva-stú-t+∅* ‘pressing the Soma stones’.

### 3.2.178 anyé-bhyaḥ=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīP 177] is also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yá-te) as [introduced after 1.2] other (anyé-bhyaḥ) [verbal stems 1.91 to denote the agent's habitual disposition, duty or excellence 134].

yúj+KvīP = yúj+Ø 'joining'; similarly *chíd-* 'cutting', *bhíd-* 'breaking'. The expression [dṛś-yá-te 'seen'] is interpreted as indicating the application of other rules such as replacement of short vowels by long ones as in the case of *jú* (177) or reduplication as in *dī-dyút-* 'shining, glittering', *já-gat-* 'moving', or samprasāraṇa replacement (= vocalization) as in *dī-dyút-* or absence of vocalization as in *vac+KvīP* = *vák-* 'speech, speaking'.

### 3.2.179 bhúv-aḥ <sup>1</sup>saṁjñā=<sup>2</sup>ántaray-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KvīP 177 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū* 'become' (I 1) to form a name or for denoting a surety (*ántara*).

*vi+bhū+KvīP* = *vi-bhū-* 'n.pr. of a person'; *prati-bhū-* 'surety'.

### 3.2.180 <sup>1</sup>ví-<sup>2</sup>prá-<sup>3</sup>sám-bhyaḥ=Ḍú=á-saṁjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *Ḍú* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *bhū-* 179] co-occurring with the preverbs *ví-*°, *prá-*°, *sám-*° when not denoting a name (*á-saṁjñā-yām*).

*vi+bhū+Ḍú* = *vi-bhū+ú-* (6.4.143) = *vi-bh-ú-* 'omnipresent'; similarly: *pra-bh-ú-* 'master, lord'; *sam-bh-ú-* 'sire, progenitor'; but *vi-bhū* 'n.pr.' (179).

### 3.2.181 dh-aḥ kármaṇ-i ṢṭraN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *ṢṭraN* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *dhā-* (= *dheṭ* I 951) 'drink' and *dhā-* 'nourish' (III 10) to denote the object (*kármaṇ-i*) of the verbal stem.

*dháy-anti/dá-dh-ati tām* = *dheṭ+ṢṭraN* = *dhā+ṢṭraN+NīṢ* (4.1.41) *dhā-trí* 'wet nurse'; *dhā+ṢṭraN+NīṢ* = *dhā-trí* = *dá-dh-ati tām bhaisajyārtham* 'they bear it for the purpose of medication: n.pr. *Embolia Officinalis*'.

### 3.2.182 <sup>1</sup>dāP-<sup>2</sup>nī-<sup>3</sup>śása-<sup>4</sup>yu-<sup>5</sup>yuja-<sup>6</sup>stu-<sup>7</sup>tudÁ-<sup>8</sup>si-<sup>9</sup>sicA-<sup>10</sup>mihÁ-<sup>11</sup>páta-<sup>12</sup>daśÁ-<sup>13</sup>nah-ah káraṇe

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṢtraN 181 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dāP- ‘cut’ (II 50), nī- ‘lead’ (I 950), śás- ‘injure’ (I 763), yu- ‘mix’ (II 23), yuj- ‘join’ (VII 7), stu- ‘praise’ (II 34), tud- ‘torment’ (VI 1), si- ‘bind’ (V 2), sic- ‘sprinkle’ (VI 140), mih- ‘urinate’ (I 1041), pá- ‘fly, fall’ (I 898), daś- (= danś- I 1038) ‘bite’, and nah- ‘bind’ (VI 57) to denote an instrument (karaṇe).

*dāP+ṢtraN* = *dā-tra-* ‘sickle’; similarly: *né=trá-* ‘eye’; *śás-a-ti an-éna* = *śás-tra-* ‘weapon’; *yó-tra-* ‘the tie which fastens the yoke’; *yók-tra-* ‘thong, halter’; *stó-tra-* ‘song of praise, eulogy’; *tót-tra-* ‘goad’; *sé-tra-* ‘bond, fetter, ligament’; *sék-tra-* ‘sprinkler’; *méh-a-ti an-éna* = *mih+ṢtraN* = *méh+tra-* = *médh+dhra-* (8.2.31,40; 4.41) = *mēṭh-dhra-* (8.3.13 contra 8.2.1) ‘penis’; *pát-tra-* ‘pinion, feather, vehicle’; *dánś+ṢtraN+TāP* (4.1.4) = *dámś-tra* (8.2.36; 4.1) ‘tooth, tusk’. *náh+ṢtraN* = *nádth+tra-* (8.2.34) = *nádth-dhra-* (8.2.40) + *ÑIṢ* = *nad-dhrf* (8.4.53) ‘a thong’.

### 3.2.183 <sup>1</sup>halá-<sup>2</sup>sūkaráy-oh puv-ah

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṢtraN 181 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pū- ‘purify’ (I 1015, IX 12) [to denote an instrument 182] when it forms a limb of a plough (halá- °) or of a boar (°-sūkará).

*páv-a-te/pu-ná-ti vā anéna* = *pó-tra-* ‘ploughshare/snout of a boar’.

### 3.2.184 <sup>1</sup>ár-ti-<sup>2</sup>lū-<sup>3</sup>dhū-<sup>4</sup>sū-<sup>5</sup>khána-<sup>6</sup>sáhA-<sup>7</sup>cár-ah=ftra-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ítra is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ṛ- ‘go’ (III 16), lū- ‘cut, reap’ (IX 13), dhū- ‘shake’ (IV 115), sū- ‘urge, incite, impel’ (VI 115), khán- ‘dig, excavate’ (I 927), sáh- ‘bear, endure’ (I 905) and cár- ‘move; graze’ (I 591) [to denote an instrument 182].

*fyar-ti anéna* = *ṛ+ítra-* = *ar-itra-* ‘oar’; similarly *lav-ítra-* ‘sickle’; *dhav-ítra-* ‘fan’; *sav-ítra-* ‘an instrument (of production)’; *khan-ítra-* ‘spade’; *sah-ítra-* ‘endurance’; *car-ítra-* ‘behavior, conduct’.

### 3.2.185 puv-ah samjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ítra 184 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pū- ‘purify’ (I 1015, IX 12) [to denote an instrument 182] to derive a name (samjñā-yām).

*páv-a-te/pu-ná-ti an-éna* = *pū+íttra-* = *pav-íttra-* ‘instrument for purification (such as kuśa grass or darbha-grass)’.

### 3.2.186 kartár-i ca=<sup>1</sup>ṣi-<sup>2</sup>devatáy-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ítra 184 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pū- 185 to denote the instrument 182] as well as (ca) the agent (kartár-i) to denote (respectively 1.3.10) a seer (ṣi-°) and a divinity (°-devatáy-oḥ).

*pū-yá-te an-éna* = *pav-íttra-h* = *ṣi-h* ‘the seer is an instrument of purification (i.e., purifier)’; *páv-a-te/pu-ná-ti asaú* = *pav-íttram agní-h*, *sá mā pu-nā-tu* ‘May Agni, the purifier, purify me’.

### 3.2.187 ÑI=IT-ah Ktá-h

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] with IT marker ÑI [when the action refers to the present time 123].

*ÑI-mid-Ā snehan-e* (I 779, IV 133)+*Ktá* = *min-ná-* (8.2.42) ‘grows fat’.

### 3.2.188 <sup>1</sup>máti-<sup>2</sup>búddhi-<sup>3</sup>pūjā=arthe-bhyas=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktá 187 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] signifying wish (máti-°), know (°-búddhi-°) and honor (°-pūjā=artha-) also (ca) [when the action refers to the present time 123].

The two rules 187-8 are exceptions to 102 above where this affix functions when the action refers to the past time.

*man+Ktá* = *maḥ+tá-* (6.4.37): *rājñ-ām ma-táh* ‘is desired by kings’. Similarly *rājñ-ām bud-dhá-h* ‘is known to kings’; *rājñ-ām pūj-i-tá-h* ‘is honored by kings’.

The genitive is used by virtue of 2.3.65.



### 3.3.1 úN=āday-aḥ=bahulám

[The class of kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] beginning with úN is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 when the action refers to the present time 2.123] variously (bahulám) [to form names 2.185].

The word [bahulám] here implies that (a) these affixes are introduced after some verbal bases other than those specified and (b) affixes not specified are inferred from actual usage.

This class of affixes is not taught by Pāṇini in the Aṣṭ. He makes a reference to this class again in 4.75 below. There are many recensions of Uṇādi-sūtras independent of Aṣṭ. but their relationship to P. is not established. Commentaries however quote some illustrations: *vāti=vā+úN = vā+yuk+ú-* (7.3.33) = *vā-y-ú* 'wind, breeze'; *kṛ+úN = kār-ú-* 'doer'.

### 3.3.2 bhūt-é=ápi dṛś-yānte

[The class of kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 beginning with úN 1] are also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yānte) introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] when the action refers to the general past (bhūt-é).

*vṛt-tám idam = vṛt+manīN = vārt-man-* 'way'; *bhas-i-tám tad = bhās-man-* 'ashes' respectively indicating what was trodden and what was burnt, the results of which respectively stand for the notion of 'way/ashes'.

### 3.3.3 bhaviṣyát-i gami(n)=āday-aḥ

(The class of expressions) beginning with [gam-ín-] 'intends to go' are introduced when the action refers to the general future (bhavi-ṣyát-i).

By interpretation (through a vārttika) this is restricted to the general future excluding the current day: *śvo gam-ī grāmam* 'he intends going to the village tomorrow'.

### 3.3.4 <sup>1</sup>yāvat-<sup>2</sup>purā-nipātáy-oḥ=IAT

(The I-substitutes of) IAT 'Present Tense' are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the action refers to the general future time 3] while co-occurring with the particles yāvat 'whenever' and purā 'soon, shortly'.

*yāvad bhunk-té* 'whenever he eats' and *purā bhunk-té* 'will eat shortly'; but when [yāvat] is not a particle: *yāvad dā-syá-ti tāvad bhok-syá-te* 'he will eat as much as he will give'.

### 3.3.5 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>kadā-<sup>2</sup>karhy-óh

[The l-substitutes of IAT (Present Tense) 4] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem when the action refers to the general future 3] when co-occurring with [the particles 4] kadā ‘when’ and karhí ‘id.’

*kadā/karhí + bhuñk-té/bhok-sya-te* ‘when will he eat?’

### 3.3.6 kím-vṛtt-é lipsā-yām

[When the action refers to the general future time 3, the l-substitutes of IAT 4 are optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] when co-occurring with declensional forms of kím- ‘what, which, who’ (and its derivatives: kím-vṛtt-e’) to denote the agent’s desire to gain possession (lipsā-yām).

*kám bhāvanto bhoj-áy-anti?* ‘Whom will you desire to feed?’ = *kám bhāvanto bhoj-ay-i-tā-rah/bhoj-ay-i-syánti*  
*kataró bhikṣám dā-syá-ti / dá-dā-ti/dā-tā* ‘which one desires to give alms?’.

### 3.3.7 lip-sya-m-āna-siddh-áu ca

And (ca) [when the action refers to the general future time 3 the l-substitutes of IAT 4 are optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote success (siddh-au) arising from the fulfilment of what is desired (lip-syá-m-āna-°).

*yó bhaktám dá-dāti/dāsyá-ti/dātā sá svargám gacch-a-ti/gam-i-syá-ti/gan-tā* ‘he who will donate food will go to heaven’. X exhorts Y, the donor, with the promise of heaven as a result of the donation.

### 3.3.8 IOT=artha-lakṣaṇ-é ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the l-substitutes of IAT 4] are also (ca) introduced [optionally 5 after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] if that action characterizes the meanings associated with IOT (Imperative Mood 162) (IOT=artha-lakṣaṇ-é).

*upādhyāyás céd ā-gacch-a-ti/ā-gam-i-sya-ti/ā-gan-tā átha tvám vyākāraṇam ádhi-ṣva* ‘if the teacher comes learn grammar’. The subordinate clause is the characteristic of the Imperative Mood.

### 3.3.9 IIN ca=ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e

[When the action refers to the general future time 3] indicating its happening after a short interval (ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e) [l-substitutes of IAT 4] as well as of IIN (ca) (Optative Mood) are [optionally 5 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, if that action characterises the meanings associated with IOT 8].

*ūrdhvām muhūrtāt / upāri muhūrtā-sya upādhyāyās céd ā-gacch-et/ā-gach-a~~ti~~/*  
*ā-gam-i-sya-ti/ā-gan-tā dītha tvām vyākaraṇam ādhi-sva* ‘if the teacher arrives within a muhurta (i.e., shortly) then study grammar’.

### 3.3.10 <sup>1</sup>tumN=<sup>2</sup>NvuL-au kriyā-yām kriyā-arthā-yām

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] tumN and NvuL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with (another action) which is performed in order to perform this action (kriyā-yām kriyāarthā-yām).

*bhuj+tumN = bhók-tum vrāj-a-ti* ‘goes to eat’ = *bhuj+NvuL = bhój-ako-vrāj-a-ti*

### 3.3.11 bhāva-vācanāś ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] introduced in the section headed by [bhāvé 18 below] are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with another action performed in order to perform this action 10].

*pac+GHañ (18) = pāk-ā- (7.3.52; 6.1.159): pākā-ya vrāj-a-ti* ‘is going to cook’.

### 3.3.12 áN kárman-i ca

[When the action refers to the general future time 3 the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] áN also (ca) is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kárman-i) [and with another action which is performed in order to perform this action 10].

*kāṇḍam lu-nā-ti = kāṇḍa+<sup>1</sup>lū+aN = kāṇḍa-lāv-á+<sup>s</sup>U = kāṇḍa-lāv-ó vrāj-a-ti* ‘is going to cut a branch’.

### 3.3.13 IRṬ śés-e ca

[The l-substitutes of] IRṬ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 when the action refers to the general future time 3] (śés-e) and [when co-occurring with another action which is performed in order to perform this action 10].

1.  $kr+IRṬ = kar-iṭ+syá+ti = kar-i-syá-ti$  (1.33; 7.2.35; 8.3.59) 'he will do/be doing'.
2.  $kar-i-syá-mi=iti vráj-a-ti$  'he goes out to perform or make (something)'.

### 3.3.14 IRṬ-ah SAT=vā

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. SAT (2.127 = ŚátR and ŚānāC) optionally (vā) replace (l-substitutes of) IRṬ.

This is a regulated option [vyavasthita-vibhāṣā]; it is optional with the first sUP triplet but obligatory with other sUP triplets:  $kar-i-syá-n/kar-i-syá-ti$  *devadattá-h* 'D. will be doing', but  $kar-i-syántam/kar-i-syá-m-āṇam$  *deva-dattám pásya* 'look at D. who is about to perform'.

### 3.3.15 án-adya-tan-e IUṬ

[When the action refers to the general future time 3] excluding the current day (án-adya-tan-e) (l-substitutes of) IUṬ (periphrastic or non-sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$éváh kr+IUṬ = éváh kar+tás+Dá$  (1.33; 2.4.85) =  $kar-tṭṭ+á$  (6.4.143) =  $éváh kar-t-á$  'will be doing tomorrow'.

### 3.3.16 <sup>1</sup>padA-<sup>2</sup>ruja-<sup>3</sup>visÁ-<sup>4</sup>sprś-ah=GHaÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affx 1.1] GHaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pad- 'go' (IV 60), ruj- 'afflict' (VI 123), vis- 'enter' (VI 130) and sprś- 'touch' (VI 128).

Beginning with this rule onwards all affixes introduced are valid for all the three times: present, past and future.

$pad-yá-te an-éna = pad+GHaÑ = pād-á-$  (7.2.116; 6.1.159) 'foot';  $ruj-á-ti asaú=róg-a-$  'affliction, disease';  $vis-á-ti asaú = vés-a-$  'tenant';  $sprś-á-i asau=sprś-a-$  'contagious disease', but in other senses affix áC (1.134) operates:  $sprś+áC = sparś-á-$  'touch'.

### 3.3.17 sṛ sthir-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] sṛ- ‘flow’ (I 982, III 17) to denote a stable agent (sthiré).

*sṛ+GHaÑ* = *sār-á-* in *candana-sār-á-* ‘essence of sandal-wood’; but in other senses: *sṛ+trC* = *sar-tr-* ‘moving, flowing’; *°-NvuL* = *sār-aka-* ibid.; by a vārttika GHaÑ is introduced in the following derivations: *atī-sār-á-* ‘dysentery’, *vi-sār-á-* ‘a species of fish’; *sār-á-* ‘strength’.

### 3.3.18 bhāv-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive an action noun (bhāv-é = to denote an action).

*pac+GHaÑ* = *pāk-á-* (cf. 11 above) ‘cooking’; *tyaj+GHaÑ* = *tyāg-á-* ‘abandonment, renunciation’; *ranj+GhaÑ* = *rañj+GHaÑ* (6.4.27) = *rāg-á-* ‘coloring, dying’.

### 3.3.19 á-kartar-i ca kárah-e samjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive forms denoting a kāraka other than the agent (á-kartar-i) when the derivative is a (proper) name (samjñā-yām).

Note: 18 and 19 are governing rules [adhikārā-s] heading this section up to 113 below and will recur in all subsequent rules.

*prá+as-yanti tām* = *pra+as+GHaÑ* = *prās-á-* ‘missile’; *pra+siv+GHaÑ* = *pra-sev-á-* ‘a sack’; *á-har-anti tá-smāt=rasam* = *ā-hār-á-* ‘nourishment, food’; but *miṣ-á-ti=asaú miṣ-áC* (1.194) = *meṣ-á-* ‘ram’.

### 3.3.20 parimaṇa=ākhyā-yām sārve-bhyaḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2] all [verbal stems 1.91] (sārve-bhyaḥ) to denote a measure of capacity (parimāṇa=ākhyā-yām) [and derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

The word [sarvā-] in this rule is to block the affixes áC and aP instead of áC alone (cf. 56-57 below).

*eka-s taṇḍula-ni-cāy-á-h* ‘one heaped measure of rice’ : = *ni+ci+GHaÑ*; exception to áC (56 below); *dv-au éurpa-niṣ-pāv-au* (= *niṣ+pū+GHaÑ*) ‘two winnowing basketfuls of winnowed grain’, exception to aP (57 below).

Normally the meta-rule is that a prior exception blocks only the most contiguous general rule; here by employing the word [sarvā-] in the sūtra this is modified to include the next general rule also.

### 3.3.21 iÑ-as=ca

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] iÑ- (II 37, with adhi-°) ‘study’ [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than that of the agent 19].

Prior exception to áC (56). *ádhi-te enám* = *adhi-i+GHaÑ* = *adhy-āy-á-* ‘lesson’; similarly *up-é-t-ya asmāt=adhī-te* = *upa+ádhi-i+GHaÑ* = *upādhya-āy-á-* ‘preceptor, teacher’.

### 3.3.22 upasarg-é ruv-aḥ

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ru- ‘howl, scream’ (II 24), co-occurring with a preverb (upasarg-é) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Prior exception to aP (57). *sam+ru+GHaÑ* = *sam-rāv-á-* ‘clamor’; so also *upa-rāv-á-*, but *ru+aP* = *rāv-a-* ‘cry’.

### 3.3.23 sám-i <sup>1</sup>yu-<sup>2</sup>dru-<sup>3</sup>duv-aḥ

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] yu- ‘mix’ (II 23), dru- ‘run’ (I 992) and du- ‘burn’ (V 10) co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*sám+yu+GHaÑ* = *sam-yāv-á-* ‘a kind of cake made of molasses and cumin’; similarly: *sam-drāv-á-* ‘a place where people run together’; *sam-dāv-á-* ‘conflagration’. Exceptions to aP (57); but *pra+yu+aP* = *pra-yav-á-* ‘mingling, mixing’.

### 3.3.24 <sup>1</sup>śri-<sup>2</sup>nī-<sup>3</sup>bhūv-aḥ=anyatará-syām

[The křt 1.93 affix GHaÑ 16] is optionally (anyatará-syām) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śri- ‘resort to’ (I 945), nī ‘lead’ (I 950) and bhū- ‘become’ (I 1) [to derive action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*śri+GHaÑ* = *śrāy-á-* ‘shelter’; similarly *nāy-á-* ‘guidance, leadership’; (both exceptions to áC 956), but *pra+śri+áC* = *pra-śray-á-* ‘respect’ and *pra-ṇay-a-* ‘love, affection’.

*bhū+GHaÑ* = *bhāv-á-* ‘state, condition, becoming, activity’, but *pra+bhū+aP* (57) = *pra-bhav-á-* ‘origin, source’.

### 3.3.25 v-aú <sup>1</sup>kṣu-<sup>2</sup>sruv-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] kṣu- ‘sneeze’ (II 27) and śru- ‘hear, listen’ (I 989) [to form action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] when co-occurring with the preverb ví-°.

*vi-kṣu+GHaÑ* = *vi-kṣāv-á-* ‘sneezing; cough’ *vi-śrāv-á-* ‘noise’, but *kṣu+aP* (57) = *kṣāv-a-*, *śrāv-a-*.

### 3.3.26 <sup>1</sup>áva=<sup>2</sup>úd-or niy-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] nī- ‘lead’ (I 950), co-occurring with preverbs áva-° or ud-° [to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to áC (56). *áva+nI+GHaÑ* = *áva-nāy-á-* ‘depression’, and *un-nāy-á-* ‘elevation’. But *nI+áC* = *nay-á-* ‘conduct’.

### 3.3.27 pr-é <sup>1</sup>drú-<sup>2</sup>stu-<sup>3</sup>sruv-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] drú- ‘run’ (I 91), stu- ‘praise’ (II 34) and sru- ‘flow’ (I 987), co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exceptions to aP (57): *pra+dru+GHaÑ* = *pra-drāv-á-* ‘flight’; *pra-stāv-á-* ‘introductory eulogy or praise’; *pra-srāv-á-* ‘urination’; but *dráv-a(P)/stáv-a-/sráv-a-* meaning ‘fluid/praise/flow’ respectively.

### 3.3.28 <sup>1</sup>nís=<sup>2</sup>abhy-óḥ <sup>1</sup>pū-<sup>2</sup>lv-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] pū ‘purify’ (I 1015, IX 12) and lū- ‘cut’ (IX 13), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with the preverbs nís-° and abhí-° [to derive action nouns 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to aP (57); *nís+pū+GHaÑ* = *nís-pāv-á-* ‘a species of pulse’, but *pū+aP* = *pāv-a-* ‘purification’. *abhi-lāv-á-* ‘reaping’ but *lū+aP* = *lāv-a-* ‘cutting’.

### 3.3.29 <sup>1</sup>ud=<sup>2</sup>ny-or gr-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] gṛ- 'swallow' (VI 117), 'sound' (IX 28), co-occurring with the preverbs °úd-° or ní-° [to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*ud+gṛ+GHaÑ* = *ud-gār-á-* 'roaring'; *ni-gār-á-* 'consuming', but *gar-á(C)* (I 134) 'swallowing'. Exception to aP (57).

### 3.3.30 kṛ dhāny-è

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛ- 'scatter' (vI 116)[co-occurring with the preverbs úd-° or ní-° 29 to derive an action noun to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] to denote corn or grain (dhāny-é).

*ud+kṛ+GHaÑ* = *ut-kār-á-* 'piling up (of corn, etc.)'; *ni-kār-á-* 'winnowing (of corn etc.)'. But when corn is not implied: *ut+kṛ+aP* = *ut-kar-á-* 'heap' and *puspa-ni-kar-á-* 'a posy of flowers'.

### 3.3.31 yajñ-é sám-i stuv-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] stu- 'praise, eulogize' (II 34), co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify a sacrificial place (yajñ-é).

*sam+stu+GHaÑ* = *saṁ-stāv-á-* = *saṁ-é-t-ya stuv-ánti yá-smin déśe* 'a sacrificial place where Sāman singers chant together'. But *sam+stu+aP* (57) = *saṁ-stav-á-* 'praising together'.

### 3.3.32 pr-é str-aḥ=á-yajñ-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] stṛ- 'strew, spread, cover' (IX 14), co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to designate (something) unconnected with a sacrifice (á-yajñ-e).

*pra+stṛ+GHaÑ* = *pra-stār-á-* 'bed, carpet'; as in *śaṅkha-pra-stār-á-* 'a bed of conches' or *puspa-pra-stār-á-* 'a carpet of flowers' but *barhiṣ-pra-star-á(P)* (57) 'a sacrificial bed of kuśa grass'.



### 3.3.33 práthan-e v-aú=á-śabd-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 stṛ- 32] co-occurring with the preverb ví-° [to derive an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying an extension (práthan-e) unconnected with (articulated) sound (á-śabd-e).

*vi+stṛ+GHaÑ* = *vi-stār-á-* : *paṭa-sya vi-stār-á-h* ‘width of a cloth’; but *vācas-ām vi-star-á(P)-h* ‘prolixity of speech’.

### 3.3.34 chando-nāmn-í ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 stṛ- 32, co-occurring with the preverb ví-° 33 to derive an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] also (ca) to indicate the name of a metre (chando-nāmn-í).

*vi-stār-á-* as a prior member of compounds: *vi-stār-á-pank-ti-/°-bṛhatī* ‘n.pr. of two Vedic metres’. Retroflexion by 8.3.94.

### 3.3.35 úd-i grah-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *grah-* ‘seize’ (IX 61) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*úd+grah+GHaÑ* = *ud-grāh-á-* ‘the act of lifting up’; By a vārttika the following two derivatives are introduced in the domain of Chāndas with this affix: *ud-grābh-á-* ‘the act of lifting up the sacrificial ladle’, and *ni-grābh-á-* ‘the act of lowering it’.

### 3.3.36 sám-i muṣṭ-aú

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 *grah-* 35] co-occurring with the preverb sám-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating the fist (muṣṭ-aú).

*mallá-sya saṁ-grāh-á-h* ‘wrestler’s fist-hold’, but *dhānyà-sya saṁ-grah-á(P)* ‘collection of grain’ (58 below).

### 3.3.37 <sup>1</sup>pári-<sup>2</sup>ny-ór <sup>1</sup>nī-<sup>2</sup>iN-or <sup>1</sup>dyūtá-<sup>2</sup>ābhreṣa-yoḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] nī- 'lead' (I 950) and iN 'go' (II 36), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with preverbs pári- ° and ní- ° [to form action nouns 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] (respectively 1.3.10) to signify a game of chance (dyūtá- °) and non-infraction (in law) (ā-bhre-ṣay-oḥ).

*pári+ni+GHaÑ* = *pari-ñāy-á-* 'movement of chessmen on the chess board' but *pari-ñay-á(C)* (56) 'wedding'.  
*ní+iN+GHaÑ* = *ni+āy-á-* = *ny-āy-á-* 'non-infraction, propriety', but *ny-ay-á(C)* 'going off, loss, destruction'.

### 3.3.38 pá-r-au=án-upa=atyay-e=iN-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] iN- 'go' (II 36), co-occurring with the preverb pári- ° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying regular succession (án-upa=atyay-e).

*pári+iN+GHaÑ* = *pary-āy-á-* 'turn, privilege, opportunity', but *pary-ay-á(C)* (56) 'passage; lapse'.

### 3.3.39 <sup>1</sup>ví=<sup>2</sup>úpay-oḥ śete-ḥ pary-āy-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] śī- (11 22), 'lie down, sleep' co-occurring with the preverbs ví- ° or úpa- ° [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating 'turn, privilege, opportunity' (pary-āy-é).

*vi+śī+GHaÑ* = *vi-śāy-á-* = *vi-śāy-i-tum pary-āy-á-* 'turn to sleep'; *upa-śāy-á-* = *upa-śāy-itum pary-āy-á-* 'turn to follow in sleep'; but *vi-śay-á(C)* (56) 'doubt', *upa-śay-á-* 'sleeping near'.

### 3.3.40 hasta=ā-dān-é ce-r á-stey-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] ci- 'collect, heap, pile' (V 5) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify 'taking in hand' (hasta=ā-dān-é) excluding 'stealing' (á-stey-e).

*puṣpa-pra-cāy-á-* 'assembling flowers by hand', but *vykṣa-śikhar-é phala-pra-cay-ám (+áC)* (56) *kar-ó-ti* 'collects fruit on top of the tree'. Similarly *puṣpa-pra-cay-á-* 'collecting flowers by theft'.

### 3.3.41 <sup>1</sup>nivāsá-<sup>2</sup>cíti-<sup>3</sup>śārīra-<sup>4</sup>upa-sam-ā-dhāne-ṣu ādés=ca ka-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 40] and the phoneme [k] replaces its initial (ādé-ḥ) [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to designate: a residence (nivāsá), funeral pyre (cíti), the body (śārīra) and accumulation (upa-sam-ā-dhāna).

*ci+GHaÑ = ki+GHaÑ = kāy-á-* in : *cikhalli-ni-kāy-á-* 'n.pr. of an inhabited place'; *ā-kāy-á-* (*agni-*) 'funeral fire'; *a-nitya-kāy-á-* 'impermanent body' *gomaya-ni-kāy-á-* 'accumulation of cow-dung cakes'.

### 3.3.42 saṁgh-é ca=án-auttarādhary-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 ci- 40 and phoneme [k] replaces its initial phoneme 41 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] designating an orderly assemblage (saṁgh-é) not involving confusion (an-auttarādhary-e).

*bhikṣuka-ni-kāy-á-* 'an orderly assembly of almsmen', but *sūkara-ni-cay-á-* (*áC*) (56) 'a herd of hogs'.

Since the rule refers to animate beings, affix *áC* operates in *pra-māṇa-sam-uc-cay-á-* 'a collection of the means of knowledge'.

### 3.3.43 karma-vy-ati-hār-é Nác striy-ām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Nác is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18, denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] expressing reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hār-é) and ending in (1.1.72) a feminine affix (striy-ām).

*vi+avá+kruś+Nác+aÑ* (5.4.14)+*ÑiP* (4.1.15) = *vy-áva-kroś-i* (6.1.97; 4.148; 7.3.6) 'mutual reproach'.

### 3.3.44 abhi-vidh-aú bhāv-é=inuÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] inuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] to signify a state or condition (bhāv-é) for expressing co-extension (abhi-vidh-aú).

*sam+kūṭ+inuN+dN* (5.4.15) = *sam-kūṭ-in-ām* (6.4.164) 'total conflagration'.

The repetition of the word [bhāve] here when it is already recurring from 18 above is to block out GHaÑ; when [abhi-vidhī] is not expressed: *sam+kūṭ+GHaÑ* = *sam-koṭ-á-* 'conflagration'.

### 3.3.45 ā-kroś-é=<sup>1</sup>áva-<sup>2</sup>ny-ór grāh-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *grah-* 'seize' (IX 61) co-occurring with the preverbs áva-° or ní-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying malediction (ā-kroś-é).

*ava+grah+GHaÑ* = *ava-grāh-á-* 'curse, imprecation' but *ava-grah+á(P)* (58) 'separation (of a padá into stem and affix)', similarly *ni-grāh-á-* 'punishment, chastisement', but *ni-grah-á(P)* (58) 'restraining, controlling'.

### 3.3.46 pr-é lipsā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 45] co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when expressing a desire to acquire (*lipsā-yām*).

*pra+grah+GHaÑ* = *pra-grāh-á- pātra-pra-grāh-éna cár-a-ti bhikṣú-h-* 'the almsman/mendicant moves around, holding a vessel with the desire to collect food', but *pra-grah-á(P)* 'seizing, grasping'.

### 3.3.47 pár-au yajñ-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 45] co-occurring with the preverb pári-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when signifying (something) pertaining to a sacrifice (*yajñ-é*).

*pari-grah+GHaÑ* = *pari-grāh-á- : utara-pari-grāh-á-* 'northern fencing of the sacrificial altar' but *pari-grah-á(P)* (58) 'surrounding, encircling'.

### 3.3.48 n-aú vṛ dhāny-è

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vṛ-* 'choose' (IX 38), 'cover' (V 8), co-occurring with the preverb ní-° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] to specify (a particular variety of) grain (*dhāny-è*).

*ní-vṛ-ṇo-ti enám* = *ni+vṛ+GHaÑ* = *nī-vār-á-* (6.3.112) ‘a kind of wild rice’, but  
*ni-var-á(P)* (58)+*TāP* = *ni-var-á kanyā* ‘unmarried daughter/girl, virgin’.

### 3.3.49 úd-i <sup>1</sup>śráy-a-ti-<sup>2</sup>yaú-ti-<sup>3</sup>pū-<sup>4</sup>druv-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] śri- ‘rest, lean on, take refuge in, resort to’, yu- ‘mix’ (II 23), pū- ‘purify’ (I 1015, IX 12) and dru- ‘run’ (I 992) co-occurring with the preverb úd-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*ud+śri+GHaÑ* = *uj-śrāy-á-* (8.4.40) = *uc-chrāy-á-* (8.4.55,63) ‘rising (of a planet)’;  
 similarly *ud+yāv-á-* ‘blending’; *ut-pāv-á-* ‘purifying (ghee)’; *ud-drāv-á-* ‘flight, running away’.

### 3.3.50 vibhāṣā=áÑ-i <sup>1</sup>ru-<sup>2</sup>pluv-oḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] ru- ‘howl, scream’ (II 24) and plu- ‘float’ (I 1007) co-occurring with the preverb áÑ-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*á+ru+GHaÑ/aP* (57) = *ā-rāv-á-/ā-rav-á* ‘howling, screaming’; *ā+plu+GHaÑ/aP* = *ā-plāv-á-/ā-plav-á-* ‘bathing, ablution’.

### 3.3.51 áv-e grah-aḥ=varṣa-prati-bandh-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- ‘seize, grasp’ (IX 61), co-occurring with the preverb áva-° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] signifying obstruction to precipitation (varṣa-pari-bandh-é).

*áva+grah+GHaÑ+aP* = *ava-grāh-á-/°-grah-á-* (58) ‘drought, withholding rain’.

### 3.3.52 pr-é vañij-ām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] grah- 51] co-occurring with the preverb prá-° [to form an action noun denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] for expressing something relating to merchants or traders (vañij-ām).

By interpretation the item denoted is the string of the balance by which it is held while weighing: *tulā-pra-grāh-á-/pra-grahá-* = *tulā prá-grhya-te yéna sūtr-ena*.

### 3.3.53 raśm-aú ca

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* 51, co-occurring with the preverb *prá-*° 52 to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] signifying ‘rein, bridle’ (*raśm-aú*).

*prá+grah+GHaÑ/aP* = *pra-grāh-a/grah-á-*.

### 3.3.54 vṛ-ṇó-te-r ā-cchādan-e

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *vṛ-* ‘cover’ (V 8) [co-occurring with the preverb *prá-*° 52 to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] when expressing a covering (*ā-cchādan-e*).

*pra+vṛ+GhaÑ/aP* = *prā-vār-á-* /*pra-vār-á-* (6.3.122) ‘a coverlet, covering’, but  
*pra-var-á+TāP* = *pra-var-á gau-ḥ* ‘an excellent cow’.

### 3.3.55 pár-au bhúv-aḥ=ava-jñān-e

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 16 is optionally 50 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *bhū-* ‘become’(I 1), co-occurring with the preverb *pári-*° [to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] when expressing disrespect (*ava-jñān-e*) [optionally 50].

*pari+bhū+GHaÑ/ap* = *pari-bhāv-á-* /°-*bhav-á-* ‘insult, humiliation, disgrace’, but  
*sarvā-taḥ=bhāv-anam* = *pari-bhav-á(P)-* ‘enclosing, containing, surrounding’.

### 3.3.56 e-r áC

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] *áC* is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [°-i] [to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *iN+áC-* = *e+á-* = *ay-á-* ‘moving towards the right (in chess)’; similarly: *cay-á-* ‘heaping, piling’; *jay-á-* ‘victory’, etc.

### 3.3.57 ṛd-o-r aP

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] *aP* is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ṛ] or the phoneme-class [u] [to form an action noun 18 denoting a *kāraka* other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16.  $^{\circ}\text{-}\text{ṣ} : \text{kṣ}+aP = \text{kár-a-}$  ‘a ray of light; tax’ similarly:  $\text{śár-a-}$  ‘arrow’;  $\text{gár-a-}$  ‘poison’.

$^{\circ}\text{-u} : \text{yu}+aP = \text{yáv-a}$  ‘barley’  $\text{stáv-a-}$  ‘eulogy, panegyric’;  $\text{lā}+aP = \text{lāv-a}$  ‘reaping’;  $\text{pāv-a-}$  ‘winnowing purifying’.

### 3.3.58 $^1\text{grah}\bar{\text{A}}\text{-}^2\text{vr}\text{-}^3\text{dṣ}\text{-}^4\text{nís=ci-gam-aḥ=ca}$

[The  $\text{kṣt}$  1.93 affix 1.1  $aP$  57] is also introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91]  $\text{grah-}$  ‘seize, grasp’ (IX 61),  $\text{vr-}$  ‘cover’ (V 8), ‘choose’ (IX 38),  $\text{dṣ-}$  ‘injure’ (V 34), ‘honor’ (VI 118),  $\text{nís+ci-}$  (V 5) ‘ascertain’ and  $\text{gam-}$  ‘go’ (I 1031) [to form an action noun 18 to denote a  $\text{kāraka}$  other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16 and in the case of [ci-] to áC 56.  $\text{grah}+aP = \text{gráh-a-}$  ‘holding, grasping, a planet’;  $\text{vár-a-}$  ‘choice, boon’ or ‘enclosing, covering’  $\text{dár-a-}$  ‘cave’  $\bar{\text{a}}\text{-dar-á-}$  ‘respect, honor’;  $\text{nís-cay-á-}$  ‘ascertainment’;  $\text{gám-a-}$  ‘march’.

### 3.3.59 $\text{upasarg-é ad-aḥ}$

[The  $\text{kṣt}$  1.93 affix 1.1  $aP$  57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91]  $\text{ad-}$  ‘eat, consume’ (II 1), co-occurring with a preverb [to form an action noun 18 to denote a  $\text{kāraka}$  other than the agent 19].

Exception to GhaÑ 16.  $\text{ví-ad}+aP = \text{vi}+ghas+aP$  (2.4.38) =  $\text{vi-ghas-á-}$  ‘devourer, eater’, but  $ghás-á-$  ‘food’.

### 3.3.60 $\text{n-aú Ṇá ca}$

[The  $\text{kṣt}$  1.93 affix 1.1  $aP$  57] as well as (ca)  $\bar{\text{Ná}}$  are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91  $\text{ad-}$  59] co-occurring with the pre-verb  $\text{ní-}^{\circ}$  [to form an action noun 18 to denote a  $\text{kāraka}$  other than the agent 19].

$\text{ni}+ad+aP/\bar{\text{Ná}} = \text{ni-ghas-á-}/\text{ny-ād-á-}$  ‘eating, consuming’.

### 3.3.61 $^1\text{vyadh}\bar{\text{A}}\text{-}^2\text{jáp-or án-upasarg-e}$

[The  $\text{kṣt}$  1.93 affix 1.1  $aP$  57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91]  $\text{vyadh-}$  ‘pierce’ (IV 72) and  $\text{jáp-}$  ‘mutter’ (I 424) when not co-occurring with a preverb ( $\bar{\text{án-upasarg-e}}$ ) [to form action nouns 18 to denote a  $\text{kāraka}$  other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16.  $\text{vyadh}+aP = \text{vyádha-a-}$  ‘wound’, but  $\bar{\text{a}}+\text{vyadh}+\text{GHaÑ}+\text{TāP}$  (4.1.4) =  $\bar{\text{a-vyādh-á-}}$  ‘the art of piercing’.

*jap+aP = jāp-a-* ‘muttering, murmuring’, but *upa+jap+GHaÑ = upa-jāp-á-* ‘a kind of sacred hymn’.

### 3.3.62 <sup>1</sup>svánÁ-<sup>2</sup>hás-or vā

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sván- ‘resound’ (I 879) and hás- ‘laugh’ (I 757) [to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19 when not co-occurring with preverbs 61].

*svan+GHaÑ/aP = svān-á-/sván-a-* ‘sound, resounding’ but *pra+svan+GHaÑ = pra-svān-á-* ‘loud noise’.

Similarly: *hās-á/hás-a-* ‘laughter’, but *pra-hās-á-* ‘irony’.

### 3.3.63 yam-aḥ <sup>1</sup>sám-<sup>2</sup>úpa-<sup>3</sup>ní-<sup>4</sup>ví-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 62 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] yam- ‘restrain’ (I 1033), (whether) co-occurring with preverbs sám- °, úpa- °, ní- ° or ví- ° [or not 61 to form an action noun 18 to denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*sám+yam+GhaÑ/aP = saṁ-yām-á-/°-yam-á-* ‘control, restraint’; similarly: *upa-yām-á-/°-yām-á-* ‘marriage’; *ní-yām-á-/°-yam-á-* ‘rule, restriction’; *vi-yām-á-/°-yam-á-* ‘patience, forbearance’ *yām-á-/yām-a-* ‘control’.

### 3.3.64 n-aú <sup>1</sup>gádÁ-<sup>2</sup>nádÁ-<sup>3</sup>paṭhÁ-sván-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 62 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] gád- ‘speak’ (I 53), nád- ‘resound’ (I 551), paṭh- ‘recite, read’ (I 91) and sván- ‘reverberate’, co-occurring with the preverb ní- ° [to form action nouns 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*ní+gad+GHaÑ/aP = ní-gād-á-/°-gad-á-* ‘recitation’; *ní-nād-á-/ní-nad-á-* ‘sound’; *ní-pāṭh-á-/ní-paṭh-á-* ‘reading’; *ní-svān-á-/ní-svan-á-* ‘resounding, reverberation’.

### 3.3.65 kvāṇ-aḥ=vīṇā-yāṁ=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is optionally 62 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kvāṇ- ‘jingle’ (I 477) [co-occurring 64 or not 61 with the preverb ní- ° 64 to form an action noun 18 denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] when designating the musical instrument (vīṇā ‘lute’).



By interpretation the musical instrument is designated only when accompanied by the preverb: (a) when co-occurring with [ní-°]: *ni-kvāṇ-á-/ni-kvaṇ-á-* 'musical note (on the *vīṇā*)'; (b) not co-occurring with any preverb: *kvāṇ-á-/kvaṇ-á-* 'sound'; (c) designating the lute: *kalyāṇa-pra-kvaṇ-á vīṇā* 'a true-sounding lute'.

### 3.3.66 nítyam páṇ-aḥ pari-māṇ-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] is necessarily (nítyam) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] páṇ- 'barter, exchange, trade' (I 466) [to form an action noun 18 or denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] for designating a measure (pari-māṇ-e).

*páṇ+aP* = *páṇ-a-* 'handful' in *mūlaka-paṇ-á-* 'a handful of radishes', but when not designating a measure: *paṇ+GHaÑ* = *pāṇ-á-* 'exchange, trade, barter'.

### 3.3.67 mād-aḥ=án=upasarg-e

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] mād- 'intoxicate, exhilarate' (IV 99), when not co-occurring with any preverb (án-upasarg-e) [to form an action/or designating a kāraka other than the agent 19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *mad+aP* = *mād-a-* 'pride, intoxication' as in *vidyā-mad-á-* 'pride of knowledge', *dhana-mad-á-* 'pride of wealth' etc., but *ud+mad+GHaÑ* = *un-mād-á-* 'insanity'; *pra-mād-á-* 'error'.

### 3.3.68 <sup>1</sup>pra-mad-á-<sup>2</sup>sam-mad-aú hars-e

(The irregular forms) *pra-mad-á-* and *sam-mad-á-* are introduced as derived [with kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 mād- 67] to express 'joy' (*hars-é*).

This is an exception to the preceding rule which blocks aP when [mād-] co-occurs with preverbs: *kanyā-n-ām pra-mad-á-ḥ* 'the joy of maidens'; *kokilā-n-ām sam-mad-á-ḥ* 'the rejoicing of cuckoos', but *pra-mād-á-* 'error'.

### 3.3.69 <sup>1</sup>sám-<sup>2</sup>úd-or áj-aḥ paśú-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] áj- 'go' (I 248) co-occurring with preverbs sám-° or úd-° [to form action nouns 18 or denoting a kāraka other than the agent 19] for designating (something) pertaining to beasts (*paśú-ṣu*).

*sam+aj+aP* = *sam-aj-á-h* *paśú-n-ām* ‘a herd of animals’ so also *ud-aja-á-h* *paśú-n-ām* ‘driving of cattle’; but *sam-aj-á-h* ‘a community (of human beings)’ and *ud-aj-á-* ‘marching (of human beings, such as warriors, etc.)’.

### 3.3.70 akṣé-ṣu gláh-aḥ

(The irregular expression) *gláh-a-* is introduced as derived with [kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57, introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *grah-* ‘seize’ (IX 61) to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify ‘gambling with dice (*akṣé-ṣu*).

While aP has already been indicated in 58 above after *grah-*, the present rule is meant to indicate the irregular replacement of phoneme [r] by [l]: *grah+aP* = *gláh-a-* ‘a throw of dice’ but in other senses *gráh-a-* 58.

### 3.3.71 pra-jan-é sar-te-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *sṛ-* ‘flow’ (I 982, III 17) [to form an action noun or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify first impregnation (*pra-jan-é*).

*gav-ām upa-sar-á-h* ‘first covering of cows’.

### 3.3.72 hv-aḥ sam-pra-sāraṇaṁ ca <sup>1</sup>ní=<sup>2</sup>abhí=<sup>3</sup>úpa=<sup>4</sup>ví-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *hve-* ‘summon, challenge’ (I 1057), co-occurring with preverbs *ní-°*, *abhí-°*, *úpa-°* and *ví-°*, and *sam-pra-sāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces [the semi-vowel 1.1.45, to form an action noun or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 18-19].

Exception to GHaÑ 16. *ni+hve+aP* = *ni-hu∅+aP* = *ni-hav-á-* ‘invocation’; similarly: *abhi-hav-á-* ‘calling near’; *upa-hav-á-* ‘invitation’; *vi-hav-á-* ‘invocation’, but *pra+hve+GHaÑ* = *pra=hvā+yuk+GHaÑ* (6.1.45; 7.3.33) = *pra-hvā-y-á-* ‘invocation’.

While these derivatives can normally be derived from the verbal stem [hu- III 1] the present rule is to block GHaÑ after [hve-] when co-occurring with these four preverbs.

### 3.3.73 āñ-i yuddh-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hve- 72 with samprasāraṇa replacement of its semivowel 72] when co-occurring with the preverb āñ- ° [to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for signifying a battle (yuddh-é).

$\acute{a}+hve+aP = \acute{a}+hu\emptyset+aP = \acute{a}-hav-\acute{a}- = \acute{a}-h\bar{u}-yante\ asm\acute{in}$  'battle, strife'. In other senses  $\acute{a}=hve+GHa\tilde{N} = \acute{a}-hv\acute{a}-y-\acute{a}-$  'invocation'.

### 3.3.74 ni-pān-am ā-hāv-á-ḥ

(The irregular form) ā-hāv-á- is introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem hve- 72 to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] for designating a drinking trough (ni-pān-am).

$\acute{a}+hve+aP = \acute{a}+hu\emptyset+aP = \acute{a}-h\bar{a}v-\acute{a}-$  (with irregular samprasāraṇa and vṛddhi replacement); in other meanings:  $\acute{a}-hv\acute{a}-y-\acute{a}-$  (cf. 73).

### 3.3.75 bhāv-é=án-upa-sarga-sya

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 hve-, with samprasāraṇa replacement of its semi-vowel 72] when not co-occurring with preverbs to form an action noun (bhāv-é).

The use of the word [bhāv-é] here when it already recurs from 18 above is for the purpose of blocking out the recurrence of 19.  $hve+aP = hu\emptyset+aP = h\bar{a}v-a-$  'calling'. But  $\acute{a}-hv\acute{a}-y-\acute{a}-$ .

### 3.3.76 han-as=ca vadh-á-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) [not co-occurring with preverbs 75, to form an action noun 75] while the substitute vadh-á- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the verbal stem.

$han+aP = vadh-\acute{a}+aP = vadh+\emptyset+\acute{a}P$  (6.4.148; 1.161) =  $vadh-\acute{a}-$  'killing, slaying, striking'; when action [bhāvá] is not indicated:  $han+GHa\tilde{N} = ghat+GHa\tilde{N}$  (7.3.32,54) =  $ghāt-\acute{a}-$  'a blow'; similarly  $pra-ghāt-\acute{a}-$  'combat, battle'.

The expression [ca] in the rule is not related to [vadh-á] replacement, and consequently permits introduction of the general affix GHa $\tilde{N}$  16 in  $ghāt-\acute{a}-$ .

### 3.3.77 mûrt-au ghaná-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] and the substitute ghan-á- replaces the (whole 1.1.55) verbal stem [to form an action noun 18] to denote a solid mass (mûrt-au).

*han+aP = ghaná+aP = ghan+Ø+áP (6.4.48; 1.161) = ghan-á- in abhra-ghan-á- 'a solid mass of clouds'.*

### 3.3.78 antar-ghan-á-ḥ=deś-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with the indeclinable antár- ° [and the substitute ghan-á- replaces the whole 1.1.55 of the verbal stem 76 to form an action noun or to denote a káraka other than the agent 18-19] for designating the name of a region or place (deś-é).

*antár+han+aP = antar-ghan-Ø+áP = antar-ghan-á- 'n.pr. of a region in the Vāhika country', alternating with antar-ghan-á-.*

While designating a non-region: *antár han-yánte prāñm-aḥ átra = antár+han+GHaÑ = antar-ghāt-á- 'slaughter house'.*

### 3.3.79 agāra=eka-deś-é <sup>1</sup>pra-ghan-á=<sup>2</sup>pra-ghāṇ-aú ca

(The irregular expressions) pra-ghan-á- and pra-ghāṇ-á- are introduced [as derived with kṛt .93 affix 1.1 aP introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb prá- ° [to form an action noun 18 or denote a káraka other than the agent 19] for designating a porch or portico before the entrance of a house (agāra=eka-deś-é).

*prá+han+aP = pra-ghan-á+aP = pra-ghan-á-/ 'ghāṇ-á- (6.4.48; 1.161; 8.4.2), but pra+han+GHaÑ = pra-ghāt-á- (cf. 76).*

### 3.3.80 ud-ghan-á-ḥ aty-ā-dhāna-m

(The irregular form) ud-ghan-á- is introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.93 han- 76], co-occurring with the preverb úd- ° [and substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.55) 77 to form an action noun 18 or denote a káraka other than the agent 19] designating a carpenter's bench (aty-ā-dhāna).

*úd+han+aP = ud-ghan-á-; ud+han+GHaÑ = ud-ghāt-á-'striking'.*

### 3.3.81 apa-ghan-á-ḥ=áṅga-m

[The irregular form) apa-ghan-á- is introduced [as derived with the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb ápa-° [with substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem(1.1.5) 77 to form an action noun 18 or denote a káraka other than the agent 19] to signify a limb (áṅga-m).

*ápa+han+aP = apa+ghan-á+aP = apa-ghan-∅+áP = apa-ghan-á- but*  
*apa+han+GHaÑ = apa-ghāt-á- 'striking off'.*

By interpretational restriction [apa-ghan-á] denotes either 'hand' or 'foot'.

### 3.3.82 káraṇ-e <sup>1</sup>áyas=<sup>2</sup>ví-<sup>3</sup>drú-ṣu

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with áyas-° 'metal, iron', preverb ví-° and drú- 'wood' [with substitute ghan-á replacing the whole of the verbal stem (1.1.55) 77 to form a derivative denoting a káraka other than the agent 19] to signify an instrument (káraṇ-e).

*áyo han-yá-te an-éna = áyas+han+aP = ayas+ghan-á+aP = ayas+ghan-∅+áP =*  
*ayo-ghan-á (8.2.66; 6.1.87,113) 'hammer' similarly: vi-ghan-á- 'mallet' and*  
*drú-ghan-á-/ghan-á- 'hoe or sickle for cutting grass'.*

### 3.3.83 stamb-é Ká ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57] as well as (ca) Ká are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76 with substitute ghan-á 77 replacing the whole of it 1.1.55] when co-occurring with the [nominal padá 1.4] stambá- 'a clump of grass' [to form an action noun 18 or denote a káraka other than the agent 19 to signify an instrument 82].

*stambá-ḥ han-yá-te an-éna = stamba+han+aP/Ká = stamba+ghan-á+aP/Ká =*  
*stamba-ghan-∅+áP = stamba-ghan-á-/stamba-han+Ká = stamba+hṭn+Ká*  
*(6.4.98) = stamba-ghn-á- (6.3.54) 'a hoe or sickle for cutting grass'.*

### 3.3.84 pár-au ghá-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 han- 76] co-occurring with the preverb pári-°, and the substitute ghá- replaces the whole (1.1.55) of the verbal stem [to form an action noun 18 or denote a káraka other than the agent 19, designating an instrument 82].

*pári-han-ya-te an-éna* = *pári+han+aP* = *pari+ghá+aP* = *pari-ghØ+áP* = *pari-gh-á-/pali-gh-á-* (8.2.22) 'iron bar or beam used for locking doors'.

### 3.3.85 *upa-ghn-á-h ā-sray-é*

(The irregular expression) *upa-ghn-á-* is introduced [as derived with křt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *han-* 76, (with irregular replacement of the stem vowel) to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] to signify a contiguous resting place or support (*ā-sray-é*).

*úpa+hán+aP* = *upa+hØn+a* = *upa-ghn-á-* as in *parvatopa-ghn-á-* 'mountain slope' or *grāmopa-ghn-á-* 'bordering the village'.

### 3.3.86 <sup>1</sup>*saṁ-gh-á*=<sup>2</sup>*ud-gh-aú* <sup>1</sup>*gaṇá*-<sup>2</sup>*pra-sāmsáy-oḥ*

(The irregular expressions) *saṁ-gh-á-* and *ud-gh-á-* are introduced, respectively (1.3.10) denoting 'herd, drove or flock' (*gaṇá-°*) and 'praise' (*pra-sāmsá*) [as derived with křt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem *han-* 76] co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) with the preverbs *sám-°* and *úd-°* [with irregular replacement of the syllable beginning with the final vowel by Ø and of *h* by *gh* to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19].

*saṁ-hán-ana-m* = *sám+hán+aP* = *saṁ-hØ<sup>1</sup>+aP* = *saṁ-gh-á-* (*bhāv-é*) 'a herd (of cattle, etc.)'; *úd+han-ya-te* = *ud-gh-á-* 'excellent, praiseworthy'. In other meanings: *saṁ-/ud+han+GHaÑ* = *saṁ-ghāt-á-* 'union', *ud-ghāt-á-* 'the act of striking'.

### 3.3.87 *ni-gh-á-h=ñfimita-m*

(The irregular expression) *ni-gh-á-* is introduced [as derived with the křt 1.93 affix 1.1 aP 57 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem *han-* 76, with irregular replacement of its syllable beginning with the last vowel and of /*h*/ by /*gh*/] when co-occurring with the preverb *ní-°* [to form an action noun 18 or denote a *kāraka* other than the agent 19] signifying 'as high as broad' (*ni-mi-tam*).

*ni+hán+aP* = *ni-ghØØ(regular)+aP* = *ni-gh-á-*, but in other senses *ni+han+GHaÑ* = *ni-ghāt-á-* 'a blow'.

### 3.3.88 ḌU=IT=aḥ=Ktrí-h

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktrí is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker ḌU as IT (in-the Dhp.) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*ḌU-pac-A-Ṣ pāké* (Dhp. I 1033): *pac+ktrí* = *pak+trí+maP* (4.4.10; 8.1.30) = *pak-trí-ma* = *pāk-éna nír-vṛt-ta-m* ‘matured, ripened’; similarly *vap-*: *up-trí-ma-* (6.1.15) ‘sown’, and *kṛ-trí-ma-* ‘artificial’.

### 3.3.89 ṬU-IT-aḥ=athúC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] athúC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker ṬU as IT (in the Dhp.) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*TU-vép-R kámpaṇ-e* (Dhp. I 391): *vép+athúC* = *vap-athú-* ‘trembling, shaking’;  
*ṬU-O-ṣvī gáti-vṛddhy-oḥ* (Dhp. I 1059)+*athúC* = *śvay-athu-* ‘edema, swelling’;  
*ṬU-kṣu śábd-e* (II 27)+*athúC* = *kṣav-athú-* ‘sneezing’.

### 3.3.90 <sup>1</sup>yajA-<sup>2</sup>yācā-<sup>3</sup>yátā-<sup>4</sup>vichÁ-<sup>5</sup>prachÁ-<sup>6</sup>rákṣ-aḥ=náÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] náÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] yaj- ‘sacrifice’ (I 1051), yāc- ‘beg, solicit’ (I 916), yát- ‘exert’ (I 30), vich- ‘go, move’ (VI 129), prach- ‘ask’ (VI 120), rákṣ- ‘protect’ (I 688) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*yaj+náÑ* = *yaj-ñá-* ‘sacrifice’ *yāc+naÑ+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *yac-ñá* ‘request, plea’; similarly: *yat-ná-* ‘attempt, exertion’; *vich+ná* = *vís-ná-* (6.4.19) ‘luster, splendor’; *pras-ná-* ‘question’; *rakṣ-ñá-* ‘protection, guard’.

Since Pāṇini himself uses the form [praśná- in 3.2.117: praśn-e ca=ā-sanna-kāl-é] it is inferred that vocalization (sam-pra-sāraṇa) replacement does not take place before affix náÑ despite 6.1.16.

### 3.3.91 svap-aḥ=naN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] naN is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] svap- ‘lie down, sleep’ (II 59) [to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*svap+naN* = *sváp-na-* ‘dream’.

### 3.3.92 upa-sarg-é GH0-ḥ Kí-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] Kí is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), co-occurring with preverbs (upa-sarg-é) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19].

*pra+dā+Kí* = *pra+dḥ+f* (6.4.64) = *pra-d-f* ‘gift, present’; similarly: *pra-dh-f* ‘the felly of a wheel’; *antar-dh-f* ‘disappearance’.

### 3.3.93 kārmaṇ-i=adhi-kāraṇ-e ca

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Kí 92 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 denoted by the t.t. GHU 92 when co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as their direct object (kārmaṇ-i) [to form an action noun or denote a kāraka other than the agent 18-19] to indicate a substratum or locus (adhi-kāraṇ-e).

*jalá-m dhī-yá-te asmín* = *jala+ḥ+dhā+Kí* = *jala-dh-f* ‘ocean, sea’; similarly *śara-dh-f* ‘a quiver’.

### 3.3.94 striy-ām KtiN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] KtiN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to form an action noun 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] in the feminine gender (striy-ām).

*kṛ+KtiN* = *kṛ-ti-* ‘action, work, performance’. Exception to GHaÑ 16. Similarly *cí-ti-* ‘layer, pile’; *stú-ti-* ‘praise’.

### 3.3.95 <sup>1</sup>sthā-<sup>2</sup>gā-<sup>3</sup>pā-pac-ām bhāv-é

[The kft 1.1 affix 1.1 KtiN 94 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sthā- ‘stay, remain, stand’ (I 975), gā (=gai- I 965) ‘sing’, pā- ‘drink’ (I 972) and pac- ‘cook’ (I 1045) to form action nouns (bhāv-é) [in the feminine gender 94].

*sthā+KtiN* = *sthī-ti-* (7.4.40) f. ‘standing, remaining’; *pra-sthī-ti-* ‘departure, journey’; similarly: *ud+gai+KtiN* = *ud+gā+KtiN* = *ud-gī-ti-* (6.4.66) ‘chanting aloud’; *pra-pī-ti-* ‘cistern’, *sam-pī-ti-* ‘carousal’, *pac+KtiN* = *pák-ti-* ‘cooking’.

This rule blocks out the operation of 106 below as well as 19.



### 3.3.96 mántr-e <sup>1</sup>vṛṣa=<sup>2</sup>iṣA-<sup>3</sup>pacA-<sup>4</sup>manA-<sup>5</sup>vidÁ-<sup>6</sup>bhū-<sup>7</sup>vī-<sup>8</sup>rā-ḥ udātta-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KtiN 94] with high-pitch (udātta) accent is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vṛṣ- ‘rain’ (I 738), iṣ- ‘desire’ (VI 59), pac- ‘cook’ (I 1045), man- ‘think’ (IV 47), vid- ‘know’ (II 55), bhū- ‘become’ (I 1), vī- ‘go’ (II 39), and rā- ‘give’ (II 48) [to form action nouns 95 in the feminine gender 94] in the domain of Mántra.

The affix KtiN, by virtue of its marker N, places the udātta accent on the initial syllable of the verbal stem (6.1.197) but in these instances in the Mántra portion of the Veda, it is shifted to the affix itself.

*vṛṣ+KtiN* = *vṛṣ-tf*- (8.4.1) ‘rain, precipitation’; *iṣ-tf*- ‘wish, desire, request’ (besides *icchā/iṣ-ti*- 101); *pac-tf*- ‘cooking’; *man+KtiN* = *maṭ-tf*- (6.4.37) = *ma-tf*- ‘thinking, thought’; *vit-tf*- ‘knowledge’; *bhū-tf*- ‘becoming’; *vī-tf*- ‘enjoyment’; *rā-tf*- ‘giving, bestowing’.

Other than in the Mántra, the accent falls on the initial syllable of the derived form.

### 3.3.97 <sup>1</sup>ū-tí-<sup>2</sup>yū-tí-<sup>3</sup>jū-tí-<sup>4</sup>sā-tí-<sup>5</sup>he-tí-<sup>6</sup>kīr-táy-as=ca

(The irregular expressions) ū-tí- ‘help’, yū-tí- ‘junction’, jū-tí- ‘speed’, sā-tí- ‘destruction’, he-tí- ‘missile’ and kīr-tí ‘renown’ are introduced [as derived with kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KtiN 94 bearing the udātta accent 96 and form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

*av+KtiN* = *ā-tf*- (6.4.20); *yu/ju+KtiN* = *yā-tf*-, *jū-tf*-; *so+KtiN* = *sā-tf*- (6.4.42) without replacement of semi-vowel by vocalization as required by 7.4.40, or alternately: *san+KtiN* = *sā-KtiN* (6.4.42) = *sā-tf*-; *han+KtiN* = *ha-i-KtiN* = *he-tf*- (irregular replacement of /n/ by /i/ or *hi+KtiN* with irregular replacement of stem vowel by guṇa contra 1.1.5) = *he-tf*-; *kṛt+KtiN* = *kīrt+KtiN* = *kīrt-tf*- (7.1.101), whereas by 107 below affix [yuC] is to be introduced.

### 3.3.98 <sup>1</sup>vrájA-<sup>2</sup>yaj-or bhāv-é KyáP

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KyáP [bearing the udātta accent 96 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vráj- ‘march’ (I 272) and yaj- ‘sacrifice’ (I 1051) to form an action noun (bhāv-é) [in the feminine gender 94].

*vraj+KyáP+TāP* (4.1.4) = *vraj-yā+ā* = *vraj-yā* (6.1.161) ‘roaming, wandering’; similarly *yaj+KyáP+TāP* = *ij-yā* (6.1.15,1616) ‘worshipping, sacrificing’.

The marker [P] has no relevance here but is required for the following sūtras for insertion of augment [tūK] (6.1.71).

### 3.3.99 samjñā-yām <sup>1</sup>sām-aj<sup>Á</sup>-<sup>2</sup>ní-ṣada<sup>3</sup>-<sup>3</sup>ní-pāta<sup>4</sup>-manA- <sup>5</sup>vid<sup>Á</sup>-<sup>6</sup>ṣuñ-<sup>7</sup>śiñ-<sup>8</sup>bhñ-<sup>9</sup>iñ-ah

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KyáP 98 bearing the udātta accent 96 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] sám+aj- (I 248) ‘collect together’, ní+ṣad- (I 907, VI 135) ‘sit down’, ní+pat- (I 898) ‘fly or settle down, alight’, man- ‘think’ (IV 67), víd- ‘know’ (II 55), su- ‘press, extract or distil soma juice’ (V 1), śī- ‘lie down, sleep’ (II 27), bhñ- ‘bear’ (III 5) and iñ- ‘go’(III 36) [to form action nouns 18 or denote a kāraka other than the agent 19] to derive names (samjñā-yām) [in the feminine gender 94].

*sam+aj+KyáP+TāP* = *sam-aj-yā* ‘assembly’; likewise: *ní-ṣad-yā* ‘a small bed or couch’; *ní-pat-yā* ‘slippery ground’; *man-yā* ‘nape of the neck’ (cf. Vedic *mán-yā*); *vid-yā* ‘knowledge’; *su-t-yā* (6.1.71) ‘day for pressing soma juice’; *śay-yā* (7.4.12) ‘bed, bedstead’; *bhñ-t-yā* ‘service for wages’ *i-t-yā* ‘palanquin’.

Because of the use of the expression [samjñā] here, the allomorph [vi] does not replace the verbal stem [aj-] before affix [KyaP] as required by 2.4.56.

### 3.3.100 kṛñ-ah Śá ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 KyáP 98 with udātta accent 96] as well as (ca) Śá are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛñ- ‘do, make, perform’ (VIII 10) [to form a derivative in the feminine gender 94].

This sūtra is split into two parts by interpretation: kṛñ-ah and Śá ca in order that with the first part [KyaP] is introduced and with the second part both KtiN (94) and Śá are introduced, yielding three derivatives: *kṛ+KyaP+TāP* = *kṛ-t-yā* / *kṛ+Śá+TāP* = *kṛi+á+ā* (7.4.28) = *kṛiy-á* (6.1.77) / *kṛ+KtiN* = *kṛ=ti* ‘act, action, activity, performance’.

### 3.3.101 icch-ā

(The irregular form) icch-ā is introduced [as derived with the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Śá 100 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 iṣ- ‘wish, desire’ (VI 59) in the feminine gender 94].

*iṣ-yá-te* = *iṣ+yaK+Śá+TāP* = *icch+Ø* (irregular Ø replacement of *yaK*)+*á+ā* = *icch-á* ‘desire, wish’. The derivation is under the governing rule 18 only.

### 3.3.102 á praty-ay-āt

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] á is introduced [after 1.2] a derived [verbal stem 1.91] (praty-ay-āt) [to form an action noun 18 in the feminine gender 94].

Exception to KtiN 94.  $kṛ+saN+á = ci-kṛ-sa+á+TāP = ci-kṛ-s-á$  'a desire to perform' =  $kār-tum icch-á$  similarly:  $putrI-yá(1.8)+á+TāP = putrīy-á$  'desire for having a son' or (1.10) 'desire to be like a son';  $putra-kām-y-á$  'desire for having a son';  $lo-lū-y-á$  (1.22) 'repeated or intensive cutting';  $kaṇḍū-y-á$  'itch' [Cf. 1.7-30 for derived verbal stems].

### 3.3.103 guró-s=ca haL-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 á 102] also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-aḥ) and containing a heavy syllable (guró-s) [to form a derivative action noun 18 in the feminine gender 94].

$kuṇḍ+á+TāP = kuṇḍ-á$  'adulthood'; similarly  $huṇḍ-á$  'tigress';  $th-á$  'striving';  $āh-á$  'filling out an ellipsis', but  $bhaj+KtiN = bhák-ti-$  'devotion' and  $ní-ti-$  'polity'.

### 3.3.104 <sup>1</sup>Ṣ-IT=<sup>2</sup>bhid-ā=<sup>ā</sup>di-bhyaḥ=<sup>á</sup>ñ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] áñ is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] with marker [Ṣ] as IT (in the Dhp.) and the class of stems beginning with bhid- 'break' (VII 2) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

The class of stems beginning with [bhid-] is to be inferred not from the Dhātu-pāṭha, but from the Gaṇa-pāṭha where the derived forms are listed in the feminine gender beginning with [bhid-ā].

Verbal stems with marker Ṣ:  $jñṢ (vayo-hān-au IV 22)+áñ+TāP = jar-á$  (7.4.16) 'old age, senility';  $trapŪ-Ṣ (lajjā-yām I 399): trap-á$  'bashfulness, shyness'.

$bhid+añ+TāP = bhid-á$  'breaking';  $chid-á$  'cleaving';  $guh-á$  'cave';  $ā-r-á$  'bore, probe'.

### 3.3.105 <sup>1</sup>cint-í-<sup>2</sup>pūj-í-<sup>3</sup>kath-í-<sup>4</sup>kumb-í-<sup>5</sup>carc-as=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 áñ 104] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] cint-í- (X 2) 'recollect', pūj-í- 'honor' (X 101), kath-í- 'relate, narrate' (X 307), kumb-í- 'cover, envelope' (X 113) and carc- 'study, discuss' (X 172) [to derive feminine 94 action nouns 18].

$cint+ñC+añ+TāP = cint-á+á+á$  (6.4.51) =  $cint-á$  'anxious thought, care, anxiety';

similarly: *pūj-ā* ‘worship’; *kath-ā* ‘narrative’; *kumb-ā* ‘thick petticoat’ and *carc-ā* ‘discussion’.

Normally this would have been a prior exception to 107 below, but by interpretation of the particle [ca] here, this rule will not block the operation of affix [yuC]:  
*cint+yuC+TāP = cint-anā = cint-ā*.

### 3.3.106 āT=as=ca=upa-sarg-é

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 a 104] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1 91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme [°-ā] co-occurring with preverbs (upa-sarg-é) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

Exception to KtiN 94: *pra+dā+āN+TāP = pra+d∅+ā+ā = pra-d-ā* ‘giving’; *upa-d-ā* ‘an offering to the king’; *pra-dh-ā* ‘offering’; *upa-dh-ā* ‘test of honesty’ (and in Ast. t.t. for ‘penultimate phoneme’ 1.1.65).

### 3.3.107 <sup>1</sup>Ni=<sup>2</sup>āsA-<sup>3</sup>sranth-aḥ=yuC

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] *NiC* and *ās-* ‘sit down’ (II 11) and *sranth-* ‘loosen, release’ (IX 39) [to form feminine 94 action nouns 18].

1. *NiC*: *kṛ+NiC+yuC+TāP = kār-i+and+ā* (6.4.51; 7.1.1) = *kār-an-ā* (8.4.2) ‘instigation’, and similarly *hār-an-ā* ‘causing to take or seize’.
2. *ās+yuC = ās-an-ā* ‘sitting’; *sranth-an-ā* ‘loosening, releasing’. Exceptions to KtiN 94,102,103.

### 3.3.108 roga=ākhyā-yām NvuL bahulām

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] *NvuL* is variously (*bahulām*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote the name of a disease (*roga-ākhyā-yām*).

*pra+chṛd+NvuL+TāP = pra-cchārd-aka+ā* (7.1.1) = *pra-cchārd-ik-ā* (7.3.44) ‘vomiting, throwing up’; *pra-vāh-ik-ā* ‘diarrhoea, loose motions’; *vi-cārc-ik-ā* ‘itch, scabies’.

Does not occur: *śīras+ard+KtiN = śīras+ārt+ti* (8.4.55) = *śīrō-r∅-ti* (8.4.65) ‘headache’.

### 3.3.109 saṁjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆvuL 108 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote a name (saṁjñā-yām).

uddālaka-sya púṣpā-ṇ-i bhaj-yānte yá-syām krīḍā-yām śā =  
uddālaka-puṣpa+bhanj+ṆvuL+TāP = uddālaka-puṣpa-bhānj-ik-ā 'a game  
played in the eastern districts in which the flowers of the Uddālaka tree are  
broken'. This is an obligatory Tatpuruṣa compound (2.2.17).

### 3.3.110 vibhāṣā=<sup>1</sup>ākhyāna-<sup>2</sup>pari-praśná-yor iṅ ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆvuL 108] as well as (ca) iṅ are introduced optionally (vibhāṣā) [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] when it relates to a question (pari-praśná) and response (ā-khyā-na).

The word [vibhāṣā] 'optionally' provides for introduction of other affixes also occurring in this section.

Q. kām tvām kār-i-m (iṅ) / kār-ikām (ṆvuL) / kṛ-ti-m (KtiN) / kriy-ā-m (Śā) /  
kṛ-t-yā-m (KyāP 100) á-kār-s-t-ḥ? 'What work have you done?'

R. sárvā-m kār-i-m/kār-ik-ā-m/kṛ-ti-m/kriy-ā-m/kṛ-t-yā-m á-kār-s-am 'I have  
done everything'.

### 3.3.111 <sup>1</sup>pary-āyá=<sup>2</sup>ārha=<sup>3</sup>ṛṇá=<sup>4</sup>ut-pátti-ṣu ṆvuC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] ṆvuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] to denote (a) regular succession (pary-āyá-°), (b) worthiness (°-ārha-°), (c) debt (°-ṛṇá-°) and (d) something that is produced (°-ut-pátti-ṣu).

1. śī+ṆvuC+TāP = śāy-akā+ā (4.1.4; 7.1.1) = śāy-ik-ā (7.3.34) : bhāvat-aḥ śāy-ik-ā  
'your turn to sleep'.

2. ārh-a-ti bhāvaṇ iḥṣu-bhaks-ik-ā-m 'you deserve (= are worthy of) to have a meal  
of sugar cane'.

3. iḥṣu-bhaks-ik-ā-m me dhār-āy-a 'you owe me a meal of sugar cane'.

4. odana-bhoj-ik-ā me ud-ā-pād-i 'a meal of rice has been produced for me'.

### 3.3.112 ā-kroś-é náñ-i=áni-h

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] áni is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the privative particle náñ-° [to form a feminine 94 action noun 18] for denoting an imprecation (ā-kroś-é).

Exception to KtiN 94. *náñ+kr+áni-* = *a-kar-áni-s te vṛśala bhū-yát* 'O sinner! May failure happen to thee'.

### 3.3.113 <sup>1</sup>křtya-<sup>2</sup>Lyuṭ-aḥ=bahulám

[The křt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the cover term křtya (3.1.95ff.) and Lyuṭ are variously (bahulám) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] (to denote various meanings other than those specified = bahulám).

The governing rules 18 and 19 are no longer recurring from this rule onwards. By 3.4.70 křtya affixes are generally introduced to denote [bhāṽ-é] 'impersonal' and [kárman-i] 'passive' constructions, but this rule provides for their introduction with other kárakas: *dī-yá-te a-smái* = *dā+anřyaR+sU* = *dānřya-s* = *dā-nřy-o brāhmaṇá-h* 'a brahmin to whom a donation is to be made'.

Lyuṭ is normally introduced under 115-17, but can also occur under other conditions: *ápa-sic-ya-te tád* = *apa-sic+Lyuṭ* = *apa-séc-ana-* (functioning as an object) 'sprinkling'; *áva-srāv-ay-a-te tád* = *ava-srāv-ana-* 'causing to flow (something) down'; *prá-skand-a-ti a-smát* = *pra-skánd-ana-* 'leaping over (from)'; similarly *prá-pat-a-ti a-smát* = *pra-pát-ana-* 'falling (from)'.

### 3.3.114 nápuṁsak-e bhāṽ-é Ktá-h

[The křt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktá is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to derive a neuter (nápuṁsak-e) action noun (bhāṽ-é).

*has+Ktá* = *has+iṭ+Ktá* = *has-i-tá-m* 'laughter'; similarly *jalp-i-tá-m* 'prattle'.

### 3.3.115 Lyuṭ ca

[The křt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktá 114] as well as (ca) Lyuṭ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to form a neuter action noun 114].

*has+Lyuṭ* = *hás-ana-m* 'laughter'; similarly *śóbh-ana-m* 'shining, beauty, luster, brilliance'; *jalp-ana-m* 'prattling' *śáy-ana-m* 'lying down'; *kár-ana-m* 'doing, performing, instrument'.

### 3.3.116 *kārmaṇ-i ca y-éna saṁ-spraś-āt kart-úḥ* *śārīra-sukhá-m*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Lyuṭ 115 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as its direct object (*kārmaṇ-i*), contact with which (*y-éna saṁ-spraś-āt*) results in physical pleasure (*śārīra-sukhá-m*) experienced by the agent (*kart-úḥ*).

*cándana-m ánu-limp-a-ti* = *candana*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*anu*+*lip*+*Lyuṭ* = *candanānu-lép-ana-m sukhá-m* ‘pleasure arising from anointing with sandal-wood paste’; *páyah pṣa-a-ti* = *payah-pána-m sukhá-m* ‘satisfaction arising from drinking milk’; but *túlīkā-yāḥ utthána-m* ‘getting up from the bed of down is pleasant’, since the upapadá is not the direct object. Similarly *agni-kunḍá-sya=upá-sana-m sukhá-m* ‘it is pleasant to sit near the fire-place’ since there is no physical contact; *guró-ḥ sná-p-ana-m sukhá-m* ‘bathing of the preceptor is a pleasure’, since the preceptor is not the agent of the action.

The purpose of this rule is in connection with the obligatory formation of nominal compounds, as otherwise the derivative is already provided for by the preceding rule 115.

### 3.3.117 <sup>1</sup>*kāraṇa*-<sup>2</sup>*adhi-kāraṇay-os=ca*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 Lyuṭ 115 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote an instrument (*kāraṇa-°*) or a locus (*°-adhi-kāraṇa*).

*prá-vraśc-a-ti an-éna* = *pra*+*vraśc*+*Lyuṭ* = *pra-vraśc-ana-* ‘instrument for cutting wood’, in the genitive Tatpuruṣa compound *idhma-pra-vraśc-and-* ‘axe/wood-cutter’. Similarly: *śad+NiC+Lyuṭ* = *śāt- $\emptyset$ +ana-* (7.3.42) ‘lopper, cutter’ in *palāśa-śāt-and-* ‘an instrument for lopping the foliage of P. tree’.

*duh-yá-te a-syām* = *duh+Lyuṭ+NiP* (4.1.15) = *dóh-an-I* in the Tatpuruṣa compound *gó-r dóh-an-I* = *go-doh-an-f* (6.1.113) ‘a pail in which the cow is milked, a receptacle for milk’; likewise *saktu-dhā-nf* ‘a vessel in which rice gruel is kept’.

### 3.3.118 *púms-i saṁjñā-yām GHá-ḥ prāy-éna*

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1] GHá is generally (*prāy-éna*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote an instrument or locus 117] to form a masculine (*púms-i*) noun denoting a name (*saṁjñā-yām*).

1. *kāraṇe* : *chād-yá-te an-éna* = *chad*+GHá = *chad-á-* (6.4.51,96) ‘covering’ in the compound *danta-cchad-á-* ‘a lip’.
2. *adhi-kāraṇ-e* : *ā+f-t-ya* (*LyaP*) = *é-t-ya tá-smín ku-rv-ánti* = *ā+kṛ*+GHá = *ā-kar-á-* ‘a mine’ in *ratnā-kar-á-* ‘a mine of jewels (the ocean)’.

Counter-examples: when not masc.: *pra-sādh-ana-m* ‘a comb’ (with Lyuṭ); when not a name: *pra-hár-ana-ḥ dandá-ḥ* ‘a staff or stick for beating’.

### 3.3.119 <sup>1</sup>go-cará-<sup>2</sup>sañ-cará-<sup>3</sup>vahá-<sup>4</sup>vrajá=<sup>5</sup>vyaj-á=<sup>6</sup>ā-pan-á-<sup>7</sup>ni-gamás=ca

(The irregular expressions) go-car-á- 'domain', sañ-car-á- 'pasturage', vahá- 'conveyance', vraj-á- 'cow-pen', vyajá- 'fan', ā-pan-á- 'market place' and ni-gam-á- 'Vedic passage' are introduced [as derived with the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHá 118, signifying an instrument or a locus 117 to form a masculine name 118].

This is a prior exception to 121 below. *gāv-as=cār-anti a-smñ deś-é = go+θ<sup>1</sup>+car=GHá = go-car-á- : indīrya-go-car-á-h* 'within the domain of perception by the sense organs'; *sām-car-ante an-éna = sañ-car-á-h; vāh-anti t-éna = vah-á-h; vṛāj-anti t-éna = vraj-á-h; vy-āj-anti t-éna = vy-aj-á-h; é-t-ya tá-smñ ā-pan-anti = ā-pan-á-h*.

### 3.3.120 áv-e <sup>1</sup>tṛ-<sup>2</sup>str-or GHaÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] GHaÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] tṛ- 'cross over, traverse' (I 1018) and str- 'cover, spread' (IX 14), co-occurring with the preverb áva-° [to form a masculine noun denoting a name 117-118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

Exception to GHá 118. *áva-tar-a-ti a-smñ = ava+tṛ=GHaÑ = ava-tār-á-h* 'descent, especially of a divinity, incarnation'; similarly *ava-stār-á-h* 'screen of cloth round a tent, a curtain in general'.

The word [prāy-éṇa] in 118 extends the use of these expressions to cover such cases as *ava-tār-ó nady-āḥ* 'the descent or fall of a river' = *ava-tār-aṇa-m* where it is not a proper noun or name (sañjñā).

### 3.3.121 haL-as=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [to form a masculine noun 118 denoting a name 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

Exception to GHá 118. *likh-á-ti an-éna = likh+GhaÑ = lēkh-a-h/likh-á-ti a-smñ vā = likh+GHaÑ = lēkh-a-h* 'writing instrument/document'; *vēt-ti=an-éna = vid+GHaÑ = véd-a-h* 'Vēda, source of all knowledge'; *vēṣṭ-a-te an-éna/a-smñ vā = vēṣṭ-a-h* 'covering, cloth'; *āpa-mṛj-ya-te an-éna vy-ā-dhīḥ = āpa+mṛj+GHaÑ = apā-mārg-á-h* (6.3.112) 'the plant Achyranthus Aspera'.



### 3.3.122 <sup>1</sup>adhy-āy-á-<sup>2</sup>ny-āy-á-<sup>3</sup>ud-yāv-á-<sup>4</sup>saṁ-hār-á- <sup>5</sup>ā-dhār-á=<sup>6</sup>ā-vayās=ca

(The irregular expressions) adhy-āy-á- ‘lesson, chapter’, ny-āy-á- ‘rule, law’, ud-yāv-á- ‘mixture’, saṁ-hār-á- ‘destruction’, ā-dhār-á- ‘support’, ā-vā-y-á- ‘cloth mill’ are introduced [as derived with křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120, forming masculine nouns denoting names 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117].

*adhī-ya-te a-smín = adhi+<sup>i</sup>Ñ+GHaÑ = adhy-āy-á-ḥ; nī-yá-te an-éna = ny-āy-á-ḥ;  
úd-yuv-anti a-smín = ud-yāv-á-ḥ; sám-hri-yante saṁ-hār-á-ḥ; á-dhri-ya-te  
a-smín = ā-dhār-á-ḥ; ā-vay-anti a-smín = ā-vāy-á-ḥ. Exceptions to GHá 118.*

### 3.3.123 ud-aṅk-á-ḥ=án-udak-e

(The irregular expression) ud-aṅk-á- is introduced [as derived with the křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120 to form a masculine noun denoting a name 118 signifying an instrument or locus 117], when not co-occurring with udaka-.

While the form [ud-aṅk-á-] is derivable by 121 above, the irregularity lies in the fact that it is blocked out when co-occurring with [udaka-°]: *taila-m úd-ac-ya-te = úd-dhri-ya-te a-smín = taila+<sup>0</sup>+ud+anc+GHaÑ = tailodaṅk-á-ḥ* ‘a leather bag for storing oil’, but *udakod-ánc-ana-ḥ* ‘water jar’.

### 3.3.124 jál-am ā-nāy-á-ḥ

(The irregular expression) ā-nāy-á- is introduced to denote a net (jála-m) [as derived with the křt 1.93 affix 1.1 GHaÑ 120 to derive a masculine noun signifying a name 118 denoting an instrument 117].

*á-nīyante an-éna (mátsyāḥ/mṛgāḥ vā) = ā-nāy-á-ḥ* ‘a net to catch fish or animals’.  
The irregularity lies in restricting the meaning.

### 3.3.125 khán-aḥ=GHá ca

[The křt 1.93 affixes 1.1 GHaÑ 120] as well as GHá are [introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] khán- ‘dig, excavate’ (I 927) [to form a masculine noun denoting a name 118 indicating an instrument or locus 117].

*á+khan+GHá/GHaÑ = á-khan-á-/á-khān-á-ḥ = ákhan-a-ti/á-khan-ya-te vā  
an-éna* ‘a spade’.

### 3.3.126 <sup>1</sup>ṣát-<sup>2</sup>dús-<sup>3</sup>sú-<sup>ṣu</sup> <sup>1</sup>kṛccchrá=<sup>2</sup>ákṛccchra=arthēṣu KHaL

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KHaL is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles ṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° [to form an action noun 18 (cf. 3.4.70)] expressing the sense of ‘difficult’ (kṛccchrá-°) or ‘easy’ (á-kṛccchra-arthē-ṣu).

[kṛccchrá] qualifies [dús-°] while [á-kṛccchra-] qualifies the other two: *ṣát kri-yá-te* = *ṣat+kṛ+kHaL* = *ṣat-kár-a* ‘easily made or produced’, and similarly *su-kár-a*; *duṣ-kár-a* ‘made, produced or done with difficulty’; *suṣṭhú bhuj-yá-te* = *su+bhuj+KHaL* = *su-bhój-a* ‘easy to eat’.

The marker [KH] of the affix is for the purpose of inserting the augment [muM] (6.3.67) in the succeeding rules below.

### 3.3.127 <sup>1</sup>kartṭ-<sup>2</sup>kárman-os=ca <sup>1</sup>bhū-<sup>2</sup>kṛÑ-oh

[The kṛt 1.9 affix 1.1 KHaL 126] is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] bhū- ‘become’ (I 1) and kṛÑ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10), co-occurring respectively (1.3.10) [with nominal padás 1.4] functioning as agent (kartṭ-°) and direct object (kárman-) [and with the particles ṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126].

*án-ādhya-ena bhávat-ā sukhéna ādhy-éna bhū-yá-te* = *ṣad+ādhy+Ø<sup>1</sup>+muM+bhū+KHaL* = *ṣad-ādhyā-bhāv-a-m bhávat-ā* ‘it is easily possible for you who are poor to become a little richer’.

Similarly *án-ādhyā-h devadattá-h sukh-éna ādhayá-h kri-yá-te* = *ṣad-ādhyā-m-kára-h devadattá-h* ‘poor D. can be made rich’.

### 3.3.128 āT-aḥ=yuC

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] yuC is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [-ā] [co-occurring with the particles ṣát-°, dús-° or sú-° to form action nouns 18 signifying ‘easy’ or ‘difficult’ 126].

Exception to KHaL 126. *ṣat+pā+yuC* = *ṣat+pā+and* (7.1.1) = *ṣat-pānā-h sōma-h=bhāvat-ā* ‘Sōma can be easily drunk by you’; similarly *duṣ-pān-ā-h* / *su-pān-ā-h* ‘drunk with difficulty/drunk with ease’.

### 3.3.129 chándas-i gáty-arthe-bhyaḥ

In the domain of Chándas [the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 128 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting the sense of ‘movement’ (gáty-arthe-bhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the particles ṛśát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126 to form action nouns 18 signifying ‘difficult’ or ‘easy’ 126].

*su+upa+sad+yuC* = *su-upa-sad-aná-* in *sūpa-sad-aná-ḥ=agní-ḥ* ‘Agni who is easy to be approached’ (T.S. 7.5.20.1); *sūpa-sad-aná-m antárikṣa-m* ‘the intermediate region which is easy to be approached’.

### 3.3.130 anyé-bhyaḥ=ápi dṛś-yá-te

[In the domain of Chándas 129 the kft 1.93 affix 1.1 yuC 128 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting (a sense other than ‘movement’ : anyé-bhyaḥ) [co-occurring with the particles ṛśát-°, dús-° or sú-° 126 to form action nouns 18 signifying ‘difficult’ or ‘easy’ 126].

*su+vid+yuC+TāP* = *su-ved-aná+ā* : *su-ved-aná-m a-kṛ-ṇo-r bráhmaṇ-e gām* (RV 10.112.8) ‘thou hast made the cow easy to be found’.

### 3.3.131 vartamāna-sāmīpy-é vartamāna-vát=vā

When the action refers to (a past or future time) proximate to the present time (varta-m-āna-sāmīpy-é), operations apply optionally (vā) which would apply when the action refers to the present time (varta-m-āna-vát).

In other words, an action taking place in the past or future time proximate to the present can be followed by l-substitutes specific to those times or alternately by those of the present time. To the question *ka-dā ā-ga-tá-ḥ=á-si* ‘When have you arrived?’ the response could be: *ayám ā-gacch-ā-mi/āgacch-ant-am mām vid-dhi* (+ŚatR̥ 2.134) ‘I have arrived just now/know that I have arrived just now’. Similarly for Q. *ka-dā gam-i-syá-si* ‘When will you go?’ R. would be: *eṣā gacch-ā-mi* ‘I will be going shortly’ or alternately *eṣā gam-i-syá-mi/gantás-mi*.

### 3.3.132 ā-śaṁśá-yām bhūta-vát=ca

When a wish (ā-śaṁśá-yām) is expressed (that something will happen, necessarily referring to the future) [l-substitutes proper to the present and future 131] as well as (ca) of the past (bhūta-vát) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

*upādhyāyás=céd ā-gam-at* (IŪN) / *ā-ga-tá-ḥ* (Ktá) / *ā-gacch-a-ti* (LAT) /

*ā-gam-i-sya-ti* (IṚṬ) *et-é vyā-kāraṇa-m adhy-ā-gī-s-mahi / ādhī-ta-vant-aḥ / ādhī-mahe / ādhy-e-syā-mahe* 'if the teacher were to come today we would study grammar'. Only the Aorist is possible among the past tenses since it represents the general past. When a wish is not expressed, only the future forms occur.

### 3.3.133 kṣipra-vacan-é IṚṬ

(The l-substitutes of) IṚṬ (Sigmatic Future) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with *kṣiprá-°* or its synonyms (*kṣipra-vacan-é*) 'quickly' [when a wish is expressed 132].

*upādhyāyās=céd kṣiprám ā-gam-i-sya-ti kṣiprám vyākāraṇa-m ādhy-e-syā-mahe* 'if the teacher were to come soon we will soon study grammar'.

### 3.3.134 ā-sāmsā-vacan-é IIṆ

(The l-substitutes of) IIṆ (Optative or Potential Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the expression *ā-sāmsā* 'hope' or its synonyms [when a wish is expressed 132].

*upādhyāyās=céd ā-gacch-et, ā-sāms-e /āvapkalp-ay-e/yuk-tā-h/kṣi-prā-m ādhīty-īya* 'if the teacher will come I hope I will study with zeal'.

### 3.3.135 ná=an-adya-tana-vát <sup>1</sup>kriyā-prabandhá-<sup>2</sup>sāmīpay-oḥ

When there is continuity of action (*kriyā-prabandhá-°*) or proximity in the time of action (*°-sāmīpay-oḥ*) (l-substitutes of l-members="tenses and moods") not pertaining to the current day (*an-adya-tana-vát*) [= IAN 'Imperfect' and IUT 'Periphrastic Future'] are not (*ná*) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

1. *kriyā-prabandh-é: yā-vad=īhvā-m bhṛśā-m ānna-m dā-syā-ti/ā-dā-t* 'throughout his life he will be continuously giving food/has continuously given food' where IṚṬ 'Sigmatic Future' and IUN 'Aorist' alone are introduced.
2. *sāmīpay-e: yā=iyām paurṇamāsī=atī-tā, etā-syām upādhyāyā-h agnī-m ā-dhi-ta, sóm-ena=ā-yas-ta, gām ā-di-ta* 'during the full-moon which has just passed, the teacher consecrated the fire, performed a Soma sacrifice and donated a cow', introducing the l-substitutes of IUN; similarly: *yā=iyām paurṇamāsī=ā-gām-īn-ī, etā-syām upādhyāyā-h agnī-m ā-dhā-sya-te, sóm-ena yak-syā-te, gā-m dā-syā-te* 'introducing the l-substitute of IṚṬ'.

### 3.3.136 bhav-i-ṣyāt-i maryādā-vacan-é=ávara-smin

When the action refers to the future time (bhav-i-ṣyāt-i) and there is indication of a limit (maryādā-vacan-é) on this side (ávara-smin) of a place the future tense [not pertaining to the current day (= IUT 15 above) is not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

*yá-ḥ=ayám ádhvā gan-távyā-ḥ=á pāṭaliputrāt, tá-sya yád ávara-m kauśāmbya-āḥ, tá-tra=odanā-m bhok-ṣyā-mahe* 'on this side of the road from K. to P. we will eat rice'. If this limit is not indicated, l-substitutes of IUT can also be introduced after verbal stems, and so also when the other side is indicated.

### 3.3.137 kāla-vi-bhāg-é ca=án-aho-rātrā-ṇām

[When the action refers to the future time and there is indication of a limit on this side 136] with reference to a division of time (kāla-vi-bhāg-é) excluding day and night (án-aho-rātrā-ṇām) [the future tense 136 not pertaining to the current day 135 (=IUT) is not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

*yá-ḥ=ayám samvatsará-ḥ=ā-gā-mī, tá-tra yád ávaram āgra-hāyaṇy-āḥ tá-tra yuk-tā-ḥ=ádhy-e-ṣyā-mahe* 'in the year which is to come, in the month of Caitra (= March-April) we shall study with zeal' (IRṬ). This restriction does not apply if the time division is day or night, or refers to a period other than the future, or there is no indication of limit, or this side is not denoted (cf. 138 below).

### 3.3.138 pára-smin vibhāṣā

[When the action refers to the future time and there is an indication of a limit 136] on the other side (pára-smin) [of a place 136 or of a division of time, excluding day or night 137, the l-substitutes of the future tense 136 not pertaining to the current day 135] are optionally (vibhāṣā) [not 135 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

In the examples cited under 136-7, the Periphrastic Future Tense [IUT] forms can occur by this option.

### 3.3.139 IIN-nimitt-é IRṆ kriyā=ati-patt-aú

(The l-substitutes of) IRṆ (Conditional) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, when the action refers to the future time 136] under conditions prescribed for IIN (156 below: that one action is cause and the other an effect or result), provided that the action which is the result does not actually come about (kriyā=ati-patt-aú).

*dákṣiṇ-ena céd ā-yā-syat, ná śákata-m pary ā-bhav-i-sya-t* 'if he had gone on the right side (of the road) the carriage would not have turned upside down'.

### 3.3.140 bhūt-é ca

When the action refers to the past time (bhūt-é) also (ca) [the l-substitutes of IṚÑ 139 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, under conditions prescribed for IIN provided that the action which is the result does not actually come about 139].

*yádi surabhí-m ávāp-sya-s tan-mukhocchvāsa-gandhá-m táva ráti-m á-bhav-i-syad puṇḍárik-e kím a-smín?* 'If you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus?'

### 3.3.141 $vā=\bar{a}=^1utá=^2ápy-oh$

Prior to the sūtra 152 [ $^1utá=^2ápy-oh$  sám-arthay-oh] the expressions [when the action refers to the past 140 the l-substitutes of IṚÑ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 under conditions prescribed for IIN, provided the action which is the result does not actually come about 139 will recur in the subsequent statements] optionally ( $vā$ ).

This is a governing rule or adhikārá.

### 3.3.142 garhā-yām IAT= $^1ápi=^2jātu-oh$

(The l-substitutes of) IAT (Present Tense) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with  $ápi-$  'is it?' and  $jātu-$  'perhaps' to express censure (garhā-yām).

This rule extends the scope of IAT, which by 2.123 was restricted to the present time only, to a general or common time (kāla-sāmānya).

*ápi tatra-bhavān vṛṣalá-m yājáy-a-ti?* 'is it possible that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra?' / *jātu tatra-bhavān vṛṣalá-m yāj-áy-a-ti? gārḥ-ā-mahe* 'perhaps you will officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra, we censure (you)'.

Since this is not covered by the conditions prescribed for IIN, IṚÑ does not operate.

### 3.3.143 vibhāṣā kathám-i IIN ca

[The l-members of IAT 142] as well as (ca) of IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with kathám- 'how?' [to denote censure 141] optionally (vibhāṣā).

Since there is option (141 above), l-substitutes of other l-members as required can also operate.

*kathám náma tatra-bhávān vṛṣalā-m yāj-áy-a-ti/yāj-ay-i-śya-ti/yāj-áy-I-ta/yāj-áy-et/á-yāj-ay-a-t/yāj-ay-ám+ca-ká-ra?* 'how can you officiate at a sacrifice for a śūdra? (we censure you)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the resulting action does not come about lṛṅ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future.

### 3.3.144 kīm-vṛtt-é <sup>1</sup>lṚṅ-<sup>2</sup>lṚṭ-au

(The l-substitutes of) lṚṅ and lṚṭ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with declined forms of (the pronominal stem) kīm- 'what, who, which?' (kīm-vṛtt-é) [to denote censure 142].

Exception to all other l-members: *kó náma vṛṣalā-h yá-m tatra-bhávān yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti* 'who indeed is the śūdra for whom you will officiate at a sacrifice? (we censure you)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the action which is the result does not actually take place, lṚṅ will occur optionally: *ká-h=náma vṛṣalā-h yám tatra-bhávān yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti?*

### 3.3.145 <sup>1</sup>án-ava-kṛpti=<sup>2</sup>á-marṣay-or á-kīm-vṛtt-e=ápi

[The l-substitutes of lṚṅ and lṚṭ 144 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with 144] as well as without the declined forms of (the pronominal stem) kīm- 'who, what, which?' to denote an impossibility (án-ava-kṛpti-°) or intolerance (°-á-marṣay-oh).

Exception to all other l-members.

1. án-ava-kṛpt-au: *ná sám-bhāv-ay-ā-mi/śrād-da-dhe tatra bhávān náma vṛṣalā-m yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti* 'I do not believe it is possible for you to officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ. (an outcast)' (i.e., there is none).
2. á-marṣ-e: *na marṣ-áy-ā-mi tatra-bhávān vṛṣalā-m yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti* 'I cannot tolerate you officiating at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'; or *ká-h=náma vṛṣalā-h=yám tatra-bhávān yāj-áy-et/yāj-ay-i-śyá-ti?*

When the action refers to the past time and the action which is the result does not actually come about, lṚṅ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future: *ná=áva-kalp-ay-ā-mi tatra-bhávān náma vṛṣalā-m á-yāj-ay-i-śya-t.*

### 3.3.146 <sup>1</sup>kīm=kīla=<sup>2</sup>asti=arthé-ṣu IRṬ

(The l-substitutes of) IRṬ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with kīm-kīla and expressions denoting the sense of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) (= as-, kṛ-, bhū- and vid- IV 62) [denoting improbability or intolerance 145].

Exceptions to IIN̄.

1. *kīm-kīla nāma tātra-bhāvān vṛṣalā-m yāj-ay-i-ṣyā-ti* 'what a pity you are officiating at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'
2. *bhāv-a-ti / vid-ya-te nāma tātra-bhāvān vṛṣalā-m yāj-ay-i-ṣyā-ti* 'is it possible that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ? (I think it is improbable, I cannot tolerate it)'.

### 3.3.147 <sup>1</sup>jātu=<sup>2</sup>yád-or IIN̄

(The l-substitutes of) IIN̄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with jātu 'perhaps' and yád- 'which, what' [to denote improbability or intolerance 145].

Exception to IRṬ; *jātu tātra-bhāvān vṛṣalā-m yāj-áy-et* 'perhaps you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ? (I do not think it probable)'; *yád=nāma tātra-bhāvān vṛṣalā-m yāj-áy-et* 'that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ (I cannot tolerate it)'.

When the action refers to the past time and the resulting action does not actually come about IRṆ will occur optionally, but necessarily if the action refers to the future.

### 3.3.148 <sup>1</sup>yát=ca=<sup>2</sup>yátray-oḥ

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yát=ca 'and which' and yátra 'where' [to denote improbability or intolerance 145].

*yát=ca / yátra tātra-bhāvān vṛṣalā-m yāj-áy-et* 'I don't think it probable / I cannot bear to think that you will officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ.'

If the resulting action is not realized (*kriyā=atipatt-aú* 139,141) IRṆ will optionally occur when it refers to the past and necessarily if the action refers to the future.



### 3.3.149 garhā-yām ca

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with yát=ca and yátra 148] to denote censure (garhā-yām) also.

Exception to all l-members. *yát=ca/yátra tátra-bhāvān vṛsalá-m yāj-áy-et, ṛddhá-h vṛddhá-h sán brāhmaṇá-h, gárh-ā-mahe, aho anyāyya-m etát* 'we censure you, an elderly, prosperous brahmin, that you would officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ; it is entirely unbecoming'.

If the action is not realized (149,151) and refers to the past, IR̄N̄ is optionally introduced.

### 3.3.150 citrī-kāraṇ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 147 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with yát=ca and yátra 148] to denote wonder (citrī-kāraṇ-e).

*yát=ca/yátra tátra-bhāvān vṛsalá-m yāj-áy-et āścārya-m etat* 'it is a wonder that you should officiate at a sacrifice for a vṛ.' When [kriyā-ati-pattī 145] occurs IR̄N̄ is optionally used.

### 3.3.151 śés-e IR̄T̄=á-yad-au

In the remaining cases (śés-e : excluding co-occurrence with yác-ca and yátra 148) (the l-substitutes of) IR̄T̄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] not co-occurring with yádi 'if' [to express wonder 150].

Exception to all other l-members. *āścārya-m/citrā-m/ādbhuta-m andhá-h=nāma párvata-m ā-rok-ṣya-ti, badhirá-h=nāma vy-ā-kāraṇa-m ādhy-e-ṣya-te* 'it is verily wonderful/strange/astonishing that a blind man should climb a mountain (or) a deaf person should study grammar'. But with [yádi] *āścārya-m yádi sa bhunj-īṣá* 'it will be a wonder if he will eat'.

### 3.3.152 <sup>1</sup>utá-<sup>2</sup>ápy-oḥ sám-arthay-oḥ=IIN̄

(The l-substitutes of) IIN̄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with utá and ápi denoting the same sense (sám-arthay-oḥ) (= 'doubtless, certainly').

Exception to all other l-members. *utá/ápi kur-yát* 'assuredly he does/will do'. *utá/ápi ádhīy-īta* 'certainly he will study', but in other senses: *utá danḍá-h pat-i-ṣyá-ti?* 'will the staff fall down?' and *ápi dvāra-m dhā-syá-ti* 'hope he shuts the door'.

### 3.3.153 kāma-pra-vedan-é=á-kaccit-i

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] except when co-occurring with káccid (a particle of interrogation) to make known one's desire (kāma-pra-vedan-é).

Exception to all other l-members: *kāma-h-me bhuñj-ntá bhávān* 'it is my wish that you should eat', but *káccid jīv-a-ti te mātá káccid jīv-a-ti te pitá* 'is your mother alive, is your father alive?'

### 3.3.154 sam-bhāvān-e=álam iti cét siddha=a-prayog-é

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 152 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the expectation (sam-bhāvān-e) (that someone is capable of performing the action), provided the implied word álam 'capable' (or its synonym) is not actually used (siddha=a-prayog-é).

*ápi párvata-m śíras-ā bhind-yát* '(it seems) that he is capable of breaking the hill with his head'; *ápi droṇa-páka-m bhuñj-ntá* '(it seems) that he is capable of eating a whole droṇa measure of cooked food'; but *videśa-sthāḥ devadattá-h prāy-ēṇa gam-i-śyá-ti grāma-m* 'it is expected that D., who has gone abroad, will return (some day) to his (original) village', and *álam devadattá-h hastín-am han-i-śyá-ti* 'D, has the capacity to kill an elephant'. When the action which is the result does not actually come about, IIN̄ is necessarily introduced to denote the past and future times.

### 3.3.155 vibhāṣā dhāt-au sam-bhāvana-vacan-é=á-yadi

[The l-substitutes of IIN̄ 152] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with a verbal stem (dhāt-au) denoting expectation (sam-bhāvana-vacan-é) but not with yád- 'which'.

*sám-bhāv-ay-ā-mi / áva-kalp-ay-ā-mi bhuñj-ntá/bhok-śyá-te bhávān* 'I expect that you are capable of eating', but *sám-bhāv-ay-ā-mi yád bhávān bhu-ñ-j-ntá*.

### 3.3.156 <sup>1</sup>hetú-<sup>2</sup>hetu-mát-or IIN̄

(The l-substitutes of) IIN̄ are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] which is the cause (hetú) and (another verbal stem 1.91) which is the effect (hetu-mát-oh).

Exception to all other l-members: by repeating the word [IIN̄] here when it already recurs from 152 above, this usage is restricted to the future time only.

*dākṣiṇ-ena céd yā-yāt śākaṭa-m ná pary-ā-bhav-et* 'if he goes by the right side (of the road), the cart will not turn upside down'. The Optative forms are derived thus:  $yā+II\dot{N} = yā+ŚaP+tiP$  (1.68; 4.78) =  $yā+θ^1+yās_uT+suT+tθ$  (4.100,103,107) =  $yā-yāθ+θ+t = yā-yā-t$ ;  $pary-ā+bbā+II\dot{N} = pary-ā-bbā+ŚaP + yās+suT+t = pary-ā-bhav-a+yāθ+θ+t = pary-ā-bhav-a+iy+t$  (7.2.80) =  $pary-ā-bhav-e-t$  (6.1.87).

By interpretation the expression [vibhāṣā 155] recurs here so as to provide for introduction of  $IR\dot{T}$  to denote the future time: *dākṣiṇ-ena céd yā-sāy-ti śākaṭa-m ná pary-ā-bhav-i-śya-ti*.

### 3.3.157 icchā=arthé-ṣu $^1II\dot{N}$ - $^2IO\dot{T}$ -au

(The l-substitutes of)  $II\dot{N}$  and  $IO\dot{T}$  (Optative and Imperative Moods) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with another verbal stem 155] denoting the sense of 'desire, wish' (icchā=arthé-ṣu).

*icch-ā-mi/kām-āy-e/prā-rth-ay-e bhuñj-Itā/bhuñk-tām bhāvān* 'I wish you would eat'; the modal forms are derived thus:  $bhuñj+II\dot{N} = bhuñj+ŚnaM+sry_uT+suT+tā$  (1.78; 4.102,107) =  $bhu-na-j+θry+θ+tā$  (7.2.79) =  $bhu-nθ-j+ry+tā$  (6.4.111) =  $bhuñj-Iθ+tā$  (6.1.66) =  $bhuñj-I-tā$ ;  $bhuñj+IO\dot{T} = bhuñj+ŚnaM+tām$  (4.90) =  $bhu-nθ-j+tām$  (6.4.111) =  $bhuñk-tām$  (8.2.30).

### 3.3.158 samānā-kartṛke-ṣu tumuN

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1]  $tumuN$  is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with another verb 155 denoting the sense of 'wish' 157] provided the two (or more) actions are performed by the same agent (samānā-kartṛke-su).

*icch-ā-ti/kām-āy-a-te/vāṣ-ṭi/vāñch-a-ti bhók-tum* (=  $bhuñj+tumuN = bhóḥj+tum$  7.3.84 =  $bhók-tum$  8.2.30) 'desires to eat'; but *devadattā-m bhuñj-ānā-m icch-ā-ti yajñadattā-h* 'Y. desires D. to eat (something)', the two agents being not identical.

### 3.3.159 $II\dot{N}$ ca

(The l-substitutes of)  $II\dot{N}$  are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with another verb 155 meaning 'wish, desire' 157, provided both actions are performed by the same agent 158].

*bhuñj-ryā=iti=icch-ā-ti = bhók-tum icch-ā-ti* 'wishes to eat (lit. I will eat, he wishes)'. When [kriyā-ati-pat-tí 139] is indicated,  $IR\dot{N}$  is introduced.

### 3.3.160 icchā-arthe-bhyaḥ=vibhāṣā vārt-a-m-ān-e

When the action refers to the present time (vart-a-m-ān-e) [the l-substitutes of IIN 159 are introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] optionally (vibhāṣā) when they denote 'desire, wish'.

This is an alternative to IAT 2.123. *icch-é-t/icch-á-ti; uś-yá-t/vás-ti*  
*kām-áy-e-ta/kām-áy-a-te* 'desires, wishes'.

### 3.3.161 <sup>1</sup>vidhí-<sup>2</sup>ni-mántr-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>ā-mántr-aṇa=<sup>4</sup>ádhi=iṣṭa- <sup>5</sup>sam-praś-ná-<sup>6</sup>pra=árth-ane-ṣu IIN

(The l-substitutes of) IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote (a) a command (vi-dh-í), (b) summons (ni-mántr-aṇa), (c) invitation (ā-mántr-aṇa), (d) respectful command (ádhi+iṣ-ṭa), (e) deliberation (sam-praś-ná) and (f) request (pra+árth-ana).

The repetition of [IIN] here when it already recurs from 159 is to block the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from 160.

1. vidhí: *káta-m-kur-yá-t* 'he shall/must make a mat'; *gráma-m bhávān gacch-é-t* 'you shall/must go the village'.
2. ni-mántr-aṇa: *i-há bhávān bhuñj-I-tá* 'here you will eat'.
3. ā-mántr-aṇa: *i-há bhávān ās-I-tá* 'please sit here'.
4. ádhiṣṭa: *māṇavaká-m bhávān úpa-nay-e-t* 'kindly initiate the lad'.
5. sam-praś-ná: *kín nū khálu vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhy-ty-a?* 'should/must I indeed study grammar?'.
6. prārthana: *vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhy-ty-a* 'please, I would like to study grammar'.

### 3.3.162 IOT ca

(The l-substitutes of) IOT (Imperative Mood) also (ca) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote a command, summons, invitation, respectful command, deliberation and request 161].

The splitting of this from the preceding statement is for restricting the following sūtra-s only to IOT.

1. vidhí: *gráma-m bhávān gacch-a-tu*.
2. nimántrana: *i-há bhávān bhuñk-tām*.
3. āmántrana: *i-há bhávān ās-tām*.
4. ádhiṣṭa : *māṇavaká-m bhávān úpa-nay-a-tām*.
5. sampraśná: *kín nū khálu vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhy-ay-ai*.
6. prārthana: *vy-ā-kár-aṇa-m ádhy-ay-ai*.

The meanings correspond to those cited in the preceding sūtra.

### 3.3.163 <sup>1</sup>praiśá=<sup>2</sup>ati-sargá-<sup>3</sup>prāpta-kāle-ṣu kṛtyās=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.2] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (1.95ff.) in addition to (ca) [l-substitutes of IOT 162 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote an order (praiśá °), permission (atisargá) and appropriate time or opportunity (prāpta-kālā).

[praiśá] differs from [vidhí] in that it is an order given to a hired servant, while [vidhí] is a general rule applicable to all. More specifically it is an act of sending or commission.

*bhāvat-ā káta-h kar-tavya-h/kar-tavyā-h/kar-añya-h/kṛ-t-ya-h/kārya-h = kar-ó-tu bhavān káta-m i-há prēs-i-ta-h/ātisrṣṭa-h/bhāvat-aḥ prāpta-kālā-tā káta-karaṇ-é* 'you must/you may/it is the proper time to make a mat'.

### 3.3.164 IIN ca=ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e

(The l-substitutes of) IIN (Optative or Potential Mood) in addition to (ca) [those of IOT 162 and the kṛt 1.93 affixes denoted by the t.t. kṛtya 163 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to express a directive, permission and appropriate time or opportunity 163] when the action takes place in the future within a muhūrtā (ūrdhva-mauhūrtik-e).

*ūrdhva-m muhūrt-āt / upāri muhūrtā-sya bhāvat-ā khālu káta-h kar-tavya-h / kar-tavyā-h / kar-añya-h / kṛ-t-ya-h / kār-yā-h = bhavān káta-m kur-yā-t / kar-ó-tu* 'you must / you may / it is the proper time to make a mat within the hour'.

### 3.3.165 sm-e IOT

(The l-substitutes of) IOT are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma [to denote a directive, permission or proper time 163 when the action takes place within a muhūrtā 164].

Exception to IIN and kṛtya affixes 163-4. *bhavān ūrdhva-m muhūrt-āt káta-m kar-ó-tu sma* 'you must/you may/it is the proper time for you to make a mat within the hour'.

### 3.3.166 ádhīṣṭ-e ca

[The l-substitutes of IOT 165 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with the particle sma 165] also (ca) to express a respectful command or request (ádhīṣṭ-e).

Exception to IIN 161. *bhavān sma mā-m ádhy-āp-ay-a-tu* 'please instruct me'.

### 3.3.167 <sup>1</sup>kāla-<sup>2</sup>samaya-<sup>3</sup>velā-su tumuN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] tumuN is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with [nominal padās 1.4] kālā-, samayā- 'time' and velā 'moment, time'.

*kālā-h/samayā-h/velā bhōk-tum* 'it is time to eat'.

### 3.3.168 IIN yād-i

(The l-substitutes of) IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yād [and the nominal padās 1.4 kālā-, samayā- and velā 167].

*kālā-h/samayā-h/velā yād bhāvaṇ bhuñj-tā* 'it is the time for you to eat'.

### 3.3.169 arh-é <sup>1</sup>kṛtya-<sup>2</sup>tṛC-as=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (1.95ff.) and tṛC in addition to [l-substitutes of IIN 168 are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to express (that the agent is) deserving of the action (arh-é).

*bhāvat-ā khālu kanyā vo-dhavyā/vo-dhavyā/vāh-yā/vah-anfya* 'you are fit/worthy to marry the girl' or *bhāvaṇ khālu kanyā-yāh* = *vah+tṛC* = *vaḍh+tṛ-* (8.2.31) = *voḍh+tṛ-* (6.3.112) = *voḍh+dhṛ-* (8.2.40) = *voḍh+ḍhṛ-* (8.4.41) = *vo-Ø+ḍhṛ+sU* (8.3.13) = *vo-ḍhā* (7.3.94; 6.1.68; 4.8; 8.2.7)/ = *bhāvaṇ khālu kanyām vāh-e-t*.

### 3.3.170 <sup>1</sup>āvaśyaka=<sup>2</sup>ādhamarṇyay-oḥ=Nīni-h

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Nīni is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote that the (agent) performs the action as a necessity (āvaśyak-e) or as an obligation (ādhamarṇy-e).

1. necessity: *āvaśya-m+kṛ+Nīni* = *avaśya-m+kār-in-* 'performing as a necessity' (2.1.72).
2. obligation: *śatā-m+dā+Nīni* = *śatā-m dā-y-in-* (7.3.33) 'obliged to pay a hundred pieces'.

### 3.3.171 kṛtyās=ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (1.95ff.) are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote that the agent performs the action as a necessity or obligation 170].

1. necessity: *ávaśya-m kar-távya-h / kar-tavyà-h / kar-anśya-h / kār-yà-h / kṛt-ya-h* 'must necessarily be done'.
2. obligation: *sahāsra-m dā-távya-am/dā-tavyà-m/dé-yam* 'obliged to pay a thousand pieces'.

### 3.3.172 śak-i IIN ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 denoted by the t.t. kṛtya 171] as well as (ca) (l-substitutes of) IIN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93] to denote (the agent's) capacity (śak-i) to perform the action.

*bhāvat-ā khālu bhārā-h vo-dhāvya-h/vo-dhavyà-h/vah-anśya-h/vāh-yà-h = bhāvān khālu bhārā-m vāh-e-t* 'you are able to carry the load'.

### 3.3.173 āśis-i <sup>1</sup>IIN-<sup>2</sup>IoT-au

(The l-substitutes of) IIN and IoT (Optative and Imperative Moods) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.93] to express benediction (āśis-i).

*cirām jīv-yā-t/jīv-a-tu bhāvān* 'may you live long'. The specific IIN here is the Benedictive or Precative Mood and is derived as follows: *jīv+1IN(āśisi) = jīv+yāsūT+suT+t* (4.100,103,107) = *jīv+yās+s+t = jīv-yāθ+θ+t* (8.2.29) = *jīv-yā-t. jīv+IoT = jīv+ŚaP+tu* (4.86) = *jīv-a-tu*.

### 3.3.174 <sup>1</sup>KtiC=<sup>2</sup>Kt-aú ca samjñā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] KtiC and Ktá are also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to express benediction 173] to derive a name (samjñā-yām).

1. *tan-u-tāt = tan+KtiC = tan-tf-* (6.4.39) 'a weaver'; *san-u-tāt = san+KtiC = sāθ-tf- / san-tf- / saθ-tf* (6.4.42,45) 'gift'; similarly: *bhū-tf-* 'existence'; *man-tf-* 'respect'.
2. Ktá: *dev-ās=enam de-yās-uh = deva-dattā-h* (cf. 6.2.148).

### 3.3.175 māÑ-i IUN

(The l-substitutes of) IUN (Aorist) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the privative particle māÑ.

Exception to all other l-members. *mā kṛ+HUN = mā á-kār+siC+s* (1.44; 4.100; 7.2.1) = *mā+á-kār+s+IT+s* (7.3.96) = *mā θ-kār-s-ī-h* (6.4.74; 8.4.1) 'don't do (it)'.

### 3.3.176 sma=uttar-e lAÑ ca

[The l-substitutes of lUÑ 175] as well as (ca) of lAÑ (Imperfect) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particle sma following [particle mǎÑ 175] (sma=uttar-e).

*mǎ sma + kṛ + laÑ / lUÑ = mǎ sma kar-o-h (6.4.74 / kār-ṣ-I-h).*



### 3.4.1 dhātu-sam-bandh-é praty-ayāḥ

Affixes (praty-ayāḥ) [which are introduced under specific conditions of time such as past (bhūt-é 2.84), present (vārt-a-m-āne 2.128) or future (bhav-i-syāt-i 3.3)] occur also when their verbal stems are connected with other verbal stems (dhātu-sam-bandh-é) [and the actions denoted are related to other actions referring to different times].

In the sentence *agni-ṣṭoma-yāj-ī=a-syá putrá-h=jan-i-tā* 'to him a son will be born who will have performed the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice' the word *agni-ṣṭoma-yājín-* denotes one who has actually performed that sacrifice in the past (bhūt-é 2.84ff.) while the word *jan-i-tās+Dā* represents the future (IRṬ 3.13). The reference to *jan-i-tās-* gives *agni-ṣṭomá-yāj-ín-* (basically applying to the past) a future meaning. The main verb with personal l-substitutes (tiñ=antas) determines the general trend of other affixes despite their time differences.

### 3.4.2 kriyā-sam-abhi-hār-é IOṬ, IOṬ-aḥ=<sup>1</sup>hí-<sup>2</sup>sv-aú vā ca <sup>1</sup>tá-<sup>2</sup>dhvám-oḥ

(The l-substitutes of) IOṬ (Imperative Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote all times 1] when the action is repetitive (kriyā-sam-abhi-hār-é) and the substitute affixes °-hí and °-svá replace (the l-substitutes of) IOṬ (IOṬ-aḥ), but optionally (vā) the affixes °ta and °dhvám (of IOṬ).

*lu-nI-hí lu-ní-hí iti=evá=ayám lu-náti/lav-i-syá-ti/d-lāv-I-t* 'he cuts/will cut/has cut repeatedly or intensively (as if some one said: "cut, cut")'; instead of *ayám lu-ná-ti* the string can have: *im-aú lu-nI-táh / im-é lu-n-ánti* with an alternative *lu-nI-tá lu-nI-tá* or *lu-nI-dhvám lu-nI-dhvám* and similarly *lu-nI-ṣvá lu-nI-ṣvá* for *lu-nI-hí lu-nI-hí*.

*ádhi-ṣva ádhi-ṣva/ádhi-dhvam ádhi-dhvam ity evá=ayám/imé ádhi-te/ádhi-te-ate* 'he studies/they study repeatedly or intensively (as if some one said: "study, study")'.

### 3.4.3 sam-uc-cay-é=anya-tará-syām

[The l-substitutes of IOṬ 2] are optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] when there is an accumulation (sam-ut=cay-é) of many verbal stems [to denote all times 1 when the action is repetitive or intensive and substitute affixes °-hí and °svá replace the l-substitutes of IOṬ, but optionally the affixes °tá and °-dhavám 2].

1. accumulation of a single verbal stem: *bhrā́stra-m át-a, matha-m át-a, khadūra-am át-a ity evá=ayám át-a-ti/aṭ-i-syáti/át-I-t* 'roams continuously (lit. 'go to the fireplace, go to college, go to the inner apartment', thus thinking he roams/will roam/has roamed continuously)'.  
 2. accumulation of different verbal stems: *sáktā-n pṛ̥-a, dhānāḥ khād-a ity evá=ayám abhy-áva-har-a-ti* 'consumes without stopping (lit. 'drink barley meal, eat fried rice', thus thinking he eats continuously)'.  
 3. *chāndaḥ ádhi-ṣva, vy-ākár-ana-m ádhi-ṣva/ádhi-dhvam ity evá=ayám ádhi-te/imé ádhi-y-ate* 'continuously he studies/they study (lit. 'study metrics, study grammar', thus thinking he studies/they study continuously)'.

### 3.4.4 yathā-vidhí=anu-pra-yog-á-ḥ pūrva-smin

In the first case (pūrva-smin = referred to in 2 above) the subsequent clause employs (the same verbal stem) as the one (after which the l-substitutes of IOT are introduced) (yathā-vidhí anu-pra-yogáḥ).

The examples have been cited accordingly under 2 above.

### 3.4.5 sam=ut=cay-é sāmānya-vacanā-sya

In the case of accumulation (of verbal stems: sam-ut=cay-é as in 3 above) [the subsequent clause employs a verbal stem] which denotes the sense common (to all the verbal stems: sāmānya-vacanā-sya) [after which the l-substitutes of IOT are optionally introduced 3].

The examples are cited accordingly under 3 above.

### 3.4.6 chāndas-i <sup>1</sup>IUN-<sup>2</sup>IAN-<sup>3</sup>IIT-aḥ

In the domain of Chāndas (the l-substitutes of) IUN (Aorist), IAN (Imperfect) and IIT (Perfect) are [optionally 3 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote all times in relation to other verbal stems 1].

1. IUN: *ahám té-bhyaḥ-á-kar-am námaḥ = ahám té-bhyaḥ kar-ó-mi námaḥ* 'I make obeisance to them'. The Aorist form is derived thus: *kṛ+IUN = kṛ+Cl̥i+am* (1.43; 4.101) = *á-kṛ+aÑ+am* (1.59) = *ákar-am* (7.4.16), the accent being dropped by 8.1.28.
2. IAN: *agní-m adyá hotár-am á-vṛ-nī-ta=ayám yáj-a-m-āna-ḥ* 'this sacrificer chooses today Agni as the Priest'. *vṛ+IAN = ávṛ+Śnā+ta* (1.81) = *á-vṛ-nī-ta* (6.4.113) = *ávṛ-nī-ta* (8.4.1) for *vṛ-nī-té*.
3. IIT: *adyá ma-már-a = mṛ+IIT = ma-mṛ+NāL* (6.1.8; 7.4.66); = *ma-már-a* (7.2.115) = *adyá mri-yá-te* 'dies today'.

### 3.4.7 IIN=arth-e IET

(The l-substitutes of) IET (Subjunctive Mood) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 in the domain of Chándas 6] to denote the meanings of IIN (Optative or Potential Mood 3.156,161).

$jus+IET = jus+siP+t$  (1.34; 4.97) =  $jos+iT+s+t$  (7.2.35; 3.98) =  $jos-i-s+aT+t$  (4.94) =  $jós-i-s-a-t$  (8.3.59) 'let him take pleasure in' (RV 2.35.1) for the regular current form:  $jus+IIN = jus+Sa+sryuT+suT+tá$  (1.77, 4.102,107) =  $jus+a+0-ry+0+tá$  (7.2.79) =  $jus+a+0+tá$  (6.1.66) =  $jus-e-tá$  (6.1.87).

Similarly  $tár-i-sa-t$  'let him stretch forth';  $né-s-a-t$  'may he lead';  $pát-ā-ti$  *vi-dyút* 'may lightning fall' [=  $pat+SaP+āT+ti$  (94)].

### 3.4.8 <sup>1</sup>upa-saṁ-vāda=<sup>2</sup>ā-saṅkay-os=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the l-substitutes of IET are introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote a mutual accord (*upa-saṁ-vādā*) or apprehension (*ā-saṅk-ā*).

*upa-saṁ-vādā: ahám evā paśū-nām íś ai* 'as for me, I shall control the cattle'  
[ $Iś+IET = Iś+e$  (79) =  $Iś+ai$  (93)].

### 3.4.9 tum=arth-é <sup>1</sup>sé-<sup>2</sup>seN-<sup>3</sup>áse=<sup>4</sup>aseN-<sup>5</sup>Ksé-<sup>6</sup>KaseN+ <sup>7</sup>ádhyai=<sup>8</sup>ádhyaiN-<sup>9</sup>Kádhyai-<sup>10</sup>KadhyaiN-<sup>11</sup>Śádhyai- <sup>12</sup>ŚadhyaiN-<sup>13</sup>tavaí-<sup>14</sup>táveN-<sup>15</sup>taveN-ah

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the *kṛt* 1.93 affixes 1.1] (beginning with) sé and (ending with 15) taveN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the sense (of the *kṛt* 1.93 affix 1.1 *tumuN*).

- (1) sé:  $vac+sé = vak-śé$  (8.2.30; 3.57) =  $vak-tum$  :  $vak-śé ráy-ah$  'to speak of wealth'.
- (2) seN: =  $^c-se: iN+seN = é-śe = é-tum$  'to go'.
- (3) áse:  $jñv-áse = jñv-i-tum$  'to live'.
- (4) aseN =  $^c-ase: jñv-ase$ .
- (5) Ksé:  $pra+iN+Ksé = pra+i-śe = pre-śé = praí-tum$  'to send'.
- (6) KaseN =  $^c-ase: śrí+KaseN = śrí+ase = śríy-ase$  (6.4.77) 'to find support'.
- (7) ádhyai:  $upa+ā+car+ádhyai = upā-car-ádhyai$  'to approach'.
- (8) adhyaiN =  $^c-adhyai: upā-cár-adhyai$ .
- (9) Kádhyai:  $ā+hu+Kádhyai = ā-huv-ádhyai$  'to sacrifice'.
- (10) KadhyaiN =  $^c-Kadhyai: śrí+KadhyaiN = śríy-adhyai$  'to find support'.
- (11) Śádhyai:  $mad+Nic+ŚaP+Śádhyai = mād-ay-ádhyai$  'to cause exhilaration'.
- (12) ŚadhyaiN =  $^c-Sadhyai: pá+ŚaP+adhyai = píṭh-adhyai$  (6.1.97) =  $pá-tum$  'to drink'.
- (13) távaí =  $^c-tavaí$  (6.1.200):  $pá-tavaí = pá-tum$ .

(14) táveN: *sūtáve* = *sótum* 'to give birth to'.

(15) taveN = *˘tave*: *kár-tave* = *kár-tum* 'to drink'.

### 3.4.10 prayai rohiṣyai a-vyathíṣyai

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expressions] *prayai* 'to advance', *roh-íṣyai* 'to ascend' and *a-vyath-íṣyai* 'for not trembling' are introduced [to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *tum̐N*].

By interpretation the forms are derived as follows: *pra-yā+Kaí* = *pra-y̐+af* (6.4.64) = *pra-y-af* = *pra-yá-tum* 'to advance, go forward'.

*ruh-íṣyai* = *roh-íṣyai* 'to mount, ascend'. *naN̐+vyath-íṣyai* = *a-vyath-íṣyai* 'not to torment'.

### 3.4.11 dṛśé vikhyé ca

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expressions] *dṛś-é* 'to see' and *vikhy-é* 'to consider, behold' are introduced [to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *tum̐N* 9].

*dṛś+Ké* = *dṛś-é* = *drás-tum*; *vi+cakṣ+Ké* = *vi-khyā+Ké* = *vi-khy̐+é* (6.4.64) = *vi-khy-é* = *vi-khyá-tum*.

### 3.4.12 śak-i <sup>1</sup>Nam̐L-<sup>2</sup>Kam̐L-au

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] *Nam̐L* and *Kam̐L* are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *tum̐N* 9] when co-occurring with the verbal stem *śak-* 'be able' (V 15).

*agnīm vai devā vi-bhāj-am nā-śak-nuv-an* 'the gods were incapable of dividing Agni': *vi+bhāj+Nam̐L* = *vi-bhāj-am* (7.2.116; 6.1.193).

*apa-lúp-am nā-śak-nuv-an* 'were unable to cut off' = *apa-lóp-tum*.

### 3.4.13 íśvar-e <sup>1</sup>tos̐N-<sup>2</sup>Kas̐N-au

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] *tos̐N* and *Kas̐N* are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 to denote the sense of the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *tum̐N* 9] co-occurring [with the nominal *padá* 1.4] *íśvara*.

*íś-vara-ḥ=abhi-cár-i-toḥ/vi-líkh-ah/vi-tṛd-ah* 'capable of enchanting/scratching/piercing'. *abhi+car+iT̐+tos̐N* = *abhi-cár-i-tos* = *abhi-cár-i-toḥ* (8.3.15).  
*vi+likh/tṛd+Kas̐N* = *vi-líkh-as/vi-tṛd-as* = *vi-líkh-ah/vi-tṛd-ah*.

### 3.4.14 $kṛtya=arth-é$ ${}^1tavaí-{}^2Ken-{}^3Kénya-{}^4tvaN-ah$

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the  $kṛt$  1.93 affixes 1.1]  $tavaí$ ,  $KeN$ ,  $Kénya$  and  $tvaN$  are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the sense of  $kṛtya$  1.95 affixes (1.1).

$anu+iN+tavaí = ánu-e-tavaí$  (6.1.200) =  $anu-e-távya-$  'to go along, follow';  
 $ava+gāh+KeN = ava-gāh-e = ava-gāh-i-tavyāT$  'to be plunged';  $dṛś+saN+Kénya = di-dṛś+sa+Kénya = di-dṛś-sa-énya$  (8.2.36) =  $di-dṛk-ṣṭh-énya$  (8.2.41; 6.4.48; 8.3.59) =  $di-dṛk-ṣ-i-távya-$  'deserving of being seen';  $kṛ+tvaN = kár-tva-$  =  $kar-távya-$  'to be accomplished'.

### 3.4.15 $ava-cákṣ-e$ $ca$

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the irregular expression]  $ava-cákṣ-e$  'to be perceived' is also ( $ca$ ) introduced [with the meaning of  $kṛtya$  14 affixes 1.1].

$ava+cakṣ+eŚ = ava-cákṣ-e$  (with irregular accent) =  $ava-khyā-távya-$  'to look down upon'.

### 3.4.16 $bhāva-lákṣaṇ-e$ ${}^1sthā={}^2iN-{}^3kṛ-{}^4vādī-{}^5cārī-{}^6hu-{}^7tami-{}^8jāni-bhyas$ $tosuN$

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the  $kṛt$  1.93 affix 1.1]  $tosuN$  is introduced [after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91]  $sthā-$  'remain, stand' (I 975),  $iN-$  'go' (II 36),  $kṛ-$  'do, perform' (VIII 10),  $vād-$  'speak' (I 1058),  $cār-$  'move; graze' (I 591),  $hu-$  'offer an oblation' (III 1),  $tām-$  'grow tired' (IV 93) and  $ján-$  'be born' (IV 41) when expressing verbal action ( $bhāva-lákṣaṇ-e$ ) [to denote the sense of the  $kṛt$  1.93 affix  $tumuN$  9].

$ā sam-sthā-toḥ = sam-sthā-tum$  'up to the end or finish';  $purā sūrya-sya ud-é-toḥ$  [=  $ud+iN+tosuN$ ] 'before the rising of the sun';  $apa-kār-toḥ = apa-kar-tum$  'to remove, for removing';  $pra-vād-i-toḥ = pra-vād-i-tum$  'for uttering';  $pra-cār-i-toḥ = pra-cār-i-tum$  'for proceeding';  $ho-toḥ = hó-tum$  'for offering an oblation';  $tām-i-toḥ$  'for becoming tired';  $vi-ján-i-toḥ$  'for originating'.

### 3.4.17 ${}^1sṛpi-{}^2tṛd-oḥ$ $KasuN$

[In the domain of Chándas 6 the  $kṛt$  1.93 affix 1.1]  $KasuN$  is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91]  $sṛp-$  'creep' (I 1032) and  $tṛd-$  'pierce' (VII 9) [to express verbal action 16 in the sense of the  $kṛt$  1.93 affix  $tumuN$  9].

*vi-srp+KasuN* = *vi-sṛp-ah* ‘to be scattered’; similarly *ā-tṛd-ah* ‘for piercing’.

### 3.4.18 <sup>1</sup>álam=<sup>2</sup>khálv-oh prati-ṣedháy-oh prācām Ktvá

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktvá is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with the particles álam and khálu expressing a prohibition (prati-ṣedháy-oh) according to Eastern Grammarians (prācām).

The reference to [prācām] is to indicate that this rule is optional.

*álam/khálu kṛ+Ktvá* = *kr-tvá* = *na kar-távyam* ‘do not do’. *álam bāle rud-i-tvá* ‘do not cry, little girl’; alternately *álam ródan-ena* ‘enough of crying’.

### 3.4.19 udīc-ām māÑ-ah=vy-atīhār-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] Ktvá 18 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] māÑ- ‘exchange, barter’ (I 1010) for expressing reciprocity (vy-atī-hār-é) according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ām).

The verbal stem involved here is [meÑ] but is represented by [ā] replacement of the stem vowel before [Ktvá] by 6.1.45 and indicates a general metarule that such a replacement with a marker in the stem includes the original stems, as in the rule 1.1.20 [dā-dhā=GHU=a-dāP] where the stem [dāP] includes [daiP] also.

*apa+me+Ktvá* = *apa+mā+Lyap* (6.1.45; 4.70) = *apa-mi-t-ya* (6.1.71); *yāc-i-tvá* *āpa-may-a-te* = *apa-mi-t-ya yāc-a-te* ‘demands an exchange’.

### 3.4.20 <sup>1</sup>para=<sup>2</sup>avara-yog-é ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvá 18 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote what is situated on that side (para-°) or this side (°-ávара-yoge) (of some object).

The particle [ca] here is for the recurrence of [Ktvá] from 18 above.

1. *pāra: ā-prāp-ya nadī-m párvata-ḥ sthī-tá-ḥ* ‘the hill is on that side of the river’.
2. *ávара: atī-krám-ya tu párvata-m nadī sthī-tá* ‘the river lies beyond the hill’, i.e., the hill is situated on this side of the river, whereas in (a) the river is on the far side away from the hill.

### 3.4.21 samāná-kartṛkay-oh pūrva-kāl-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 Ktvá 18 is introduced after 1.2] that one of two [verbal stems 1.91] having the same agent (sa-māná-kartṛkay-oh) whose action precedes that of the other (pūrva-kāl-é).

*bhuj+Ktvá = bhuk-tvá vráj-a-ti* ‘having eaten (= after eating) he goes’. This rule is applied even when there are more than two verbs having the same agent: *snā-tvá pI-tvá bhuk-tvá vráj-a-ti* ‘goes out after having bathed, drunk and eaten’.

### 3.4.22 ābhīkṣny-e ṆamuL ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvá 18] and (ca) ṆamuL are introduced [after 1.2 that one of two verbal stems 1.91 having the same agent, whose action precedes that of the other 21] when that action is repeated (ābhīkṣny-e).

*bhuj+ṆamuL = bhó-j-am bhoj-am / bhuk-tvá bhuk-tvá vráj-a-ti* ‘goes after repeatedly eating’. The expressions are doubled to indicate [ābhīkṣnya] (8.1.4) and the second repetition does not bear the udātta accent (8.1.3).

### 3.4.23 ná yád-i=án-ā-kāñkṣ-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes Ktvá 18 and ṆamuL 22] are not (ná) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with yád ‘when’, provided [the two verbs having the same agent and whose actions follow one another 21] do not require a third one to complete the sense (án-ā-kāñkṣe).

*yád ayám bhuñk-té tá-taḥ páth-a-ti* ‘he eats and then studies’, but *yád ayám bhuk-tvá vráj-a-ti ádhy-te=evá tá-taḥ pára-m* ‘having eaten, he goes out and then reads’.

### 3.4.24 vibhāṣā=<sup>1</sup>ágr-e=<sup>2</sup>prathamá-<sup>3</sup>pūrva-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvá 18 and ṆamuL 22] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 1.2 that one of the two verbal stems 1.91 having the same agent whose action precedes that of the other 21] co-occurring with [nominal padás 1.4] ágr-e-, prathamá- and pūrva- ‘before, first’.

*ágr-e/prathamá-m/pūrva-m bhó-j-am/bhuk-tvá vráj-a-ti* ‘having first eaten, he goes’, alternating with *ágr-e/prathamá-m/pūr-va-m bhuñk-té, tá-taḥ=vráj-a-ti*.

### 3.4.25 kármaṇ-i=ā-kroś-é kṛÑ-aḥ KhamuÑ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] KhamuÑ is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] kṛÑ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as its direct object (kármaṇ-i) to denote censure (ā-kroś-é).

*cora-śabddā-m uc-cār-ya króś-a-ti* 'he abuses: "you are a thief, you are a robber"' =  
*cora+θ=kṛ+KHamūN* = *cora+muM+kār-am* (6.3.67; 7.2.115) *króś-a-ti*.

### 3.4.26 svādu-m-i NamuL

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *NamuL* is introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *kṛN̄-* 25 whose action precedes that of another verbal stem having the same agent 21] co-occurring with [the nominal *padā* 1.4] *svādu-m* (and its synonyms) 'tasty, delicious' (with a final increment *m*).

*svādu-m+kṛ+NamuL* = *svādu-m-kār-am bhunk-té* 'eats, after sweetening the food';  
 similarly *lavaṇa-m-kār-am bhunk-té* 'having added salt (to the food), eats'.

### 3.4.27 <sup>1</sup>anyāthā=<sup>2</sup>evām=<sup>3</sup>kathām=<sup>4</sup>itthām-su siddha=a=prayogā-s=cét

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *NamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *kṛN̄-*25] co-occurring with [indeclinable *padās* 1.4] *anyāthā* 'otherwise', *evām* 'thus', *kathām* 'how' and *itthām* 'thus', if the non-introduction of the verbal stem yields the same meaning (*siddha=a-prayogā-s=cét*).

*anyāthā+kṛ+NamuL* = *anyathā-kār-am bhunk-té* = *anyāthā bhunk-té* 'eats otherwise', both expressions being identical in meaning.

Similarly: *evām-kār-am/katham-kār-am/itthām-kār-am bhunk-té* 'eats in this manner/which manner?/in this manner', equivalent to *evām/kathām/itthām bhunk-té*.

### 3.4.28 <sup>1</sup>yāthā-<sup>2</sup>tāthay-or asūyā-prati-vacan-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *NamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 *kṛN̄-* 25] co-occurring with the indeclinable [*padās* 1.4] *yāthā* 'in what manner, how?' and *tā-thā* 'in that manner' for expressing an indignant response (to a question: *asūyā-prati-vacan-é*) [if the non-introduction of the verbal stem yields the same meaning 27].

*yathā-kār-am/tathā-kār-am bhok-sy-é kīṁ tāva=an-éna* 'I will eat in this/that manner, what is it to you?' = *yāthā/tāthā bhok-sy-é, kīṁ tāva=an-éna?*



### 3.4.29 kárman-i <sup>1</sup>dṛśi-<sup>2</sup>víd-oḥ sákaly-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] dṛś- ‘see, perceive’ (I 1037) and víd- ‘know’ (II 55) co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as their direct object (kárman-i) to denote a totality (sákaly-e).

*kanyā+dṛś+ṆamuL* = *kanyā-darś-am var-áy-a-ti* = *yāḥ yāḥ kanyāḥ páśy-a-ti tās tā var-áy-a-ti* ‘he woos each girl he sees’.

*brāhmaṇá+víd+ṆamuL* = *brāhmaṇa-véd-am bhoj-áy-a-ti* = *yám yám brāhmaṇám vét-ti* = *jā-ná-ti/lábh-a-te/vi-cār-áy-a-ti vā tán sárvān bhoj-áy-a-ti* ‘feeds each and every brahmin he knows’.

### 3.4.30 yā-vat-i <sup>1</sup>vinda-<sup>2</sup>jīv-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] vind- ‘gain’ (VI 138) and jīv- ‘live’ (I594) co-occurring with the indeclinable [padá 1.4] yā-vat ‘as much as, as long as’.

*yā-vat+vind+ṆamuL* = *yāvad-véd-am bhuk-té* ‘one eats as much as one gets’ = *yā-vat=vind-á-te tá-vat=bhuk-té*.

*yā-vat+jīv+ṆamuL* = *yāvaj-jīv-am* (8.4.40) *ádhi-te* = *yāvat=jīv-a-ti tá-vat=ádhi-te* ‘learns throughout his life’.

### 3.4.31 <sup>1</sup>cárma(n)=<sup>2</sup>udáray-oḥ pūr-é-ḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] pūr-í- ‘fill up’ (X 261) co-occurring [with the nominal padás 1.4] cárman- ‘skin’ and udára- ‘stomach’ [functioning as its direct objects 29].

*cárma pūr-ay-án stṛ-ná-ti* = *carma*<sup>01</sup>+*pūr-i+ṆamuL* = *carma-pūr-<sup>0</sup>+am* (6.4.51) = *carma-pūr-am stṛ-ná-ti* ‘he spreads (some thing) so as to cover the whole skin’.

Similarly: *udara-pūr-am bhuk-té* = *udára-m pūr-áy-an bhuk-té* ‘he eats so as to fill his stomach fully’.

### 3.4.32 varṣa-pra-māṇ-é=ū-lpa-s=ca=asyá=anyátaráśyam

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 pūr-í 31] with optional replacement by lopa (<sup>0</sup>) of phoneme [ū] when expressing the amount of rainfall (varṣa-pra-māṇ-é).

*goṣ-padá-m pūr-áy-an* = *goṣ-pada+<sup>01</sup>+pūr-i+ṆamuL* = *goṣ-pada-pūr-<sup>0</sup>+am/goṣ-pada-pr-ám vṛṣ-tá-ḥ devá-ḥ* ‘it rained as much as to fill a cow’s hoofmark’ i.e., ‘as much as a cow’s footstep can hold’.

The significance of the expression [asyá] in the rule is to limit the Ø replacement to the verbal stem: *māṣikā-bīla-pūr-am/māṣikā-bīla-pr-ám* = ‘as much as to fill in a rat-hole’.

### 3.4.33 cel-e knop-é-ḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *knop-i-* (= *knūy+ṆiC* I 514) ‘make wet’, co-occurring with [the nominal *padá* 1.4] *cela-* ‘cloth’ [functioning as its direct object 29 to denote the amount of rainfall 32].

*cela-m kno-p-áy-an* = *cela+Ø<sup>1</sup>=knop-i+ṆamuL* = *cela-knóp-Ø-am vṛṣṭá-ḥ devá-ḥ* ‘it has rained enough to wet the cloth’. Similarly *vastra-knóp-am/vasana-knóp-am*

### 3.4.34 <sup>1</sup>ní-mūla-<sup>2</sup>sá-mūlay-oḥ kás-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kás-* ‘scrape’ (I 716) co-occurring with [nominal *padás* 1.4] *ní-mūla-* ‘down to the roots’ and *sá-mūla-* ‘along with the roots’ [functioning as its direct objects 32].

*nímūla-m/sámūla-m kaṣ-a-ti* = *ni-mūla-kás-am kás-a-ti* ‘scrapes down to the roots’ and similarly *sa-mūla-kás-am kás-a-ti* ‘totally uproots’.

### 3.4.35 <sup>1</sup>śuṣ-ká-<sup>2</sup>cūrṇá-<sup>3</sup>rūkṣé-ṣu piṣ-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *piṣ-* ‘grind’ (VII 15) co-occurring with [the nominal *padás* 1.4] *śuṣ-ká-* ‘dry’, *cūrṇá-* ‘flour’ and *rūkṣá-* ‘dry’ [functioning as its direct objects 29].

*śuṣ-ká-m pi-na-ṣ-ti* (3.1.78; 8.4.41) = *śuṣ-ka+Ø<sup>1</sup>+piṣ+ṆamuL* = *śuṣ-ka-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* ‘grinds it dry’; similarly *cūrṇa-péṣ-am/rūkṣa-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* ‘grinds into meal/grinds it dry’.

### 3.4.36 <sup>1</sup>sá-mūla=<sup>2</sup>á-kṛta-<sup>3</sup>jīvé-ṣu <sup>1</sup>han-<sup>2</sup>kṛÑ-<sup>3</sup>gráh-aḥ

[The kft 1.93 affix 1.1 *ṆamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *han-* ‘kill, strike’ (II 2), *kṛÑ-* ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10) and *gráh-* ‘seize’ (IX 61) co-occurring [respectively 1.3.10] with [nominal *padás* 1.4] *sá-mūla-* ‘along with the roots’, *á-kṛta-* ‘not made’ and *jīvá-* ‘life’ [functioning as their direct objects 29].

*śa-mūla-m han-ti* = *śa-mūla+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+NamuL* = *śa-mūla+ghan+NamuL* (7.3.54) = *śa-mūla+ghat+NamuL* (7.3.32) = *śa-mūla-ghāt-am* (7.2.116) *hán-ti* ‘destroys everything including the roots’.

Similarly: *a-kr̥-ta-kār-am kar-ó-ti* ‘does what has not been done before’; *jīva-grāh-am gr̥h-ñá-ti* = *jīv-ant-am gr̥h-ñá-ti* ‘captures alive’.

### 3.4.37 kár-aṇ-e han-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *NamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *han-* ‘strike, kill’ (II 2), co-occurring [with a nominal *padá* 1.4] denoting an instrument (*kár-aṇ-e*).

*pāñi-nā hán-ti* = *pāñi+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+NamuL* = *pāñi-ghāt-am hán-ti* ‘strikes with the hand’.

### 3.4.38 snéh-an-e piṣ-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *NamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *piṣ-* ‘grind’ (VII 15) co-occurring with [the nominal *padá* 1.4] having the sense of ‘lubricating’. (*snéh-an-e*) [to indicate an instrument 37].

*udak-éna pi-ná-ṣ-ti* = *udaka-pēs-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* ‘grinds with water’; likewise *taila-pēs-am/ghṛta-pēs-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* ‘grinds with oil/clarified butter’.

### 3.4.39 hást-e <sup>1</sup>várt-í-<sup>2</sup>gráh-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *NamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *vart-í* (= *vṛt-* I 795+*Níc*) ‘cause to turn or revolve’ and *gráh-* ‘seize’ (IX 61), co-occurring with [the nominal *padá* 1.4] *hást-* ‘hand’ (and its synonyms) [denoting an instrument 37].

*hást-ena vart-áy-a-ti* = *hást+θ<sup>1</sup>+vart-i+NamuL* = *hást-várt-θ-am vart-áy-a-ti* ‘turns or revolves with the hand’; similarly *kara-várt-am/pāñi-várt-am vart-áy-a-ti*.

*hást-ena gr̥h-ñá-ti* = *hást-grāh-am/kara-grāh-am/pāñi-grāh-am gr̥h-ñá-ti* ‘grasps or seizes with the hand’.

### 3.4.40 sv-é puṣ-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *NamuL* 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *puṣ-* ‘nourish’ (IX 57), co-occurring with (synonyms of) [the nominal *padá* 1.4] *svá-* ‘one’s own’ [denoting an instrument 37].

*sv-éna puṣ-ṇá-ti* = *sva+θ<sup>1</sup>+puṣ+NamūL* = *sva-póṣ-am puṣ-ṇá-ti* 'nourishes by one's self'; similarly *go-póṣ-am puṣ-ṇá-ti* 'gav-á puṣ-ṇá-ti'.

### 3.4.41 adhi-kár-aṇ-e bandh-aḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] bandh- 'bind' (IX 37) [co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] denoting a locus or substratum (adhi-kár-aṇ-e).

*cakr-é badh-ná-ti* = *cakra+θ<sup>1</sup>+bandh+NamūL* = *cakra-bándh-am badh-ná-ti* 'ties to a wheel'.

### 3.4.42 saṁjñá-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bandh- 41] to denote a name (saṁjñá-yām).

*krauñcám iva badh-ná-ti* = *krauñca+bandh+NamūL* = *krauñca-bandh-ám badh-ná-ti* 'ties a knot in the shape of a heron'. Formation according to 45 below. Similarly *mayūrikā-bándh-am/aṭṭālikā-bándh-am bad-dhá-ḥ*. These are names of special formations.

### 3.4.43 kartr-ór <sup>1</sup>jīvā-<sup>2</sup>púruṣay-or <sup>1</sup>násī-<sup>2</sup>vah-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] naś- 'disappear' (IV 850) and vah- 'bear' (I 1051), co-occurring (respectively 1.3.10) [with nominal padas 1.4] jīvā- 'life' and púruṣa- 'person' denoting agents (kartr-oḥ).

*jīvā-ḥ náś-ya-ti* = *jīva+naś+θ<sup>1</sup>+NamūL* = *jīva-nás-am náś-ya-ti* 'life disappears, dies'; so also *púruṣa-ḥ váh-a-ti* = *puruṣa-váh-am váh-a-ti* 'a person (becoming a servant) carries (another person)'.

### 3.4.44 ūrdhv-é <sup>1</sup>śuṣi-<sup>2</sup>pūr-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.92] śuṣ- 'become dry' (IV 74) and pūr- 'fill up' (IV 43) co-occurring with [the nominal padá 1.4] ūrdhvā- 'upright' [as agent 43].

*(vṛkṣádi-ḥ) ūrdhvā-ḥ (tīṣṭh-an) śúṣ-ya-ti* = *ūrdhva-śóṣ-am śúṣ-ya-ti* 'dries up/withers while still upright'. Similarly: *ūrdhva-pūr-am pūr-ya-te* 'fills up while still upright'.

### 3.4.45 upa-mān-e kārmaṇ-i ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring [with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as a direct object (kārmaṇ-i) and also (ca) serving as an object of comparison (upa-mān-e).

1. upamāne: *ghṛta-m iva ní-hi-ta-h* = *ghṛta+θ<sup>1</sup>+ni-dhā+ṆamuL* = *ghṛta+ni-dhā+yuk+am* = *ghṛta-ni-dhā-y-am ní-hi-ta-h* 'preserved like clarified butter'. Cf. 42 above.
2. *ajakā-nāś-am naś-tā-h* = *ajakā iva naś-tā-h*.

### 3.4.46 kās-ādi-ṣu yathā-vidhí=anu-pra-yogá-h

In the case of [verbal stems 1.91] beginning with kās- 'scrape' (34 above) the subsequent verbal stem is the same [as the one after 1.2 which the kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced].

Examples cited under 34-45 on this basis.

### 3.4.47 úpa-daṁś-as tṛtíyā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] úpa+daṁś- 'eat as a relish or side dish' (I 1038), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛtíyā-yām).

*mūlak-ena upa-dāś-ya* = *mūlaka+θ<sup>1</sup>+upa+daṁś+ṆamuL* = *mūlaka+upa-dāś-am* = *mūlakopa-dāś-am bhuk-té* 'he eats radish as a side dish' where *mūlaka*- functions as the direct object of *upa-daṁś*-, but as an instrument of the second verbal stem *bhuj*-.

### 3.4.48 himśā=arthānām ca sa-mānā-kartṛkā-ṇām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 verbal stems 1.91] denoting 'strike, hurt, injure' (himsā=arthānām), having the same agent (sa-mānā-kartṛkāṇām) [as the subsequent verbal stem 46, co-occurring with a nominal padá (1.4 ending in 1.1.72) the third sUP triplet 47].

*daṇḍ-éna upa-há-t-ya* = *daṇḍa+θ<sup>1</sup>+upa+han+ṆamuL* = *daṇḍopa-ghāt-am gāḥ kāl-áy-a-ti* 'herds the cattle by striking with a stick'.

### 3.4.49 saptamy-ām ca=úpa-<sup>1</sup>pīḍA-<sup>2</sup>rudha-<sup>3</sup>karṣ-ah

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] úpa+pīḍ- 'press down, hurt' (X 11), úpa-rudh- 'block' (VII 1) and úpa+kṛṣ- 'draw towards one's self' (I 1039), co-occurring with [a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamyām) as well as (ca) [the third 47].

*pārsváy-oh/pārsvā-bhyām upa-pīḍ-ya = pārsva+θ<sup>1</sup>+upa-pīḍ+ṆamūL = pārsvopa-pīḍ-am śé-te* 'sleeps, pressing down his sides'.

*vrajopa-ródh-am = vraj-é vraj-éna vā upa-rúdh-ya gāh sthā-p-áy-a-ti* 'herds the cattle into the cow-pen'.

*pāṇy-upa-kārṣ-am = pāñí-nā/pāñ-aú vā upa-kṛṣ-ya dhānāḥ sám-gṛh-ṇā-ti* 'he collects the fried rice with his hand, drawing it towards him'.

### 3.4.50 sam-ā-sát-t-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh 49 or the third sUP triplet 47] to denote an immediate contiguity (sam-ā-sát-t-au).

*kéé-ṣu/kés-aiḥ gṛh-ī-tvā yúdh-y-ante = keśa+θ<sup>1</sup>+grah+ṆamūL = keśa-grāh-am yúdh-y-ante* 'they fight each other, taking hold of each other's hair'; similarly *hasta-grāh-am yúdh-y-ante*.

### 3.4.51 pra-māṇ-e ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.71 the seventh 49 or the third sUP triplet 47] to denote a measure (of length: pra-māṇ-e).

*dvy-aṅgul-é/dvy-aṅgul-éna ut-kṛṣ-ya = dvya-ṅgula+θ<sup>1</sup>+ut-kṛṣ+ṆamūL = dvya-ṅgulot-kārṣ-am khaṇḍikām chi-ná-t-ti* 'he cuts a piece of the length of two fingers'.

### 3.4.52 apa=ā-dān-e parīpsā-yām

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padá 1.4] functioning as a stable point of separation (apādān-é 1.4.24) to denote haste (parīpsā-yām).

*śayyā-yāh ut-thā-ya* = *śayyā+θ<sup>1</sup>+ut+sthā+NamūL* = *śayyot-tthā-y-am* (7.3.33)  
*dhāv-a-ti* 'rising from the bed he runs immediately'.

### 3.4.53 dvitīyā-yām ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet also [to denote haste 52].

*yaṣṭi-m gṛh-I-tvā* = *yaṣṭi+θ<sup>1</sup>+gṛah+NamūL* = *yaṣṭi-grāh-am yūdḥ-y-ante* 'they fight, having hastily grabbed sticks'.

### 3.4.54 sva=aṅg-é=á-dhruv-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 co-occurring with a nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] denoting a non-vital (á-dhruv-e) member of one's body (svāṅg-é).

*ākṣi-ṇ-I ni-kāṇ-ya* = *ākṣi+θ<sup>1</sup>+ni-kāṇ+NamūL* = *ākṣi-ni-kāṇ-am jālp-a-ti* 'he speaks after closing his eyes'. Similarly *bhrū-vi-kṣép-am* = *bhrūv-au vi-kṣép-ya kath-áy-a-ti* 'he speaks after raising his eyebrows'; but *ut-kṣép-ya śírah kath-áy-a-ti* 'he speaks bending his head to one side', since it is a vital member of the body.

### 3.4.55 pari-kliś-yá-m-ān-e ca

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with a nominal padā 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] totally afflicted by that action (pari-kliś-yá-m-āne).

*úrah piṣ-ṭvā* = *urah+piṣ+NamūL* = *urah-pēs-am yūdḥ-y-ante* 'they fight, crushing chests'; similarly *śírah-pēs-am yūdḥ-y-ante* 'they fight, crushing heads'.

### 3.4.56 <sup>1</sup>viśī-<sup>2</sup>pátī-<sup>3</sup>padī-<sup>4</sup>skand-ām <sup>1</sup>vy-āp-yá-m-āna- <sup>2</sup>ā-sev-yá-m-ānay-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 NamūL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] viś- 'enter' (VI 130), pát- 'fly, fall' (I 898), pad- 'go' (IV 60) and skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [co-occurring with nominal padás 1.4 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53] to denote complete pervasion (vy-āp-yá-a-āna- °) or total absorption (ā-sev-yá-m-ānay-oḥ).

1. *gehá-m anu-pra-vís-ya* = *geha+θ<sup>1</sup>+anu-pra-vís+ṆamuL* = *gehānu-pra-vés-am ās-te* ‘entering (each) house he sits down’ = *gehām gehām anu-pra-vés-am ās-te*. *gehām anu-pra-vés-m anu-pra-vés-am ās-te*. *gehānu-pra-pāt-am/gehá-m gehá-m anu-pra-pāt-am ās-te*, *anu-pra-pāt-am amu-pra-pāt-am* = *gehām anu-pra-pāt-ya ās-te*. *gehānu-pra-pād-am/gehām gehá-m anu-pra-pād-am/gehá-m anu-pra-pād-am anu-pra-pād-am ās-te*. *gehāva-skánd-am/gehām gehá-m ava-skánd-am/gehá-m ava-skánd-am ava-skánd-am ās-te* = *gehá-m ava-skád-ya ās-te* ‘jumping from house to house, he sits down’.

Reduplication introduced by 8.1.4 does not apply to the compound which conveys the meaning, but when no composition takes place, the substantive is reduplicated when indicating pervasion and the verbal form to denote absorption.

### 3.4.57 <sup>1</sup>ás-ya-ti-<sup>2</sup>tṛṣ-aḥ kriyā=antar-é kālé-ṣu

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *as-* ‘toss’ (IV 100) and *tṛṣ-* ‘be thirsty’ (IV 118) to express an interruption in the action (*kriyā=antar-é*), co-occurring with a nominal *padá* 1.4 denoting expressions of time (*kālé-ṣu*) [ending in 1.1.71 the second sUP triplet 53].

*dvy-ahá-m aty-ás-ya* = *dvy-aha+θ<sup>1</sup>+aty+as+ṆamuL* = *dvy-ahāty-ās-am gáh pā-y-áy-a-ti* ‘makes the cattle drink at an interval of two days’.

Similarly: *dvy-ahá-m tṛṣ-i-tvá* = *dvy-aha-társ-am gáh pā-y-áy-a-ti* ‘makes the cattle drink, after making them thirsty for two days’.

### 3.4.58 nāmn-i=<sup>1</sup>ā-diśi-<sup>2</sup>gráh-oḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 ṆamuL 26 is introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] *ā+diś-* ‘announce’ (VI 3) and *gráh-* ‘seize, grasp’ (IX 61) [co-occurring with the nominal *pada* 1.4] *nāman-* ‘name’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 53]

*nāma ā-diś-ya* = *nāman+θ<sup>1</sup>+ā-diś+ṆamuL* = *nāmā-dés-am* (8.2.7) *ā-caṣ-te* ‘he speaks after announcing his name’. Similarly *nāma-gráh-am* = *nāma gṛh-i-tvá ā-caṣ-te*

### 3.4.59 avyay-é=á-yathābhipreta=ākhyān-e kṛÑ-aḥ <sup>1</sup>Ktvā-<sup>2</sup>ṆamuL-au

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1] *Krvā* and *ṆamuL* are introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] *kṛÑ-* ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10), co-occurring with an indeclinable (*avyay-e*) [nominal *padá* 1.4] to express some thing in an undesirable or improper manner [*á+ya-thā+abhi+pra+i-ta+ā-khyān-e*].



The expression [á-yathābhi-preta=ākhyān-e] refers to a loud announcement of an unpleasant item of news or a low announcement of a pleasant one.

*uccaiḥ kṛ-tvā / uccaiḥ-kār-am (= uccaiḥ+kṛ+NamūL) á-priya-m á-caṣ-te* ‘announces an unpleasant item of news in a loud voice’; likewise *nīcaiḥ kṛ-tvā / nīcaiḥ-kār-am priyā-m á-caṣ-te* ‘announces a pleasant item of news in a low voice’.

### 3.4.60 tiryác-i=apa-varg-é

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and NamūL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 kṛ- ‘do, perform’ 59] co-occurring with [the indeclinable 59 nominal padá 1.4] tiry-ác ‘obliquely’ to denote the sense of completion (apa-varg-é).

*tiry-ák kṛ-tvā = tiryak-kṛt-ya/tiryak-kār-am ga-tá-h* ‘he left, after having finished (something . . .)’ but *tiryák kṛ-tvā kāṣṭhá-m ga-tá-h* ‘he left, after placing the piece of wood obliquely’.

### 3.4.61 sva=aṅg-é tas-pratyay-é <sup>1</sup>kṛ-<sup>2</sup>bhv-óḥ

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and NamūL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91] kṛ- ‘do, perform’ (VIII 10) and bhū- ‘become (I 1) [co-occurring with nominal padás 1.4] denoting members of one’s body (svāṅg-é) [ending in 1.1.72] the affix °tás (5.4.45).

*mukha-táh kṛ-tvā = mukha-tah-kṛt-ya/mukha-tah-kār-am ga-tá-h* ‘he left facing (something. . .)’.

*pr̥ṣṭha-tó bhū-tvā = pr̥ṣṭha-to-bhū-ya/pr̥ṣṭha-to-bhāv-am ga-tá-h* ‘he left, turning back’.

### 3.4.62 <sup>1</sup>nā-<sup>2</sup>dhā-artha-pratyay-e Cvī=arth-e

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and NamūL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stems 1.91 kṛ- and bhū- 61, co-occurring with an indeclinable 59 nominal padá 1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the affixes (°-pratyay-é) having the sense of nā (5.2.27) or of dhā (5.3.42) when they denote the meaning of affix Cvī (5.4.50).

1. °nā: *nānā kṛ-tvā = nānā-kṛt-ya/nānā-kār-am ga-tá-h = á-nānā nānā kṛ-tvā ga-ta-h* ‘he left, after making manifold what was not so before’. Similarly *nānā bhū-tvā = nānā-bhū-ya/nānā-bhāv-am ga-tá-h* ‘having become manifold he left’.
2. °dha: *dvi-dhā kṛ-tvā = dvi-dhākṛt-ya/dvi-dhā-kār-am ga-tá-h* ‘he left, after making (something) two-fold’; likewise *dvi-dhā bhū-tvā = dvi-dhā-bhū-ya/dvi-dhā-bhāv-am ga-tá-h* ‘becoming double he left’.

### 3.4.63 *tūṣṇīm-i bhūv-aḥ*

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and ṆamL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bhū- ‘become’ (I 1) co-occurring with [the indeclinable 59 nominal padā 1.4] *tūṣṇī-m* ‘silently’.

*tūṣṇīm bhū-tvā* = *tūṣṇīm-bhū-ya/tūṣṇīm-bhāv-am* ‘having become silent’.

### 3.4.64 *anv-ác-i ānu-lomy-e*

[The kṛt 1.93 affixes 1.1 Ktvā and ṆamL 59 are introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91 bhū- 63, co-occurring with the indeclinable 59 nominal padā 1.4] *anv-ác* ‘friendly’ to denote a friendly disposition (*ānu-lomy-e*).

*anvág bhū-tvā* = *anvag-bhū-ya/anvag-vhāv-am ās-te* ‘he remains well-disposed’; but  
*anvág bhū-tvā tīṣṭh-a-ti* ‘he remains a follower or servant’.

### 3.4.65 <sup>1</sup>śaka-<sup>2</sup>dhṛṣṢ-<sup>3</sup>jñā-<sup>4</sup>glā<sup>5</sup>ghātA-<sup>6</sup>rabhA-<sup>7</sup>labhA-<sup>8</sup>krāma-<sup>9</sup>sāhA-<sup>10</sup>ārha-<sup>11</sup>asti=arthe-ṣu tumuN

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1] *tumuN* is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] co-occurring with (verbal stems) śak- ‘be able’ (V15), dhṛṣ ‘dare’ (V 22), jñā- ‘know’ (IX 36), glā (= glāi-) ‘weary, tire’ (I 868), ghāt- ‘strive’ (I 800), rabh- ‘begin’ (I 1023), labh- ‘obtain’ (I 1024), krām- ‘march’ (I 502), sāh- ‘be capable of’ (I 905), ārh- ‘merit, deserve’ (I 776) and verbal stems having the meaning of as- ‘be’ (II 56).

*śak-nó-ti bhók-tum* ‘is able to eat’; *dhṛṣ-nó-ti bhók-tum* ‘dares to eat’; *jñā-nā-ti bhók-tum* ‘knows how to eat’; *glāy-a-ti bhók-tum* ‘tires of eating’; *ghāt-a-te bhók-tum* ‘strives to eat’; *ā-rabh-a-te bhók-tum* ‘begins to eat’; *lābh-a-te bhók-tum* ‘gets (something) to eat’; *prá-kram-a-te bhók-tum* ‘proceeds to eat’; *sāh-a-te bhók-tum* ‘is capable of eating’; *ārha-a-ti bhók-tum* ‘deserves to eat’; *ās-ti/bhāv-a-ti/víd-ya-te bhók-tum* ‘there is (something) to eat’.

### 3.4.66 *pary-āp-ti-vacané-ṣu=alam-arthé-ṣu*

[The kṛt 1.93 affix 1.1 *tumuN* 65 is introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91, co-occurring with the indeclinable 59 nominal pada 1.4] *álam* ‘sufficient’ and its synonyms (*alam-arthé-ṣu*) to denote competence (*pary-āpti-vacané-ṣu*).

*páry-āp-ta-h/ālam bhók-tum* = *bhók-tum pār-áy-a-ti* 'is competent to eat' or 'is in a proper condition to eat'. But *ālam kṛ-tvā* 'enough of eating' (18 above), and *páry-āp-ta-m bhuk-té* 'eats sufficiently'.

### 3.4.67 kartár-i kṛt

[The affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛt (1.93ff.) are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agent (kartár-i).

*kṛ+ŊvuL* = *kár-aka-* 'doer, agent' = *kṛ+tt<sub>g</sub>C* = *kar-tṣ-* (1.133).

### 3.4.68 <sup>1</sup>bhāv-ya-<sup>2</sup>gé-ya-<sup>3</sup>pra-vac-aníya=<sup>4</sup>upa-sthān-íya-<sup>5</sup>ján-ya=<sup>6</sup>āplāv-ya=<sup>7</sup>ā-pāt-yā vā

[The irregular expressions] bhāv-ya- to ā-pāt-yā are introduced to denote [the agent 67] optionally (vā).

All these derivatives are generated with kṛtya affixes [yàT, ŊyàT or aníyaR] and by 70 below denote either the abstract action itself (bhāv-é) or the direct object (kármaṇ-i). The irregularity lies in the fact that these optionally denote the agent also.

*bhāv-a-ty asau/bhūyá-te an-éna* = *bhū+yaT* = *bhāv-ya-* (7.3.84) 'who exists (agent)/existence' (bhāv-é) (Accent by 6.1.113). Similarly: *gē-ya-* 'singer' or 'to be sung'; *pra-vac-aníya-* 'explicator' or 'to be explained'; *upa-sthā-p-aníya-* 'waiter' or 'to be waited upon'; *ján-ya-te asau/ján-yam an-éna vā* 'producer' or 'produced'; *ā-plāv-yā-* = *ā-plav-a-te asau* 'immerser or dipper' and *ā-plāv-ya-te an-éna* 'to be dipped or immersed'; *ā-pāt-yā* = *ā-pat-a-ti asau* 'assailant' or *ā-pāt-yām an-éna* 'to be assailed'.

### 3.4.69 l-aḥ kármaṇ-i ca bhāv-é ca=á-karmake-bhyaḥ.

l-members [= lAT, lIT, lUT, lṚT, lET, lOT, lAN, lIN, lUN and lṚÑ] are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote [the agent 67] as well as (ca) the direct object (kármaṇ-i) and [after 1.2] intransitive [verbal stems 1.91 (á-karmake-bhyaḥ)] to denote the abstract action (bhāv-é) in addition to (ca) [the agent 67].

[l] is the cover-term for all l-members denoting tenses and moods, differentiated from one another by specific markers: lAT 'Present Indicative', lIT 'Perfect', lUT 'Periphrastic (or non-Sigmatic) Future', lṚT 'Sigmatic Future', lET ('Subjunctive Mood'), lOT 'Imperative Mood', comprise one sub-class denoted by T-IT (with marker T); and lAN 'Imperfect', lIN 'Optative (or Potential) Mood', lUN 'Aorist' and lṚÑ 'Conditional' forming a second sub-class denoted by Ñ-IT (with marker Ñ).

By introducing the t.t. [á-karma-ka] for 'intransitive verbal stems' the inference is to be drawn that active and passive constructions are associated with transitive verbal stems while active and impersonal constructions are associated with intransitive stems: (a) Transitive: *deva-dattá-aḥ grāma-m gacch-a-ti* 'D. goes to the village' (active construction); (b) Intransitive: *deva-adattá-ḥ ās-te* 'D. is sitting' (active construction). But (a) *deva-datt-éna grāma-ḥ gam-yá-te* 'the village is reached by D.' (passive) and (b) *ās-yá-te deva-datt-éna* 'sitting by D. is taking place' (impersonal).

### 3.4.70 táy-or evá <sup>1</sup>kṛtya-<sup>2</sup>Ktá-<sup>3</sup>KHáL-arthāḥ

[The affixes 1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛtya (I 95ff.), Ktá and those having the meaning of affix KHáL are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote them alone (táy-or evá) [= kármaṇ-i ca bhā-vé ca 69].

1. kṛtya: *kṛ-távya-* = *kar-távya-ḥ káṭa-ḥ* 'the mat must be made' (kármaṇ-i); *ās-i-távya-m* 'sitting must take place' (bhā-vé).
2. Ktá: *káṭa-ḥ kṛ-tá-ḥ* 'the mat is made' (passive); *ās-i-tá-m bhávat-ā* 'sitting by you has taken place' (bhā-vé).
3. KHáL+artha: *su+kṛ+KHáL* = *su-kár-a-ḥ káṭa-ḥ* 'the mat is easily made' (passive); *īṣad-āḍhya-m-bhāv-am bhávat-ā* 'becoming rich by you is easily (taking place)' (bhā-vé).

### 3.4.71 adi-karmāṇ-i Ktá-ḥ kartár-i ca

[The affix 1.1] Ktá is also (ca) introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] to denote the agent in addition to (ca) [the direct object and abstract action (kármaṇ-i bhā-vé ca) 69] when referring to the first moment of an action (= incipient action).

- pra-kṛtá-ḥ káṭa-m deva-dattá-ḥ* 'D. began to make a mat' (active construction);  
*prá-kṛta-ḥ káṭa-ḥ deva-datt-éna* 'the mat was being made by D.' (passive);  
*pra-kṛtá-m deva-datt-éna* 'making by D. began to take place' (impersonal).

### 3.4.72 <sup>1</sup>gáty=artha<sup>2</sup>á-karma-ka=<sup>3</sup>śliṣ-<sup>4</sup>śīÑ=<sup>5</sup>sthā=<sup>6</sup>āsA-<sup>7</sup>vasÁ-<sup>8</sup>jána-<sup>9</sup>ruhÁ-<sup>10</sup>jīr-ya-ti-bhyaḥ

[The affix 1.1 Ktá 71 is introduced after 1.1 a verbal stem 1.91] denoting 'movement' (gáty-artha-) and those which are intransitive (á-karma-ka-) as well as śliṣ- 'embrace, clasp' (IV 77), śīÑ- 'lie down' (II 22), sthā- 'remain' (I 975), ās- 'sit down' (II 11), vas- 'dwell, reside' (I 1054), ján- 'be born' (IV 41), ruh- 'climb, ascend; germinate' (I 912) and jīr- 'grow old' (IV 22) [to denote the agent 71 in addition to the direct object and abstract action 69].

*gatá-h deva-dattá-h grāmām* (agent) 'D. went to the village'; *gatá-h grāma-h deva-datt-éna* 'the village was reached by D.' (direct object); *ga-tá-m deva-datt-éna* 'going by D. took place' (abstract action).

Similarly: *ās-i-tá-h bhāvān (kārtar-i)* 'you sat down'; *ās-i-tá-m bhāvat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'sitting by you (took place)'.

*upa-ślistá-h gurú-m bhāvān (kartár-i)* 'you contacted the teacher'; *upa-ślistá-h gurú-h bhāvat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was contacted by you (kárman-i); *upa-ślistá-m bhāvat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'contact by you took place'.

*upa-sáy-i-tá-h gurú-m bhāvān (kartár-i)* 'you slept after the teacher'; *upa-sáy-i-ta-h gurú-h bhāvat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was followed by you in sleeping'; *upa-sáy-i-tá-m bhāvat-ā* 'sleeping after by you took place' (abstract action).

*upa-sthitá-h gurú-m bhāvān (kartár-i)* 'you approached the teacher'; *upa-sthi-ta-h gurú-h bhāvat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was approached by you'; *upa-sthi-tá-m bhāvat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'approaching by you took place'.

*upās-i-tá-h gurú-m bhāvān (kartár-i)* 'you served the teacher'; *upās-i-ta-h gurú-h bhāvat-ā (kárman-i)* 'the teacher was served by you'; *upās-i-tá-m bhāvat-ā (bhāv-é)* 'serving by you took place'.

*anūs-i-tá-h gurú-m bhāvān (kartár-i)* 'you dwelt near the teacher'; *anūs-i-ta-h gurú-h bhāvat-ā (kárman-i)*, *anūs-i-tá-m bhāvat-ā (bhāv-é)*.

*anu-jātá-h māṇavaká-h māṇaviká-m (kartár-i)* 'the boy came to birth after the girl'; *anu-jāt-ā māṇaviká māṇavak-éna (kárman-i)*; *anu-jātá-m māṇavak-éna (bhāv-é)*.

*ā-rū-ḍhá-h vṛkṣá-m bhāvān (kartár-i)* 'you climbed the tree'; *ā-rūḍha-h vṛkṣá-h bhāvat-ā (kárman-i)*; *ā-rūḍhá-m bhāvat-ā (bhāv-é)*.

*anu-jṛṇá-h vṛṣalí-m deva-dattá-h (kartár-i)* 'D. destroyed the Vṛ.'; *anu-jṛṇá-m deva-datt-éna (kárman-i)*; *anu-jṛṇá-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*.

### 3.4.73 <sup>1</sup>dāsá-<sup>2</sup>goghn-aú sam-pra-dā-e

(The irregular expressions) *dāsá-* and *goghná-* are introduced [as derived from verbal stems 1.91] to denote the indirect object (sam-pra-dān-e).

*dās-anti tásmāi* = *dās+áC* = *dās-á-* recipient'; normally the kft affix is agent-oriented, but in this case represents the sampradāna kāraka (1.4.21).

Similarly *ā-ga-tá-ya tásmāi gā-m hán-ti* = *go+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+TaK* = *go-hθn+á* (6.4.98) = *go-ghn-á* (7.3.54) 'a guest for whom the host slaughters a cow'.

### 3.4.74 bhīmá=āday-aḥ=apa=ā-dān-e

(The irregular class of expressions) beginning with *bhīmá-* 'fierce' are introduced [as derived from verbal stems 1.91] to denote the apādāna kāraka (1.4.24 = ablative).

Exception to 67 above. *bī-bhe-ti a-smāt* = *bhī+maK (Uṇādi)* = *bhī-má* 'one from whom fear arises'.

### 3.4.75 *tā-bhyām anyā-tra=úN=āday-aḥ*

[The class of affixes 1.1] beginning with úN are introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 in *kāra* 1.4.23] other than (*anyā-tra*) those two (*tā-bhyām*) [= *sam-pra-dāna* 73 and *apā-dāna* 74].

The *uN-ādi-sūtra*s which list these affixes do not constitute an integral part of the *Aṣṭ*, but are included in the *kṛt* section (3.1 above); as such they should normally denote the agent, but by this general rule they are introduced to denote other *kāra*s as well: *kṛṣ-i-tā-h as-au* = *kṛṣ-i-* (direct object) ‘agriculture, cultivation’; *tan-yā-te an-éna* = *tán-tu(N)* ‘thread’ (instrument) and *car-i-tā-m a-smín* = *cār-man-* ‘skin’ (locus, substratum).

### 3.4.76 *Ktá-ḥ=adhi-kár-aṇ-e ca <sup>1</sup>dhraúvya-<sup>2</sup>gáti-<sup>3</sup>prati=ava-sāna=arthe-bhyaḥ*

[The affix 1.1] *Ktá* is introduced [after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91] denoting a static action (*dhraúvya*) or movement (*gáti*) or eating (*praty-ava-sāna=arthe-bhyaḥ*) [to derive nominal stems] denoting a locus (*adhi-kár-aṇ-e*) also.

The force of particle [*ca*] in the *sūtra* is to indicate that in addition to *adhi-kár-aṇa* *kāra*, others applicable by previous rules are also optionally introduced.

1. static action (*dhraúvye*): *ās-i-tā-h deva-dattā-h (kartár-i)*; *ās-i-tā-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*; *idám e-śám ās-i-tám* = *ās-te a-smín* ‘this is their place of sitting’ (locus).
2. *gáti-arthe*: *yā-tā-h deva-dattā-h grāma-m (kartár-i)*; *yā-tā-h grāma-h deva-datt-éna (kārman-i)*; *yā-tā-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*; *idám e-śám yā-tā-m* = *yā-nti a-smín (adhikāraṇ-e)*.
3. *pratyavasāna=arthe*: *bhuk-tā-h odanā-h deva-datt-éna (kārma-n-i)*; *bhuk-tā-m deva-datt-éna (bhāv-é)*; *idám e-śám bhuk-tā-m* = *bhuj-yā-te a-smín*.

### 3.4.77 *la-sya*

In the place of l-members.

This is a governing rule extending up to the end of this chapter. The cover term for l-members is either *l* (69 above) or *la*. The expression [*la-sya*] will recur in each of the following *sūtra*s in this section.

### 3.4.78 <sup>1</sup>tiP-<sup>2</sup>tás-<sup>3</sup>jhi=<sup>4</sup>siP-<sup>5</sup>thás-<sup>6</sup>thá=<sup>7</sup>miP-<sup>8</sup>vás-<sup>9</sup>más=<sup>10</sup>tá=<sup>11</sup>ātām=<sup>12</sup>jha=<sup>13</sup>thás-<sup>14</sup>āthām-<sup>15</sup>dhvám=<sup>16</sup>īT-<sup>17</sup>váhi-<sup>18</sup>máhiN

[The eighteen substitute affixes 1.1] beginning with *tiP* and ending with *máhiN* replace [the l-members 77 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

Literally speaking, these are replacements [= in the place of 77 above] of l-members. All these eighteen substitute affixes are designated by the siglum (praty-ā-hārā) tiÑ (1.4.101). Parasmaipadā (active voice) is assigned to all l-members by 1.4.99, modified by the next following sūtra 100 whereby the siglum taÑ denotes members constituting the Ātmanepadā (middle voice). Thus the first nine are Parasmaipadā endings and the second nine are Ātmanepadā endings. They are further classified into three triplets each (1.4.101) constituting three persons: third, second and first. In that order, and within each triplet they constitute the three numbers: singular, dual and plural (1.4.102). The t.t. vibhakti applies to them (1.4.104).

### 3.4.79 Ṭ-IT-aḥ=ātmanepadā-nām ṬE-r e

The phoneme [e] is the substitute for the syllable commencing with the last vowel of Ātmanepadā l-substitutes (taÑ) [of l-members 77] with marker Ṭ as IT (= IATṬ, IITṬ, IUTṬ, IṚṬṬ, IETṬ and IOTṬ).

*tá, ātām, jha; thās, āthām dhvām and īṭ- váhi and máhi* are respectively replaced by *t-é, át-e, á(n)t-e; sé, áth-e, dhv-é; é, vāh-e, māv-e* of l-members having Ṭ as an IT marker.

IATṬ: *pac+IATṬ = pác+ŚaP(1.68)+ta = pác-a-te* 'cooks'; *pac+yaK+ta* (1.67) = *pac-yá-te* 'is cooked', etc. The Present Indicative conjugation of this stem: *pác-a-te, pác-e-te, pác-ante; pác-a-se, pác-ethe, pác-a-dhve; pác-e, pác-ā-vahe, pác-ā-mahe*. The morpho-phonemic changes involved will be explained at the proper places.

### 3.4.80 thā-aḥ=sé

[The substitute affix 1.1] sé replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] thās [of l-members 77 with marker Ṭ 79 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

*pác+IATṬ = pác+ŚaP+thās = pác-a-se* 'thou dost cook/art cooking'.

### 3.4.81 IITṬ-as <sup>1</sup>tá-<sup>2</sup>jhay-or <sup>1</sup>éŚ-<sup>2</sup>iréC

[The substitute affixes 1.1] éś and iréC replace (respectively 1.3.10) l-substitutes tá and jha of [l-member 77] IITṬ 'Perfect'.

*pac+IITṬ = pac+ta = pac-pac+ta* (6.1.8) = *paθ-pac+ta* (7.4.60) = *θθ-pec+é = pec-é* (6.4.120); *pac+jha = pec-iré* 'he, she/they have cooked'.

### 3.4.82 $\text{parasmaipadā-nām } ^1\text{NaL-}^2\text{átus-}^3\text{ús-}^4\text{thaL-}^5\text{áthus-}^6\text{á-}^7\text{NaL-}^8\text{vā-}^9\text{māḥ}$

[The substitute affixes 1.1]  $\text{NaL}$ ,  $\text{átus}$ ,  $\text{ús}$ ,  $\text{thaL}$ ,  $\text{áthus}$ ,  $\text{á}$ ,  $\text{NaL}$ ,  $\text{vā}$  and  $\text{mā}$  [respectively 1.3.10] replace (the nine) *Parasmaipada* [l-substitutes 78  $\text{tiP}$ ,  $\text{tás}$ ,  $\text{jhi}$ ,  $\text{siP}$ ,  $\text{thás}$ ,  $\text{thá}$ ,  $\text{miP}$ ,  $\text{vás}$  and  $\text{más}$  of l-member 71 IIṬ 81].

$\text{pac} + \text{IIT} + \text{tiP} = \text{pa-pac} + \text{NaL}$  (6.1.8; 7.4.60) =  $\text{pa-pác-a}$  (7.2.116) 'he/she has cooked';  
 $\text{pa-pac} + \text{tás} = \text{pec-átuh}$  (8.3.15) 'they two have cooked';  $\text{pa-pac} + \text{jhi} = \text{pec-úḥ}$  'all of them have cooked';  $\text{pa-pac} + \text{siP} = \text{pa-pac} + \text{thaL} = \text{pa-pák-tha}$  (7.2.62)/ $\text{péc-i-tha}$  (7.2.63);  $\text{pa-pac} + \text{thá} = \text{pec-á}$   $\text{pap-pac} + \text{miP} = \text{pa-pac} + \text{NaL} = \text{pa-pác-a/pa-pác-a}$  (7.1.91);  $\text{pa-pac} + \text{vás} = \text{pec-i-vá}$  (7.2.35);  $\text{pa-pac} + \text{más} = \text{pec-i-má}$ .

### 3.4.83 $\text{víd-aḥ=laT-aḥ=vā}$

[The nine substitute affixes 1.1 beginning with  $\text{NaL}$ ] optionally ( $\text{vā}$ ) replace [the *Parasmaipadā* 82 l-substitutes of l-member 77]  $\text{laT}$  introduced [after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91]  $\text{víd-}$  'know' (II 55).

$\text{víd} + \text{laT} = \text{víd} + \emptyset^1 + \text{tiP}/\text{víd} + \text{NaL} = \text{vét-ti}$  (7.3.86; 8.4.55)/ $\text{véd-a}$ ;  $\text{vít-táh}/\text{víd-átuh}$ ;  $\text{víd-ánti}/\text{víd-úḥ}$   $\text{vét-si}/\text{vít-tha}$ ;  $\text{vít-tháh}/\text{víd-áthuh}$ ;  $\text{vít-thá}/\text{víd-á}$ ;  $\text{véd-mi}/\text{véd-a}$ ;  $\text{víd-váh}/\text{víd-vá}$ ;  $\text{víd-más}/\text{víd-má}$ .

### 3.4.84 $\text{bruv-aḥ pañcā-nām ādi-táh=āḥa-ḥ=bruv-aḥ}$

[The substitute affixes 1.1  $\text{NaL}$ ,  $\text{átus}$ ,  $\text{ús}$ ,  $\text{thaL}$  and  $\text{áthus}$  82 optionally 83] replace the first ( $\text{ādi-táh}$ ) five ( $\text{pañcā-nām}$ ) [*Parasmaipadā* l-substitutes 82 of l-member 77  $\text{laT}$  83 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91]  $\text{brū-}$  'speak' (II 35) with the substitute morpheme  $\text{āḥ-}$  replacing (the whole of 1.1.55)  $\text{brū}$ .

$\text{brū} + \emptyset^1 + \text{tiP} = \text{bruv-ti}$  (7.3.93)/ $\text{āḥ} + \text{NaL} = \text{āḥ-a}$ ;  $\text{brū-táh}/\text{āḥ-átuh}$ ;  $\text{bruv-anti}/\text{āḥ-úḥ}$ ;  $\text{bruv-tiḥ}/\text{āḥ} + \text{thaL} = \text{át-tha}$  (8.2.35);  $\text{brū-tháh}/\text{āḥ-áthuh}$  ( °-s → °-ḥ 8.3.15).

### 3.4.85 $\text{IoT-aḥ=laÑ-vát}$

[The l-substitutes of l-member 77]  $\text{IoT}$  'Imperative Mood' are like those of [l-member 77]  $\text{laÑ}$  'Imperfect'.

By the recurrence of [ $\text{vā}$ ] from 83 above, interpretation limits this equivalence to a few substitutes only, introduced by 99 and 101 below; 99 refers to the  $\emptyset$  replacement of final [ °-s] of  $\text{vás}$  and  $\text{más}$ , and 101 refers to the replacement of  $\text{tás-thás-thá-miP}$  respectively by  $\text{tām-tām-tá-am}$ . Thus  $\text{pac} + \text{IoT} =$



$pác+\acute{S}aP+tás = pác-a-tām$ ; similarly  $pác+a+thas=pác-a-tam$ ;  $pác-a+tha = pác-a-ta$ .

### 3.4.86 e-r u-ḥ

The phoneme [u] replaces the phoneme [i] [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOṬ 85].

The affixes subject to this replacement are tiP, jhi, siP and miP; of these siP is replaced by hí (87) and miP by ni (89) and this rule is not applicable there as they are subsequent rules (1.4.2).  $pác+\acute{S}aP+tiP = pác-a-tu$ ;  $pác-a+jhi = pác-a-anti = pác-a+antu = pác-antu$  (6.1.97; 7.1.3).

### 3.4.87 se-r hí=a-P-IT=ca

[The substitute affix 1.1] hí, without IT-marker P, replaces siP [of the l-substitute 78 of l-member 77 IOṬ 85, introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$pác+\acute{S}aP+si = pác-a+hí = pác-a+\emptyset^1$  (6.4.106). The recurrence of marker P of siP which would apply to its substitute (1.1.56) is specifically blocked out by this rule. Thus  $iN+IOṬ = iN+\emptyset^1+siP = i-hí$ , since without marker P the substitute [hi] is considered a Ñ-IT (1.2.4) which automatically blocks guṇa replacement of the stem-final vowel (1.1.5).

### 3.4.88 vā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute affix 1.1 hi 87 for l-substitute siP 78 of l-member 77 IOṬ 85] is optionally (vā) [not marked by P as IT 87].

$yu-$  (II 23 'mix')  $+IOṬ = yu+\acute{S}lu+hi$  (2.4.76)  $= yu-yu+hi=yu-yo-dhí$  (6.4.103) where this affix is minus marker P 87 above, but in  $prī-$  (IX 2)  $+IOṬ = prī-ṇī$  (6.4.113)  $+hi = prī-ṇī-hí$  this affix is associated with marker P (by 1.1.56) and being a Ñ-IT (1.2.4) does not operate guṇa replacement of the class-marker-final of  $°-nī-$ .

### 3.4.89 me-r ni-ḥ

[The substitute affix 1.1] ni replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) [l-substitute 77 of IOṬ 85] mi(P) [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

$pác+IOṬ+miP = pác+\acute{S}aP+miP = pác+a+ni = pác+a+āṬ-ni = pác-āni$  (92).

### 3.4.90 ām eT-ah

The syllable *ām* replaces phoneme e(T) [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOT 85].

By 79 above [e] is the substitute for the syllable beginning with the last vowel of all Ātmanepadā l-substitutes of l-members with marker T̄, and by this rule this [e] is now replaced by the syllable [ām]: *pac+IOT̄* = *pac+ŚaP+te(79)* = *pác-a-tām*; similarly the remaining forms of this paradigm are: *pác-e-tām* (7.2.81), *pác-antām*, *pác-e-thām*.

### 3.4.91 <sup>1</sup>sa-<sup>2</sup>vā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>va=<sup>2</sup>am-au

The elements *va* and *am* (respectively 1.3.10) replace [the substitute vowel e of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOT 85] co-occurring after phonemes [s, v].

Exception to [ām] 90 above. l-substitutes of IOT̄ where [e] occurs after [s, v] are respectively [sé], [dhvé], the singular and plural of the second person: [sé] is replaced by [svá] and [dhvé] by [dhvám]: *pac+IOT̄* = *pac+ŚaP+se/dhvé* = *pác-a-sva/pác-a-dhvam*.

### 3.4.92 āT̄=uttamā-sya P-IT=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] ā(T̄) constitutes the beginning of l-substitutes of the first person (uttamā-sya) [of l-member 77 IOT 85] and it functions as though it were marked with P as IT.

By the marker P or āT̄ it functions as though it were not marked with N̄ as IT so that it operates guṇa replacements by 7.3.84,86: *kṛ+IOT̄* = *kṛ+ú* (1.79)+*ni/va/ma* = *kar-ó+āni/āva/āma* *kar-áv-āni/kar-áv-āva/kar-áv-āma* (7.3.84; 8.4.2).

### 3.4.93 eT-ah=ai

The phoneme *ai* replaces the phoneme e(T) [of the first person 92 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IOT 85].

This has reference to Ātmanepadā l-substitutes of the first person: *kṛ+IOT̄* = *kṛ+ú+āT̄+e* (1.9) = *kar-ó+ā-e* = *kar-áv+ā+ai* = *kar-áv-ai* (6.1.88); *kar-áv-āvahai*, *kar-áv-āmahai*. Exception to [ām] 90.

### 3.4.94 IET-ah 1aT-2āT-au

[The initial increments 1.1.46] aT and āT are [inserted at the beginning of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] IET 'Subjunctive Mood'.

$jús + IET = jús + siP(1.34) + tiP = jós + iT + siP + t\emptyset$  (97; 1.34; 7.2.35) =  $jós - i - s - aT = t = jós - i - s - a - t$  (8.3.59) 'may he/she be pleased'.  
 $pat + IET = pát + ŚaP + āT + tiP = pát - ā - ti$  'may (one) fall/fly'.

### 3.4.95 āT-ah=ai

The phoneme [ai] replaces phoneme ā(T) [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94].

The affixes in question are *ātām/āthām* the dual of the third and second person Ātmanepadá l-substitutes.  $mantr + Nic + IET = mantr - i + ŚaP + āte = mantr - é + a + aite = mantr - áy - aite$ ; similarly  $mantr - áy - aithe$ .

### 3.4.96 vā=eT-ah=anyá-tra

[The phoneme /ai/ 95] optionally (vā) replaces the phoneme [e] [of l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94] elsewhere (anyá-tra: i.e., other than that prescribed in 95 above).

$ś + IET = ś + e = ś - ai / ś - e$ ;  $śt + e = śe + ai$  (7.4.21) =  $śay - ai$ , but  $mantr - áy - aite / ° - aithe$ .

### 3.4.97 iT-as=ca lópa-h parasmaipadé-su

The substitute lopa (=  $\emptyset$ ) [optionally 96] replaces phoneme [i(T)] of Parasmaipadá [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94].

The l-substitutes in question are tiP, jhi, siP and miP;  $jós - i - s - a - t / pat - ā - ti$  (cf. 94 above).

### 3.4.98 s-ah=uttamá-sya

[Substitute lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) 97 optionally 96 replaces] the phoneme [s] of the first person (uttamá-sya) [Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IET 94].

The l-substitutes concerned are vas/mas:  $kṛ + IET = kṛ + ú + āT + vas / mas = kar - o + ā + vas / mas = kar - áv - ā - va / kar - áv - ā - vah$  (8.3.15);  
 $kar - áv - ā - ma / kar - áv - ā - mah$ .

### 3.4.99 nítyam Ñ-IT-ah

[The substitute lopa (Ø) 97] necessarily (nítyam) replaces [the phoneme /s/ of the first person 98 Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-members 77] having marker Ñ as IT.

$$pac + IAN = pac + \acute{S}aP + vas / mas = \acute{a}T + pac + \acute{S}aP + va / ma \text{ (6.4.71; 7.3.101).}$$

$$pac + IIN = pac + \acute{S}aP + y\acute{a}suT - vas / mas \text{ (103)} = pac - a - y\acute{a}\emptyset - va / ma \text{ (7.2.79)} =$$

$$pac - a - iy - va / ma \text{ (7.2.80)} = pac - a - i\emptyset - va / ma \text{ (6.1.66)} = p\acute{a}c - e - va / p\acute{a}c - e - ma.$$

$$pac + IU\acute{N} = \acute{a}T + pac + s_iC + vas / mas \text{ (1.44)} = \acute{a} - p\acute{a}k - \acute{s} - va / \acute{a} - p\acute{a}k - \acute{s} - ma \text{ (7.2.3; 8.2.30; 3.59).}$$

$$pac + I_R\acute{N} = \acute{a}T + pac + sya + vas / mas = \acute{a} - pak - sy\acute{a} - va / \acute{*} - ma \text{ (7.3.101; 8.3.59).}$$

### 3.4.100 iT-as=ca

[The substitute lopa (Ø) 97 necessarily 99] replaces the phoneme [i(T)] of the [Parasmaipadá 97 l-substitutes 78 of l-members 77 having marker Ñ as IT 99].

The l-substitutes involved are tiP, jhi, siP and miP: for miP a separate rule provides for its complete replacement by am (101 below).

$$pac + IAN = \acute{a} - pac - a - i\emptyset, \acute{a}pac - an\emptyset\emptyset \text{ (8.2.23), } \acute{a} - pac - a - s\emptyset.$$

$$pac + IIN = pac - e - i\emptyset; pac - e - s\emptyset.$$

$$pac + IU\acute{N} = \acute{a} - p\acute{a}k - \acute{s} - I - i\emptyset; \acute{a} - p\acute{a}k - \acute{s} - I - s\emptyset.$$

$$pac + I_R\acute{N} = \acute{a} - pak - sya - i\emptyset, \acute{a} - pak - sya - s\emptyset.$$

### 3.4.101 <sup>1</sup>tás-<sup>2</sup>thás-<sup>3</sup>thá-<sup>4</sup>miP-ām <sup>1</sup>tām-<sup>2</sup>tám-<sup>3</sup>tá=<sup>4</sup>am-ah

[The substitute affixes 1.1] tām, tám, tá and am (respectively 1.3.10) replace the l-substitutes táś, thás, thá and miP [of Parasmaipadá 97 of l-members 77 having marker Ñ as IT 99].

$$pac + IAN = \acute{a} - pac - a - t\acute{a}m / \acute{*} - tam / \acute{*} ta / \acute{a} - pac - am \text{ (6.1.97).}$$

$$pac + IIN = p\acute{a}c - e - t\acute{a}m / p\acute{a}c - e - tam / p\acute{a}c - e - ta, p\acute{a}c - ey - am.$$

$$k_T + IU\acute{N} = \acute{a} - k\acute{a}r - \acute{s} - t\acute{a}m / \acute{a} - k\acute{a}r - \acute{s} - tam / \acute{a} - k\acute{a}r - \acute{s} - ta / \acute{a} - k\acute{a}r - \acute{s} - am.$$

$$pac + I_R\acute{N} = \acute{a} - pak - sya - t\acute{a}m / \acute{*} - tam / \acute{*} ta / \acute{a} - pak - sy - am \text{ (6.1.97).}$$

### 3.4.102 IIN-ah sīyut

[The initial increment 1.1.46] sīyut constitutes the beginning of [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] IIN 'Optative/Potential Mood'.

$$pac + IIN = pac + \acute{S}aP + ta = p\acute{a}c - a + s\bar{r}y + suT - ta \text{ (107)} = pac + a + \emptyset\bar{r}y + \emptyset + ta \text{ (7.2.79)} =$$

$$pac + a + \emptyset + ta \text{ (6.1.66)} = p\acute{a}c - eta; p\acute{a}c - ey - \acute{a}t\acute{a}m; p\acute{a}c - eran \text{ (105), } p\acute{a}c - eth\acute{a}h,$$

$$p\acute{a}c - ey - \acute{a}th\acute{a}m, p\acute{a}c - edhvam; p\acute{a}c - eyam, p\acute{a}c - evahi, p\acute{a}c - emahi.$$

### 3.4.103 yāsuṭ parasipadé-ṣu=udātta-ḥ=Ñ-IT=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāsuṭ with high-pitched accent (udātta-ḥ) [constitutes the beginning of] Parasmaipadā [l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 liÑ 102] and functions as though marked with Ñ as IT.

Exception to [siyṭ] 102. Being considered as marked with Ñ it does not operate guṇa replacements under 7.3.84,86 (1.1.5).

$kr + liñ = kr + u + yās-tḥ = kur-u-yās-sṭ-t$  (107; 6.4.110) =  $kur-ḥ-yāḥ-ḥ-t$  (6.4.109; 7.2.79) =  $kur-yāt$ ,  $kur-yā-tām$ ,  $kur-yāḥ$  (108; 6.1.96);  $kur-yāḥ$ ,  $kur-yātam$ ,  $kur-yāta$ ;  $kur-yām$ ,  $kur-yāva$ ,  $kur-yāma$ .

### 3.4.104 K-IT=āśīṣ-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāsuṭ with udātta accent 103 constituting the beginning of Parasmaipadā 103 l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 liñ 102] is deemed to be marked with K as IT and denotes benediction (āśīṣ-i).

This is the Precative or Benedictive Mood. The difference in the IT-marker is with reference to samprasāraṇa replacement (6.1.15).

$yaj + liñ āśīṣi = yaj + yās-sṭ-t + sṭ-t + tḥ = iaj + yās-s-t$  (6.1.15) =  $ij-yās-s-t$  (6.1.108) =  $ij-yāḥ-ḥ-t$  (8.2.29);  $ij-yās-tām$ ,  $ij-yās-uḥ$ .

$jāgr + liñ āśīṣ-i = jāgar + yās-s + t$  (107; 7.3.85) =  $jāgar-yāḥ-ḥ-t$  (8.2.29) =  $jāgar-yāt$ ,  $jāgar-yās-tām$ ,  $jāgar-yās-uḥ$ , but in the Optative forms [yāsuṭ] being deemed a Ñ-IT prevents guṇa replacement by 7.3.85:  $jāgr-yāt$ ,  $jāgr-yūḥ$ .

### 3.4.105 jha-sya raN

[The substitute affix 1.1] raN replaces [the Ātmanepadā 102 l-substitute 78] jha [of l-member 77 liñ 102].

Exception to 7.1.3.  $pac + liñ = pac + ŚaP + jha = pac + a + sṭ-sṭ-t + jha = pac-a + ḥ-sṭ + raN = pác-a + ḥ-raN$  (6.1.66) =  $pác-eran$ .

### 3.4.106 íṭ-aḥ=áT

(The substitute element) á(T) replaces [the l-substitute 78] íṭ 'first person singular Ātmanepadā' [of l-member 77 liñ 102].

$pác + liñ = pác + ŚaP + siyṭ + íṭ = pác-a + ḥ-sṭ + á = pác-eya$ .

### 3.4.107 suṭ <sup>1</sup>ti-<sup>2</sup>th-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] suṭ constitutes the beginning of phonemes [t], [th] contained in [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77 IIN 102].

This is not an exception to 102-3 above and there is no competition between these two increments, since [siyut, yāsut] are the general increments of all l-substitutes of IIN while the present increment applies only to such of them as contain the two phonemes [t, th]. The affixes in question are ti, tās, thā of Paramaipada and tá, thās, ātām and āthām of Ātmanepada'. The actualization of the phoneme [s] of these increments is realized only in the Precative Mood (IIN āśis-i) since they are replaced by ∅ in the Optative by 7.2.79.

$bhū+IIN \text{ āśis-i} = bhū+yās+s+t\emptyset = bhū-yā\emptyset-t$  (8.2.29) =  $bhū-yāt$ ,  $bbū-yās-tām$ ,  $bhū-yāsuḥ$ .

### 3.4.108 jhe-r Jús

[The substitute affix 1.1] Jús replaces [the l-substitute 78] jhi [of l-member 77 IIN 102].

Exception to 7.1.3.  $pac+IIN = pac+ŚaP+yāsut+jhi = pac-a-yā\emptyset+us$  (7.2.79) =  $pac-a-ry+us$  (7.2.80) =  $pac-eyuḥ$ .

### 3.4.109 <sup>1</sup>siC=<sup>2</sup>abhyàsta-<sup>3</sup>vidi-bhyas=ca

[The substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-members 77 with IT marker Ñ 99 introduced after 1.2] the Aorist marker siC, reduplicated [verbal stems 1.91 and the verbal stem] vid- 'know' (II 55).

$aT+kr+siC+jhi = a-kār-s-Jus = a-kār-s-uh$  (6.4.75; 7.2.1).

$a-da-dā+jhi = a-da-duḥ$  (6.1.96).

$a-vid+jhi = a-vid-uh$ .

### 3.4.110 āT-ah

[The substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 introduced after 1.2 the Aorist marker siC 109 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T).

$dhā+IIN = a-dhā+siC+jhi = a-dhā+\emptyset^1+Jus$  (2.4.77) =  $a-dhuḥ$  (6.1.96).

### 3.4.111 lAÑ-aḥ śākaṭāyaná-sya=evá

According to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná only, [the substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-member 77] lAÑ 'Imperfect' [introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme ° ā 110].

This is an optional rule.  $yā+lAÑ = \acute{a}T+yā+\theta^1+jhi = \acute{a}-yā+Jus = \acute{a}-yuh$  according to Ś. but  $\acute{a}-yā+ant = \acute{a}-yān\theta$  (8.2.23) according to other grammarians.

### 3.4.112 dviṣ-as=ca

[According to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná 111 the substitute affix 1.1 Jús 108 replaces the l-substitute 78 jhi 108 of l-member 77 lAÑ 111 introduced after 1.2 the verbal stem 1.91] dviṣ- 'hate' (II 3).

$dviṣ+lAÑ = \acute{a}T+dviṣ+\theta^1+jhi = \acute{a}-dviṣ+Jus = \acute{a}-dviṣ-uh$  according to S. only, but  $\acute{a}-dviṣ-an$  according to others.

### 3.4.113 <sup>1</sup>tiÑ-<sup>2</sup>Ś-IT sārva dhātukam

The t.t. sārva dhātuka denotes the l-substitute [affixes 1,1] implied by the siglum tiÑ (78) and those marked with Ś as IT.

Besides the eighteen l-substitutes designated by the siglum tiÑ affixes with IT marker Ś are: KHáŚ, Śá, ŚátR, Śádhyai, ŚadhyaiN, ŚaP, ŚanáC, ŚānaN, ŚáyáC, ŚnáM, Śná, Śnú, ŚyaN, Ślu and CānáŚ.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.2.4; 3.1.67; 6.1.186; 4.87,110; 7.2.76; 3.8r,87,95; 4.21,25.

### 3.4.114 ārdhadhātuka-m śéṣa-h

The t.t. ārdha-dhātuka denotes the residue (śéṣa-h) [of affixes 1.1 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

These are (a) affixes which generate verbal stems (1.5-30) (b) verbal and (c) primary nominal affixes comprising the whole of the kṛt section (1.93ff.).

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.4; 2.4,35-56; 3.1.31; 6.4.46-68; 7.2.35; 3.64; 4.49.

### 3.4.115 1IT ca

[The t.t. ārdha-dhātuka 114] also denotes (ca) [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] 1IT 'Perfect Tense'.

Exception to 113 above. This rule blocks out the introduction of class-markers (vi-kar-aṇa-s) to build up the theme of the Present System in the first place, and secondly makes applicable the operation of 7.2.35 whereby initial increment iṭ may constitute the beginning of some of these l-substitutes: *pac+1IT* = *pa-pac-iṭ=vá/má* = *∅∅-pec-i-vá/má* (6.4.120).

### 3.4.116 IIN āśiṣ-i

[The t.t. árdhadhātuka 114 also 115] denotes [the l-substitutes 78 of l-member 77] IIN when denoting benediction (āśiṣ-i) 'Precative or Benedictive Mood'.

Exception to 113 above. Consequently class-markers are not introduced after verbal stems before these l-substitutes. Precative of *bhū sattā-yām* (I 1): *bhū+yās+s+t* = *bhū-yāt, bhū-yāstām, bhū-yāsuḥ* contra Optative *bhāv-et, bhāv-etām, bhāv-eyuḥ*.

### 3.4.117 chāndas-i=ubhayá-thā

In the domain of Chāndas both (ubhayá-thā) [= sārva dhātuka 113 and árdhadhātuka 114 denote the l-substitutes 78 implied by the siglum tiN and affixes with marker Ś as IT 113 as well as residual affixes 114 introduced after 1.2 a verbal stem 1.91].

*vṛdh+NiC+ŚaP+antu* / *vārdh+∅-antu* = *vārd-antu/vardh-áy-antu*. ∅ replacement of [NiC] occurs by virtue of [antu] being considered as árdhadhātuka (6.4.51).

*su+as+KtiN* = *sv-ás-ti* where the verbal stem is not replaced by [bhū-] by virtue of [KtiN] being considered as sārva-dhātuka.



#### 4.1.1 <sup>1</sup>Nĩ-<sup>2</sup>āP-<sup>3</sup>prātipadik-āt

[After 3.1.2] expressions [ending in 1.1.72 (feminine 4) affixes 3.1.1] Nĩ and āP and nominal stems (prātipadik-āt 1.2.45-46).

This is a governing rule heading this section, extending up to the end of the fifth chapter, and will recur in the following sūtras as required in each individual case. [Nĩ] is the cover term for [NĩN, NĩP and NĩS] which are introduced in the following rules; and similarly [āP] is the cover term for [CāP, TāP and DāP]. While items ending in these affixes are also prātipadikās, their inclusion in this governing rule is for the purpose of fixing the relative position of these affixes with reference to others introduced in this large section.

Three classes of affixes are included in this major section: (a) declensional affixes (2); (b) feminine affixes (3-91); (c) secondary nominal affixes denoted by the t.t. taddhitā (76ff. which is a very large group). Certain classes of affixes must follow feminine affixes, like the declensional affixes which necessitates their inclusion in the governing rule.

4.1.2 <sup>1</sup>sU=<sup>2</sup>au-<sup>3</sup>Jas=<sup>4</sup>am-<sup>5</sup>auT=<sup>6</sup>Śas=<sup>7</sup>Tā-<sup>8</sup>bhyām-<sup>9</sup>bhis=<sup>10</sup>Ne-  
<sup>11</sup>bhyām-<sup>12</sup>bhyas=<sup>13</sup>NasI-<sup>14</sup>bhyām-<sup>15</sup>bhyas-<sup>16</sup>Nas-<sup>17</sup>os-<sup>18</sup>ām=  
<sup>19</sup>Nĩ-<sup>20</sup>os-<sup>21</sup>suP

[The affixes 3.1.1] sU, au, Jas; am, auT, Śas; Tā, bhyām, bhis; Ne, bhyām, bhyas; NasI, bhyām, bhyas; Nas,os, ām and Nĩ, os, suP are introduced [after 3.1.2 expressions ending in 1.1.72 (feminine affixes) Nĩ and āP and (other) nominal stems 1].

These twenty-one affixes constitute the declensional endings, divided into seven triplets (1.4.103) denoted by the t.t. [vibhākti 1.4.104], and in the order in which they appear have the appropriate ordinals denoting them: [prathamā] 'nominative' (with vocative as a sub-class) (sU-au-Jas); [dvitīyā] 'accusative' (am-auT-Śas); [tṛtīyā] 'instrumental' (Tā-bhyām-bhis); [caturthī] 'dative' (Ne-bhyām-bhyas); [pañcamī] 'ablative' (NasI-bhyām-bhyas); [ṣaṣṭhī] 'genitive' (Nas-os-ām); [saptamī] 'locative' (Nĩ, os, suP). In the order in which they appear in each triplet they denote the singular, dual and plural endings (1.4.102). The application of these endings are given in 2.3.2ff. together with 1.4.22-23.

- Items ending in Nĩ: *nadī* f. 'river': *nadī*+sU = *nadī*+∅ (6.1.68); *nadī*+au/auT = *nady*-aú (6.1.105); *nadī*+Jas = *nady*-āḥ (6.1.105); *nadī*+am = *nadī*-m (6.1.107); *nadī*+Śas = *nadī*-ḥ (6.1.102); *nadī*+Tā = *nady*-ā; *nadī*-bhyām, *nadī*-bhiḥ; *nadī*+Ne = *nadī*+āT-e (7.3.112) = *nady*-aí (6.1.88); *nadī*-bhyām, *nadī*-bhyah; *nadī*+Nas(I) = *nadī*+ā+as = *nady*-āḥ; *nadī*-bhyām, *nadī*-bhyah; *nady*-ōḥ; *nadī*+ām = *nadī*+nuT-ām (7.1.54) = *nadī*-nām; *nadī*+Nĩ - *nadī*+āT-ām (7.3.116) = *nady*-ām; *nady*-ōḥ; *nadī*-ṣu (8.3.59).
- Items ending in āP: *kalā* 'art': *kalā*+sU = *kalā*+∅ (6.1.68); *kalā*+au/auT = *kalā*+Śī (7.1.18) = *kal*-ē; *kalā*+Jas/Śas = *kalā*-ḥ (6.1.102); *kalā*+am = *kalā*-m

(6.1.107);  $kalā+Tā = kale+ā$  (7.3.105) =  $kaláy-ā$  (6.1.78)  $kalā-bhyām$ ,  $kalā-bhiḥ$ ;  $kalā+Ñe = kalā+yāT-e$  (7.3.113) =  $kalā-yai$  (6.1.88);  $kalā-bhyām$ ,  $kalā-bhyaḥ$ ;  $kalā+Nas(I) = kalā+yā-as = kalā-yāḥ$  (6.1.101);  $kalā+os = kalé+os$  (7.3.105) =  $kaláy-oḥ$  (6.1.78);  $kalā-nām$ ;  $kalā+yā+Ñi = kalā-yā-ām$  (7.3.116) =  $kalā-yām$ ;  $kalā-su$ .

3. Nominal stems: *vidyút-* 'lightning':  $vidyút+eU = vidyút+Ø$  (6.1.68);  $vidyút+au/auT = vidyút-au$ ;  $vidyút+Jas/Śas = vidyút-aḥ$ ;  $vidyút-am$ ;  $vidyút-ā$ ,  $vidyúd-bhyām$  (8.4.53),  $vidyúd-bhiḥ$ ;  $vidyút-e$ ,  $vidyúd-bhyām$ ,  $vidyúd-bhyaḥ$ ;  $vidyút-aḥ$ ,  $vidyúd-bhyām$ ,  $vidyúd-bhyaḥ$ ;  $vidyút-aḥ$ ,  $vidyút-oḥ$ ,  $vidyút-am$ ;  $vidyút-i$ ,  $vidyút-oḥ$ ,  $vidyút-su$ .

### 4.1.3 striy-ām

In the domain of the feminine gender (= with reference to the feminine gender).

This is a governing rule, heading this section and extending up to 81 below, and will recur in each of the subsequent statements of this section in which the appropriate affixes are introduced after nominal stems to derive feminine stems.

### 4.1.4 <sup>1</sup>ajá=ādi=<sup>2</sup>aTas=TāP

[The affix 3.1.1] TāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with ajá- 'goat' and those [which end in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [to derive feminine nominal stems 3].

1.  $ajá+TāP = ajā$  'she-goat'; similarly  $edaka+TāP = edakā$  'ewe'.
2. The inclusion of nominal stems ending in short °-a in the ajá-class is [I] either to block out the introduction of ÑiS (63) with reference to words denoting species, or to the husband (48) or words which end in names of flowers etc., (49) [II] or to block out ÑiP in relation to words denoting age (20) or where the derivative word ends in an affix with the marker T (15).

### 4.1.5 <sup>1</sup>rT=<sup>2</sup>ne-bhyaḥ=ÑiP

[The affix 3.1.1] ÑiP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.71] the phoneme short r or °-n [to derive a feminine nominal stem 3].

1. °-r:  $kṛ+trN+ÑiP = kár-tr+I = kár-tr-I$  'doer, producer'.
2. °-n:  $daṇḍ+fn+ÑiP = daṇḍ-fn-I$  'carrying a stick'.

#### 4.1.6 uK=IT-as=ca

[The affix 3.1.1  $\check{N}\bar{i}P$  5] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] with marker denoted by the siglum uK (= u, ṛ, ḷ) as IT [to derive a feminine nominal stem 3].

$pac+\acute{S}atR = pac+\acute{S}aP+\acute{a}tR+I = p\acute{a}c-at+n\bar{u}M+I$  (7.1.81; 6.1.97) =  $p\acute{a}c-ant-I$  'cooking'; similarly from the verbal stem  $bh\bar{u}+\acute{S}atR+\check{N}\bar{i}P = bh\acute{a}v-ant-I$  'pre-Pāṇinian t.t. for the Present Tense', but from the pronominal stem  $bh\acute{a}vatU+\check{N}\bar{i}P = bh\acute{a}vat-I$  'you (respectfully), your honor'.

#### 4.1.7 van-aḥ=ra ca

[The affix 3.1.1  $\check{N}\bar{i}P$  5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-van and (ca) the phoneme [r] replaces the [stem-final 1.1.52] phoneme [to derive a feminine 3 stem 1.]

While this affix is already introduced by 5 above, the specific mention here is for the stem-final replacement by phoneme [r]:  $dh\acute{a}+Kv\bar{a}niP+\check{N}\bar{i}P$  (3.2.74) =  $dh\acute{r}+van+I$  (6.4.66) =  $dh\acute{r}-var-I$  'fisherman's wife';  $go+d\acute{a}+van+\check{N}\bar{i}P = go-d\acute{a}-var-I$  'n.pr. of a river'.

#### 4.1.8 pād-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1  $\check{N}\bar{i}P$  5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-pād (occurring as a final member of a compound) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$dv-a\bar{u} p\acute{a}d-a\bar{u} a-sy\acute{a} = dvi-p\acute{a}d-$  (5.4.140) 'bi-ped, two-legged' /  $dv\bar{f}-p\acute{a}d$  (6.2.197 for accent options) +  $\check{N}\bar{i}P$   $dvi-p\acute{a}d-I$  /  $dv\bar{f}-p\acute{a}di-I$  (6.4.130) 'consisting of two feet', alternating with  $dvi-p\acute{a}d-$  /  $dv\bar{f}-p\acute{a}d-$  which is both m. and f.

#### 4.1.9 $\check{T}\bar{a}P=\bar{r}c-i$

In the domain of R̥g-Veda [the affix 3.1.1]  $\check{T}\bar{a}P$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.71 °-pād 8].

Exception to  $\check{N}\bar{i}P$  8.  $dv\bar{f}-p\acute{a}d$  /  $dvi-p\acute{a}d$  +  $\check{T}\bar{a}P = dv\bar{f}-p\acute{a}d-\bar{a}$  /  $dvi-p\acute{a}d-\bar{a}$  'a verse consisting of two feet' (in the RV); similarly  $tr\bar{f}-p\acute{a}d-\bar{a}$  /  $tri-p\acute{a}d-\bar{a}$ .

#### 4.1.10 ná 'ṣaṭ-<sup>2</sup>svasṛ=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 generating a feminine nominal stem 3] is not introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] denoted by the t.t. ṣaṣ (1.1.20) and the [class of nominal stems 1] beginning with svásṛ- 'sister'.

The t.t. ṣaṣ denotes the following number-words: *pāncan-* '5', *ṣaṣ-* '6', *saptán-* '7', *aṣṭán-* '8', *návan-* '9', *dásan-* '10' etc.; *pāñcan+Jas* = *pāñcan+ṭ*<sup>1</sup> (7.1.22) = *pāncaṭ* (8.2.7) *strīy-aḥ púmāms-aḥ=vā* 'five women or men' where the number-word serves both as f. and m.

The class of words represented by svásṛ-class consist of: *svásṛ-* 'sister', *duhitṛ-* 'daughter', *nánāndṛ-* 'husband's sister', *yātṛ-* 'husband's brother's wife', *mātṛ-* 'mother' and the number words *tisṛ-* '3', *catasṛ-* '4'.

#### 4.1.11 man-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is not 10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-man(iN 3.2.74ff.).

Exception to 5 above. *dā-man-* m. f. 'giver, donor, bestower'; *pā-man-* f. 'scabies'.

#### 4.1.12 an-aḥ=bahuvrīhē-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is not 10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoted by a Bahuvrīhī (compound) [ending in 1.1.72] the element °an [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*śóbhana-am páruva a-syāḥ* = *su-parván* 'possessing beautiful joints'; (both m. and f.)  
but *āti-krāntā rājān-am* = *ātr-rājan+NīP āti-rājñ* (6.4.134)+I = *āti-rājñ-I* 'superior to a king'.

#### 4.1.13 DāP=ubhá-bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1] DāP is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2] both (ubhá-bhyām) [nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-man 11 and Bahuvrīhī compounds ending in 1.1.72 °-an 12 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

1. °-man: *pāman+DāP* = *pāmaṭ+ā* (6.4.143) = *pā-mā*. *pā-me/pā-mā*, *pā-mān-au*, *pā-mān-aḥ* (12).
2. °-an: *bahav-aḥ yāj-vān-aḥ a-syāḥ* = *bahu-jay-vān+DāP* = *bahu-yajvāṭ+ā* (6.4.143) = *bahu-yajvā*, *bahu-yajvā*, *bahu-yajvāḥ/bahu-yajvā*, *bahu-yaj-vān-au*, *bahu-yaj-vān-aḥ* 'who has offered many sacrifices'.

#### 4.1.14 án-upa-sarjan-āt

[After a nominal stem 1] which is not a subordinate member (upa-sárj-ana) of [a compound 1.2.43].

This is a governing rule heading this section and extending up to 81 below, and will recur in each of the subsequent rules of this section. [Upa-sárj-ana] is defined by 1.2.43 as that expression which is introduced with the first sUP triplet in the section dealing with compounds (2.1.3ff.). In a Bahuvrīhi compound all the constituent members are [upa-sárjana-s] or subordinate members. Thus in *kúru-ṣu cár-a-ti* = *kuru*+<sup>1</sup>*car*+*Ta* (3.1.16)+*ÑiP* (15) = *kuru-car-í* 'wandering in the Kuru country', but in *baháv-aḥ kuru-car-āḥ a-syám* = *bahu-kucurá+TāP* = *bahu-curu-car-á* (nagari) 'city in which there are many wanderers from the Kuru country' where 4 above applies.

#### 4.1.15 <sup>1</sup>T-IT=<sup>2</sup>ḍha=<sup>3</sup>áÑ=<sup>4</sup>aÑ=<sup>5</sup>dvayasáC=<sup>6</sup>daghnáC=<sup>7</sup>mātráC=<sup>8</sup>tayaP-<sup>9</sup>ṭhaÑ-<sup>10</sup>kaÑ-<sup>11</sup>KvaraP-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] with marker *T* as IT, and [affixes] *ḍha*, *áÑ*, *aÑ*, *dvayasáC*, *daghnáC*, *mātráC*, *tayaP*, *ṭhák*, *ṭhaÑ*, *KaÑ* and *KvaraP* [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

- ending in an affix with marker *T*: *kuru+car+Ta+ÑiP* = *kuru-car+ṭ+í* (6.4.148), but *pac+IAT* = *pac+ŚaP+ŚānāC+TāP* (3.2.124) = *pác-a-m-ānā* since *IAT* has two markers.
- \*-ḍha: *su-parṇí+ḍhaK* (120) = *sauparṇṭ+eyá+I* (6.4.148) *sauparṇ-eyṭh-í* (6.4.148).
- \*-áÑ: *kumbh-ám kar-ó-ti* = *kumbha+ṭ<sup>1</sup>+kr+áÑ* (3.2.1)+*ÑiP* = *kumbha-kār-í* 'lady pot-maker'.
- \*-aÑ: *utsa+aÑ+I* (86) = *avúts-I* 'lady descendant of U.'
- \*-dvayasáC: *ūru-dvayasá+I* - *ūru-dvayas-í* 'reaching up to the thigh'.
- \*-daghnáC: *ūru-daghná+I* = *ūru-daghn-í* 'ibid.'
- \*-mātráC: *ūru-mātrá+I* = *ūru-mātr-í* 'ibid.'
- \*-tayaP: *pánca+tayaP+I* = *pánca-tay-I* 'five-fold'.
- \*-ṭhák: *akṣ-aír dīvu-ya-ti* = *akṣa+ṭhák* (4.2)+*I* = *akṣa+iká+I* (7.3.50) = *akṣ-ik-í* 'lady gambling with dice'.
- \*-ṭhaÑ: *lavan-ám pán-yam a-syāḥ* = *lavaná+ṭhaÑ+I* *lavan-ika+I* = *lavan-ik-I* 'lady dealing in salt'.
- \*-KaÑ: *tā-dṛś+KaÑ+I* (3.2.60) = *tā-dṛś-a+I* = *tā-dṛś-I* 'like that'.
- \*-KvaraP: *nás+KvaraP+I* = *nás=var-I* (3.2.163) 'fragile, perishable'.

#### 4.1.16 yaÑ=as=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yaÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$gargá+yaÑ+ÑiP = gárg-ya+I = gárg-y\bar{o}+I$  (6.4.148) =  $gárg\bar{o}+I$  (6.4.150) =  $gárg-\bar{i}$   
'female descendant of Garga'.

#### 4.1.17 prāc-ām Ṣpha taddhitá-ḥ

According to Eastern Grammarians (prāc-ām) [the affix 3.1.1] Ṣpha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 16 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] and it is classed as a taddhitá (76ff.).

The purpose of classifying [Ṣpha] as a taddhitá affix is to qualify the stem ending in it as a prātipadiká (1.2.46). The marker Ṣ operates the affix ÑfṢ (41 below).

$gargá+yaÑ = gárg-ya+Ṣpha = gárgy-āyana-$  (7.1.2)+ÑfṢ (41) =  $gárgy-āyan-ḥ$  (8.4.2)  
=  $gárg-I$  (by 16 above).

#### 4.1.18 sarvátra <sup>1</sup>lóhita=ādi=<sup>2</sup>kata=ante-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 Ṣpha 17] is introduced, according to all Grammarians (sarvá-tra) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with lóhita- and ending with kata- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 16].

This class of nominal stems is a sub-set of the major class beginning with gárga- (105); this is an obligatory rule replacing the option implied by the previous reference to Eastern Grammarians; [sarvá-tra] stands for 'according to all Grammarians' [sarve-sām ācāryā-nām mat-ena].

$lóhita+yaÑ = laúhit-ya+Ṣpha+ÑfṢ = lauhity-āyana+ḥ = lauhity-āyan-ḥ$  'female descendant of Lóhita'; similarly  $kāty-āyan-ḥ$  'female descendant of Kata'.

#### 4.1.19 <sup>1</sup>kauravyá-<sup>2</sup>māṇḍūkā-bhyaṁ ca

[The affix 3.1.1 Ṣpha 17] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kaurav-yá and māṇḍūka- [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

$kuru+Nyá$  (152) =  $kaurav-yá$  (6.4.146; 6.1.79)+Ṣpha+ḥ -  $kaurav-y-āyan-ḥ$  (8.4.2)  
'female descendant of Kauravyá'.

Similarly  $māṇḍūk-āyan-ḥ$  'female descendant of Māṇḍūka'.

#### 4.1.20 váyas-i pratham-é

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting the first part of life (váyas-i pratham-é ‘teens’) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*kumārā+ÑiP* = *kumār-í* ‘maiden, girl, virgin’; similarly *kīśor-í* ‘female colt’; *bárkar-I* ‘kid’. Exceptions to TāP 4.

#### 4.1.21 dvigó-ḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of] a Dvigú (compound 2.1.52) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*aṣṭā-nām adhyāyā-nām sam-ā-hār-ā-ḥ* = *aṣṭān+θ<sup>1</sup>+adhyāyā+ÑiP* = *aṣṭaθ+adhyāyā+I* (8.2.7) = *aṣṭā-dhyāy-í* ‘a collection of eight chapters (title of the present work)’; similarly *pañcā-nām pūlā-nām sam-ā-hār-ā-ḥ* = *pañca-pūl-í* ‘a collection of five bunches’.

#### 4.1.22 a-<sup>1</sup>pari-māṇa-<sup>2</sup>bistá=<sup>3</sup>ā-cita-<sup>4</sup>kambalyé-bhya-ḥ ná taddhita-lúK-i

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Dvigú (compound) 21] not [ending in 1.1.72] a word denoting a measure (parimāṇa) or [ending in 1.1.72] °-bistá-, °-ā-cita-, and °-kambl-yá-, when there is a replacement by luk (θ) of a taddhitá (5.1.28) affix [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*pañcā-bhir áśv-aiḥ kṛt-tā* = *pañcan+θ<sup>1</sup>+áśva+ṭhaK* (5.1.37)+TāP = *pañcaθ+áśva+θ<sup>1</sup>+ā* (8.2.7; 5.1.28) = *pañc-āśv-ā* ‘bought with five horses’; *dv-aú bist-aú pác-a-ti* = *dvi+θ<sup>1</sup>+bista+ṭhaK* (5.1.52) = *div-bista+θ<sup>1</sup>* (5.1.28)+TāP = *dvi-bist-ā* ‘who cooks two bistás of grain’. Similarly *dv-áú ácit-au pác-a-ti* = *dv-ācit-ā*; *dvā-bhyām kambalyā-bhyām kṛt-tā* = *dvi-kambaly-ā* ‘bought with two blankets’.

#### 4.1.23 kāṇḍá=ant-āt kṣétr-e

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5 is not 22 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Dvigú compound 21 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °-kāṇḍá- [when there is replacement by luK of a taddhitá affix 22 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] denoting a field (kṣétr-e).

*dv-é kāṇḍ-é pramāṇam a-syāḥ* = *dvi+θ<sup>1</sup>+kāṇḍa+dvayasāC* = *dvi-kāṇḍa+θ<sup>1</sup>* (by a vārttika on 5.2.37)+*TāP* = *dvi-kāṇḍ-ā* ‘having a measure of two kāṇḍa-s’ (of a field: *kṣetra-bhakté-h*); but *dvi-kāṇḍ-ī rājju-h* ‘a rope measuring two kāṇḍa-s’.

#### 4.1.24 pūruṣ-āt pra-māṇ-e=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) [not 22 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 comprising a Dvigu’ compound 21 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °pūruṣa- ‘person’ to denote a measure (pramāṇ-e) [for deriving a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*dv-au pūruṣ-au pramāṇam a-syāḥ parikhā-yāḥ* = *dvi-θ<sup>1</sup>+puruṣa+dvayasāC* = *dvi-puruṣa=θ<sup>1</sup>+NīP/TāP* = *dvi-puruṣ-ī/dvi-puruṣ-ā* ‘a moat having the width of two men’.

#### 4.1.25 bahuvrīhī-r ūdhas-aḥ=NīṢ

[The affix 3.1.1] NīṢ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] constituting a Bahuvrīhī compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1] °-ūdhas ‘udder’ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*ghaṭā iva ūdhaḥ a-syāḥ* = *ghaṭa+θ<sup>1</sup>+ūdhan* (5.4.131)+*NīṢ* = *ghaṭodhṇ+ī* (6.4.134) = *ghaṭodhn-ī* ‘(a cow) whose udder is like a jar’; similarly *kunḍodhn-ī* but *prāp-tā ūdhaḥ* = *prāptodhās-* ‘a female calf which has reached her mother’s udder’.

#### 4.1.26 <sup>1</sup>saṁkhyā=<sup>2</sup>avyaya=āde-r NīP

[The affix 3.1.1] NīP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] constituting a Bahuvrīhī compound ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 1 ūdhas- 25] co-occurring with numerals (saṁkhyā) or indeclinables (avyaya) as prior members (āde-h)[to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. saṁkhyā: *dv-é ūdhas-ī a-syāḥ* = *dvī-θ<sup>1</sup>+ūdhas+NīP* = *dvī-ūdhan+ī* = *dvī-ūdhn-ī* (6.4.134) = *dvī-ūdhn-ī* ‘(a cow) having two udders’.

2. avyaya: *nīr-ga-ta-m ūdhaḥ a-syāḥ* = *nīr-ūdhas+NīP* = *nīr-ūdhn-ī* ‘a cow having no udders’.

The difference between [NīP] and [NīṢ] is in accentuation only.



#### 4.1.27 <sup>1</sup>dāma(n)=<sup>2</sup>hāyána=ant-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound 25 with numerals as prior members 26] and °-dāman- ‘rope’ and hāyána- ‘year’ as posterior members (°-ant-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*dvé dāman-ī a-syāḥ* = *dvi-∅<sup>1</sup>+dāman+ÑiP* = *dvīdām∅n-ī* ‘tied with two ropes’;  
*dv-aú hāyán-au a-syāḥ* = *dvī-hāyan-ī* ‘two years old’.

#### 4.1.28 an-aḥ=upadhā-lopín-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound 24 ending in 1.1.72] °-an and subject to ∅-(lopa) replacement of its penultimate (phoneme) (upadhā-lopín-aḥ) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*śóbhana-h rájā a-syāḥ* = *su+rāján+ÑiP* = *su-rājñ-ī* (6.4.134; 6.2.172) = *su-rājñ-ī*  
/ *su-rāján+Dāp* (13) = *su-rāj-ā/su-rāj-án-* (12).

#### 4.1.29 nít Yam <sup>1</sup>saṁjñā-<sup>2</sup>chándas-oḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5] is necessarily (nít Yam) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound 25 ending in 1.1.72 °-an and subject to ∅ replacement of its penultimate phoneme 28 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] in the names and Chándas.

1. saṁjñā: *su-rājñ-ī, áti-rājñ-ī* ‘names of villages’.
2. chándas-i: *pañca-dāmn-ī gau-h* ‘a cow, tied with five ropes’.

#### 4.1.30 <sup>1</sup>kévala-<sup>2</sup>māmaká-<sup>3</sup>bhāga-dhéya-<sup>4</sup>pāpá=<sup>5</sup>ápara-<sup>6</sup>samāná=<sup>7</sup>árya-kṛta-<sup>8</sup>su-maṅgalá-<sup>9</sup>bheṣaj-át=ca

[In the domain of names and of Chándas 29 the affix 3.1.1 ÑiP 5] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kévala- ‘sole’, māmaká- ‘mine’, bhāga-dhéya- ‘share’, pāpá- ‘wicked, evil’, ápara- ‘another’, samāná- ‘equal’, árya-kṛ-ta- ‘made by an Aryan’, su-maṅgalá- ‘auspicious’; and bheṣajá- ‘remedy’ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*kévala+ÑiP* = *kéval-ī* ‘n.pr. of a Jyotis’, contra *kéval-ā* in the spoken language (s.l.).

Similarly: *māmak-ī* (= *māmik-ā* s.l.), n.pr.; *bhāga-dhēy-ī* (*bhāga-dhēy-ā*); *pāp-ī* (*pāp-ā*); *āpar-ī* (*āpar-ā*); *samān-ī* 'n. of a metre' (s.l. *samān-ā*); *ārya-kṛt-ī* (*ārya-kṛt-ā*); *su-maṅgal-ī* (*su-maṅgal-ā*); *bheṣaj-ī* (*bheṣaj-ā*) 'healing'.

#### 4.1.31 *rātre-s=ca ā-Jas-au*

[In the domain of names and Chāndas 29 the affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *rātri-* 'night' except before the nominative plural [sUP ending 2] *Jasī*.

*rātri+ÑiP* = *rātri+sU/au/am* = *rātri/rātry-au/rātri-m*; but *rātri+Jas* = *rātre+Jas* (7.3.109) = *rātray-aḥ*.

#### 4.1.32 *<sup>1</sup>antār-vat-<sup>2</sup>pāti-vat-or nyK*

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *antār-vat* and *pāti-vat-* and the increment *nyK* constitutes the final element (of these nominal stems) [to form feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

*antār-vat+ÑiP* = *antār-vat-n-ī* 'pregnant'; *pāti-vat-n-ī* '(a wife) whose husband is still alive'.

#### 4.1.33 *pātyu-r na-ḥ=yajña-saṁ-yog-é*

(The substitute phoneme) [n] replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 1] *pāti-* 'husband, master, lord' [before the feminine 3 affix 3.1.1 *ÑiP* 5 introduced after 3.1.2 it to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] for expressing a participation in the performance of a sacrifice (*yajña-saṁ-yog-é*).

*pāti+ÑiP* = *pāt-n-ī* 'wife, entitled to participate in a sacrifice with her husband', but *grām-sya pāti-r iy-ām brāhmaṇ-ī* 'this brahmin lady is the village-head'.

#### 4.1.34 *vibhāṣā sā-pūrva-sya*

[The substitute phoneme n 33] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [replaces the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem *pāti-* 33 before the feminine 3 affix 3.1.2 *ÑiP* 5 introduced after 3.1.2 it to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when it is preceded by a prior member (*sā-pūrva-sya*) [which is not an *upasārjana* 14].

*vṛddhá pāti-ḥ* = *vṛddhá+TāP+sU+pāti+sU* = *vṛddha-ḥ+ḥ+pati+sU* =

*vṛddha-patī-h/-pat-n-ī* 'old wife' but *grāma-sya pāti-r iy-ām brāhmaṇ-ī*; *sthūlā-h pāti-h=a-syāh* = *sthūlā-patī-/sthūlā-patn-ī* since the governing rule 14 applies not to the word [pāti -] but to an expression ending in it.

#### 4.1.35 nítya-m sa-pátnī=ādi-ṣu

[The substitute phoneme n 33] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 1-class 1] beginning with sa-patn-ī [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 NīP5].

*samānā-h pāti-r a-syāh* = *sa-pāt-n-ī* 'co-wife'; *vīrā-pat-n-ī* 'hero's wife'; *ēka-pat-n-ī* 'a woman who has only one husband'.

#### 4.1.36 pūtā-krato-r ai ca

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pūtā-kratu- and the phoneme /ai/ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*pūta-kratu+NīP* = *pūta-krat-ai+I* = *pūta-kratāy-ī* (6.1.78) 'wife of P.'

#### 4.1.37 <sup>1</sup>vṛṣā-kapī=<sup>2</sup>agnī-<sup>3</sup>kusitā-<sup>4</sup>kūsīdā-nām udātta-h

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] vṛṣā-kapī, agnī-, kusitā-, kūśīdā-, (and) high-pitched (udātta-h) [phoneme /ai/ replaces (their stem-final phonemes 1.1.52) 36 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

*vṛṣā-kapī+NīP* = *vṛṣā-kapāi+I* = *vṛṣā-kapāy-ī* 'wife of V.'

Similarly: *agnāy-ī*, *kusitāy-ī*, *kūsīdāy-ī*.

#### 4.1.38 mánor au vā

[The affix 3.1.1 NīP 5 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] mánu- 'n.pr.' and the element /au/ [as well as the high-pitched element ai 37 replace the stem-final (1.1.52) phoneme to derive the feminine 3 nominal stem 1] optionally (vā).

The option indicated by [vā] makes both [au] and [ai] optional, generating three forms: *mánāv-ī/manāy-ī/mānu-* 'wife of Manu'.

#### 4.1.39 várṇ-āt=ánudātt-āt tá=upadh-āt t-aḥ na-h

[The affix 3.1.1 NĪP 5 is introduced optionally 38 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a color-name (várṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.52] a low-pitched vowel (ánudātt-āt) and containing phoneme [t] as penultimate (tópadhāt) and phoneme [n] replaces (this) [t] [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*éta-* ‘variegated color’+TāP/NĪP = *ét-a* ‘hind’ (4) / *éna+I* = *én-I* ‘a river’.

Similarly: *hárit-ā/hárin-I*, *śyét-ā/śyén-I*. If these words do not contain penultimate [t] the following rule 40 applies.

#### 4.1.40 anyá-taḥ=NĪṢ

[The affix 3.1.1] NĪṢ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 denoting color names 19] other than those (anya-táḥ) [containing phoneme /t/ as penultimate, ending in 1.1.52 a low-pitched vowel 36 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*sārāṅga+NĪṢ* = *sāraṅg-ī* ‘a kind of spotted deer’; similarly *kalmāṣa+ī* = *kalmāṣ-ī* ‘speckled or spotted cow’, but *kṛṣṇá+TāP* = *kṛṣṇ-ā* ‘black cow’.

#### 4.1.41 <sup>1</sup>Ṣ-IT=<sup>2</sup>gaura=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 NĪṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] containing marker Ṣ as IT and [the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gaurá- ‘fawn-colored’ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*nṛt+SvuN+NĪṢ* (3.1.145) = *nárt+aka+ī* = *nart-ak-ī* ‘danseuse’; similarly *raj-ak-ī* ‘laundress’; *jalp+ṢākaN+NĪṢ* (3.2.155) = *jálp-āka+ī* = *jalp-āk-ī* ‘garrulous woman’.

*gaurá+ī* = *gaur-ī* ‘fawn-colored; N.Pr. of Śívás consort’.

#### 4.1.42 <sup>1</sup>jānapada-<sup>2</sup>kuṇḍá-<sup>3</sup>gōṇa-<sup>4</sup>sthála-<sup>5</sup>bhāja-<sup>6</sup>nāgá-<sup>7</sup>kālá-<sup>8</sup>nīla-<sup>9</sup>kuśá-<sup>10</sup>kāmuka-<sup>11</sup>kábar-āt <sup>1</sup>vṛtti=<sup>2</sup>ámatra=<sup>3</sup>ā-vápana=<sup>4</sup>á-kṛtrimā-<sup>5</sup>śrāṇá-<sup>6</sup>sthaúlya-<sup>7</sup>várṇa=<sup>8</sup>án-ā-cchādana=<sup>9</sup>ayo-vikārá-<sup>10</sup>maithuna=icchā-<sup>11</sup>keśa-veśé-ṣu

[The affix 3.1.1 NĪṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] (beginning with) jāna-pada- ‘country’ and (ending with) kábara- ‘braid’

[to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1] to denote respectively (1.3.10) 'the mode of life (vṛtti)', etc. to 'tress of hair'.

- (1) *jānapada*+*ÑfS* = *jānapad-f vṛtti-h* 'country life', but *jāna-pad-r (ÑrP)* 'lady inhabitant of a country'.
- (2) *kuṇḍ-f* = *āmatra-m* 'a vessel' contra *kúṇḍ-ā* (4) 'n.pr. of Durgā'.
- (3) *goṇ-f* = *āvāpana-* 'sack, gunny bag' contra *gón-ā* 'kind of grass'.
- (4) *sthāl-f* = *ā=krṭimā* 'tableland, eminence; *sthāl-ā* 'artificially raised earth, a mound'.
- (5) *bhāj-f* = *śrāṇā* 'rice gruel', *bhāj-ā* 'bent stick',
- (6) *nāg-f* = *sthaūlya-m* 'obesity', *nāg-ā* 'moon's path through the constellation Svāti'.
- (7) *kāl-f* = *vārṇa* 'black color, n.pr. of a divinity', *kāl-ā* 'n.pr. of several plants'.
- (8) *nīl-f* = *ān=ācchādan-e* 'indigo'; *nīl-ā ācchādan-e* 'coverlet'.
- (9) *kúś-f* = *ayo-vikār-é* 'plough-share', *kúś-ā* 'rope'.
- (10) *kāmuk-f* = *maithuna=icchā-yām* 'lustful woman', *kāmuk-ā* 'loving, in love with'.
- (11) *kabar-f* = *keśa-veś-e* 'plaited hair', *kabar-ā* 'n.pr. of some plants or of a planet'.

#### 4.1.43 sóṇ-āt prā-ām

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiṢ* 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *sóna-* 'red, crimson' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] according to Eastern Grammarians (*prāc-ām*).

The reference to [*prāc-ām*] here is for the purpose of showing that this rule is optional.

*sóna*+*ÑiṢ/TāP* = *són-f/són-ā vādavā* 'reddish mare'.

#### 4.1.44 vā=uT-ah=guṇa-vācan-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiṢ* 40 is introduced] optionally (*vā*) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T) constituting a qualifying word (*guṇa-vācan-āt*) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*paṭu/paṭu-f* 'clever'; *mṛdú-/mṛdv-f* 'soft'.

#### 4.1.45 bahú=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑiṢ* 40] is also (*ca*) [optionally 44 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *bahú-* 'many' [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

The inclusion of [*bahú-*] in this class, while it is covered by the preceding rule, is for the purpose of the following rule 46.

*bahú/bahv-í* 'numerous'; *pad-dhatí-/paddhat-í* 'course, line'; *amhatí-/amhat-í* 'anxiety, distress'; *gá-ti/ga-t-í* 'movement' etc.

#### 4.1.46 nítya-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the affix 3.1.1 *ÑíṢ* 40] is necessarily (nítya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1 beginning with bahú-45 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

*bahv-í*.

#### 4.1.47 bhúv-as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 46 the affix 3.1.1 *ÑíṢ* 40 is necessarily 46 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] °-bhú [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*vi-bhā+Du* (3.2.180)+*ÑíṢ* = *vi-bhv-í* 'omni-present'; similarly *pra-bhv-í* 'ruler, mistress'.

#### 4.1.48 puṁ-yog-āt=ākhyā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑíṢ* 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] (denoting a masculine name) to designate a female by virtue of her relationship with the male (represented by that masculine name) as a wife (puṁ-yog-āt)

*gāṇaka+ÑíṢ* = *gaṇak-í* = *gāṇaka-sya strí* 'wife of an astrologer', but *gāṇ-ak-ā* 'woman astrologer'; so also *praṣṭhá-sya strí* = *praṣṭh-í* 'chief's wife', but *praṣṭh-ā* 'lady chief'.

#### 4.1.49 <sup>1</sup>índra-<sup>2</sup>váruṇa-<sup>3</sup>bhavá-<sup>4</sup>śarvá-<sup>5</sup>rudrá-<sup>6</sup>mṛdá-<sup>7</sup>himá=<sup>8</sup>áraya-<sup>9</sup>yáva-<sup>10</sup>yávana-<sup>11</sup>mātulá-<sup>12</sup>ācāryā-ṇām ānuK

[The affix 3.1.1 *ÑíṢ* 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] (beginning with) 1 índra- (and ending with) 12 ācāryā-, with the incremental element ān(uK) inserted after them [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

*índra+ānuK+ÑíṢ* = *indr-ān-í* (8.4.2) 'wife of Indra'; similarly *varuṇ-ān-í*, *bhav-ān-í*, *śaru-ān-í*, *rudr-ān-í*, *mṛd-ān-í*. These six denote the names of gods

and their consorts, but the rest are derived in specific meaning situations: *him-ān-f* 'glacier'; *arany-ān-f* 'large forest'; *yav-ān-f* 'dustā-h yáva-h 'inferior oats or barley'; *yavan-ān-f* = *yávana-sya lípi-h* 'script of Ionians'; by a vārttika option is enjoined on the use of this [ānuK] after [upādhyāya-] and [mātula-]: *mātul-ān-f*/*māatul-f* 'maternal uncle's wife' and (*upādhyāy-ān-f*/*upādhyāy-f* 'preceptor's wife'); similarly retroflexion is blocked by a vārttika in *ācāry-ān-f*/*ācāry-f* (blocking operation of 8.4.2) 'wife of the preceptor'.

#### 4.1.50 krī-t-āt káraṇa-pūrv-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 Ōf 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] °krī-tā- 'bought, purchased', preceded (in composition) by a prior member denoting the means (káraṇa-pūrv-āt) (with which the purchase is made) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*vāstr-eṇa krī-yā-te sā* = *vāstra+θ<sup>1</sup>+krīta+Ōf* = *vastra-krī-f* 'purchased with cloth'. Here the original stem after which the feminine affix is introduced is the compound *vāstra-krī-ta-* (= *vāstr-eṇa krī-tā-*), but alternately if the compound consisted of prior member *vastra-* + posterior member *krī-tā+TāP* (*vāstr-eṇa krī-tā*) the result would yield *vāstra-krī-t-ā*.

#### 4.1.51 Kt-āt alpa=ākhyā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 Ōf 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °Ktā [preceded in composition by a prior member denoting the means 50 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] indicating a small quantity (alpa=ākhyā-yām).

*ālp-air abhr-air vi-lip-tā* = *abhra+θ<sup>1</sup>+vi=lip-ta+Ōf* = *abhra-vi-lip-t-f dyau-h* 'the sky covered with a few clouds', but *cāndanānu-lip-t-ā brāhmaṇf* 'a brahmin lady covered copiously with sandal paste'.

#### 4.1.52 bahuvrīhé-s=ca=ānta=udātt-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 Ōf 40 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] consisting of a Bahuvrīhī (compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the affix Ktā] and a high-pitched (udātt-āt) accent [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*ūrū bhinn-au* = *āsanyuk-tau yā-syāh* = *uru+θ<sup>1</sup>+bhinnā+Ōf* = *uru-bhinn-f* 'whose thighs are not joined' (i.e., having a rent in the thighs); the final udātta accent is by 6.2.170. Similarly *keśa-vi-lān-f* 'whose hair has been shaved off'. Where the

compound is not accented on the final syllable affix TāP is introduced: *dāntāḥ jātāḥ a-syāḥ* = *dānta-jā-ta+ā* = *dānta-jā-t-ā* 'whose teeth have grown (of a female child)' since by 6.2.171 final accent is optional and this rule applies only to such compounds which have necessarily the final udātta accent. In the case of a non-Bahuvrīhi compound: *pāda-pat-itā+TāP* (2.1.32; 6.2.144) = *pāda-patit-ā* 'fallen at one's feet'.

#### 4.1.53 á-svāṅga-pūrva-pad-āt=vā

[The affix 3.1.1 NfS 40] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā and a high-pitched final accent 52] preceded by a prior member (°pūrva-pad-āt) not denoting a member of one's body (á-svāṅga-°) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*palāṇḍu-r bhaks-itā-ḥ anā-yā* = *palāṇḍu-bhaks-itā+NfS* = *palāṇḍu-bhaks-it-f* 'who has eaten onion'; similarly *surā pr-itā anā-yā* = *surā-pr-t-f* 'who has imbibed liquor' with alternative forms *palāṇḍu-bhaksit-ā*, *surā-pr-ā* respectively.

#### 4.1.54 svāṅg-āt=ca=upa-sárj-an-āt=á-saṁyoga=upadh-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 NfS 40 is optionally 53 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] also denoting a member of one's body (ca svāṅg-āt) and serving as a subordinate member (upa-sárj-an-āt) [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of] a compound (1.2.43) and not containing a conjunct penultimate (á-saṁyoga=upadh-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*candrā-ḥ=iva mūkha-m a-syāḥ* = *candrā-mukha+f* = *candra-mukh-f* 'moon-faced lady', alternating with *cāndra-mukh-ā*; *āti-krān-tā keśān* = *āti-keśa+f/ā* = *āti-keś-f/āti-keś-ā mālā* 'a garland extending beyond the hair'; but when not an upasárjana: *śikh-ā* 'tuft of hair on the head'; when containing a conjunct penultimate: *su-gulphā+TāP* = *su-gulph-ā* 'whose ankles are beautiful'.

#### 4.1.55 <sup>1</sup>nāsikā=<sup>2</sup>udāra=<sup>3</sup>oṣṭha-<sup>4</sup>jāṅghā-<sup>5</sup>dānta-<sup>6</sup>kārṇa-<sup>7</sup>śṅga-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 NfS 40] is also introduced [optionally 53 after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 denoting the following members of one's body] *nāsikā* 'nose', *udāra-* 'stomach or abdomen', *oṣṭha-* 'lip', *jāṅghā* 'shank', *dānta-* 'tooth', *kārṇa-* 'ear' and *śṅga-* 'horn', [serving as upasárjana-s occurring at the end of a compound 54 to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].



Exception to 54 above with reference to not containing a conjunct penultimate, and a prior exception to 56 below with reference to poly-syllabic stems [bahv-áC].

*túnga-nāsika+ÑfṢ* = *tuṅga-nasik-ī/túnga-nasik-ā* 'long-nosed'; similarly *tanūdar-ī/tanūdar-ā* 'slim-waisted'; *bimboṣṭh-ī/bimboṣṭh-ā* 'red-lipped'; *dirgha-jaṅgh-ī/dirghā-jaṅgh-ā* 'long-shanked or long-legged'; *sama-dant-ī/samā-dant-ā* 'possessing even teeth'; *cāru-karṇ-ī/cāru-karṇ-ā* 'possessing nice ears'; *tikṣṇa-śṛṅg-ī/tikṣṇā-śṛṅg-ā* 'sharp-horned'.

By a general metalinguistic principle that a prior exception blocks only the immediately following rule, the present rule does not block the operation of 57 below.

#### 4.1.56 ná<sup>1</sup>kroḍa=ādi-<sup>2</sup>bahv-aC-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑfṢ 40] is not introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *kroḍā-* 'flank of a horse' or those containing more than two (bahv-áC-aḥ) syllables [denoting the limbs of one's body, occurring as subordinate members (upasárjana-s) in a compound 54 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

Since ÑfṢ is blocked, TāP is introduced by 4 above: *kalyāṇa-kroḍ-ā* 'a mare with auspicious flanks'.

bahv-áC: *prthú-jaghan-ā* 'large-hipped'; *mahá-lalāt-ā* 'possessing a large forehead'.

#### 4.1.57 <sup>1</sup>sahá-<sup>2</sup>náÑ-<sup>3</sup>víd-ya-m-āna-pūrv-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑfṢ 40 is not 56 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 denoting a part of one's body occurring as a subordinate member in a compound 54] preceded by (°-pūrv-āt) the prior members *sahá* 'with, accompanied by', the privative particle *náÑ* and *víd-ya-m-āna-* 'existing, present' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*sahá kéś-air vart-a-te* = *sá-keśa+TāP* = *sákeś-ā* 'hairy'; so also *a-keś-ā* 'bald, hairless' and *víd-ya-m-ān-a-keś-ā* 'possessing hair, hairy, hirsute'.

#### 4.1.58 <sup>1</sup>nakhá-<sup>2</sup>múkh-āt saṁjñā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ÑfṢ 40 is not 56 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *nakhá-* 'nail' and *múkha-* 'face' [occurring as subordinate members in a compound 54 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when it signifies a proper name (saṁjñā-yām).

*śúrpa-nakh-ā* (4) 'n.pr. of Rāvaṇa's sister'; *gaurá-mukh-ā* 'n.pr. of a woman', but *tāmra-nakh-ī* 'red-nailed' and *candra-mukh-ī* 'moon-faced'.

#### 4.1.59 *ḍīrgha-jihv-ī ca=chāndas-i*

In the domain of Chāndas the expression [ḍīrgha-jihv-ī] 'long-tongued' is introduced [as derived with affix 3.1.1 ṆīṢ 40, contra 54 above, to signify a name 58].

Exception to 54 since the expression [jihvā] has a conjunct penultimate and the inclusion of particle [ca] is for the recurrence of [saṃjñā-yām] from 58: 'n.pr. of a demonness'.

#### 4.1.60 *dīk-pūrva-pad-āt ṆīP*

[The affix 3.1.1] ṆīP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 denoting a member of one's body and not containing a conjunct penultimate 54] preceded by a direction word (*dīk-pūrva-pad-āt*) as a prior member [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

Affix ṆīP replaces ṆīṢ wherever it was introduced by previous rules, under these specified conditions. The difference is only in accentuation: *prān-mukha+ṆīP/TaP* = *prān-mukh-I/°-mukh-ā* 'facing east', but *prāg-gulph-ā* (conjunct penultimate) 'having the ankles turned towards the east' (54).

#### 4.1.61 *vāh-aḥ*

[The affix 3.1.1 ṆīṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-*vāh-* (= °*vah+Nvi* 3.2.64) 'bearer' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*ditya-m vāh-a-ti* = *ditya+Ø<sup>1</sup>+vah+Nvi+ṆīṢ* = *ditya-vāh+ī* = *ditya-āTHah+ī* (6.4.132) = *dityauh-ī* (6.1.89) 'a two-year old cow'.

#### 4.1.62 *<sup>1</sup>sakhī=<sup>2</sup>a-sīśv-ī=iti bhāṣā-yām*

In the domain of the (current) spoken language (*bhāṣā-yām*) [the feminine 3 nominal stems 1] *sakh-ī* 'lady companion' and *a-sīśv-ī* 'without a child, childless' are introduced [as derived with affix 3.1.1 ṆīṢ 40].

In the domain of Chāndas, however, no affix is needed: *sākhā sapta-pad-I bhav-a* 'be my companion in seven steps (around the nuptial fire)'. Similarly *a-sīśu-m iva mām ay-ām sīśu-r abhī-man-ya-te* 'this child considers me (f.) as childless'.

#### 4.1.63 jâte-r á-strī-viṣay-āt=á-ya=upadh-āt

[The affix 3.1.1 ŌfṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a species (jâte-h) which is not feminine by origin (á-strī-viṣay-āt) and does not contain phoneme [y] as penultimate (á-ya=upadh-āt) [to derive a feminine 3 stem 1].

*kukkutá+ŌfṢ* = *kukkut-í* 'hen'; *máyūra+í* = *mayūr-í* 'pea-hen'; *śvan+í* = *śun-í* 'bitch, she-dog' (6.4.133), but *maksikā* 'fly' since it is in the domain of feminine stems, and *kṣatriya+TāP* 'a woman of the warrior caste' since the stem contains [y] as penultimate.

#### 4.1.64 <sup>1</sup>pāká-<sup>2</sup>kárṇa-<sup>3</sup>parṇá-<sup>4</sup>púṣpa-<sup>5</sup>phála-<sup>6</sup>mūla-<sup>7</sup>vāla=uttara-pad-āt=ca

[The affix 3.1.1 ŌfṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] pāká- 'cooking', kárṇa- 'ear', parṇá- 'leaf', púṣpa- 'flower', phála- 'fruit', mūla- 'root', vāla- 'tail' occurring as final members (uttara-pad-āt) of a compound [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*odana-pāká+ŌfṢ* = *odana-pāk-í* 'Barleria Caerulea'; similarly: *śaṅku-karṇ-í* 'having pointed ears'; *śāla-parṇ-í* 'n.pr. of a plant'; *śaṅkha-puṣp-í* 'n.pr. of a plant species'; *dāśi-phal-í*, *darbha-mūl-í*, *go-vāl-í* 'names of various plants'.

#### 4.1.65 iT-aḥ=manuṣya-játé-h

[The affix 3.1.1 ŌfṢ 40 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short i(T) denoting a human species (manuṣya-játé-h) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*āvanti+NyaŌ* (171) = *āvantiya-* 'citizen of Avanti' + *ŌfṢ* = *āvanti+ḡ<sup>1</sup>+í* (176) = *avant-í* 'lady resident of Avanti'. Similarly *dākṣa+iŌ(95)+ŌfṢ* = *dākṣ-i+í* = *dākṣ-í* 'female descendant of Dākṣa' *aúdameyi+í* = *audamey-í*.

#### 4.1.66 ūŌ uT-aḥ

[The affix 3.1.1] ūŌ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T) [denoting a human species 65, not containing phoneme /y/ as penultimate 63, to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*kuru+ūŌ* = *kur-ū* 'a lady resident of Kuru country'; *brahma-bandhu+ū* =

*brahma-bandh-ū* 'nominal brahmin woman', but *adhvaryū-* both m. and f., since it contains /y/ as penultimate.

#### 4.1.67 *bāhú=ant-āt saṁjñā-yām*

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] ending in the expression °-*bāhú* 'arm' (in composition) [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem] forming a personal name (*saṁjñā-yām*).

*bhadrá-bāhu+ū* = *bhadra-bāh-ū* 'n.pr. of a woman' but *ṛttāú bāhú a-syāḥ* = *ṛttābāhu-* 'possessing rounded arms'.

#### 4.1.68 *pañgú-s=ca*

[The affix 3.1.2 ūÑ 66] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *pañgú-* 'lame, paralyzed' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

*pañgu+ū* = *pañg-ū* 'lame or crippled lady'.

#### 4.1.69 *ūrú-uttara-pad-āt=aúpamy-e*

[The affix 3.1.2 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-*ūrú-* 'thigh' as a final member (°-*uttara-pad-āt*) of a compound [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] expressing comparison (*aúpamy-e*).

*karabhá-sya ūrú iva ūrú a-syāḥ* = *karabhóru+ū* = *karabhor-ū* 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant', but *ṛttāú ūrú a-syāḥ* = *ṛttóru-* 'possessing round thighs' since there is no comparison.

#### 4.1.70 <sup>1</sup>*sám-hita*-<sup>2</sup>*śaphá*-<sup>3</sup>*lákṣaṇa*-<sup>4</sup>*vāmá=āde-s=ca*

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 *ūrú-* occurring as a final member in composition 69] co-occurring with *sám-hita-* 'joined', *śaphá-* 'hoof', *lákṣaṇa-* 'mark', and *vāmá-* 'handsome' as prior members (°-*āde-ḥ*) [to derive feminine 3 nominal stems 1].

This covers such cases where comparison is not involved.

*sám-hitāú ūrú a-syāḥ* = *sám-hitóru+ū* = *sám-hitor-ū* 'whose thighs are joined'; similarly: *śaphor-ū* since the hoof is joined. Although in the underlying structure *śaphaú iva sám-ślistau ūrú a-syāḥ* the expression [iva] showing com-

parison has relevance not to [śaphá-] as an object of comparison, but to [sám-slista-].

*lakṣaṇor-ú* 'having a mark or sign on the thighs'; *vāmor-ú* 'possessing handsome thighs'.

#### 4.1.71 <sup>1</sup>kádru-<sup>2</sup>kamaṇḍalv-os=chándas-i

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 31] *kádru-* and *kamaṇḍalu-* respectively signifying 'brown' and 'a gourd or vessel made of wood to carry water' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] in the domain of Chándas.

*kádru+úÑ* = *kadr-ú* 'n.pr. of a divine personification'; so also *kamaṇḍal-ú* 'water vessel'.

#### 4.1.72 samjñā-yām

[The affix 3.1.1 ūÑ 66 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 *kádru-* and *kamaṇḍalu-* 71 to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1] when denoting a name (*samjñā-yām*).

This is in the domain outside Chándas: *kadr-ú* 'n.pr. of a daughter of Dákṣa married to sage Kaśyapa'. *kamaṇḍal-ú* 'n. of an animal'.

#### 4.1.73 <sup>1</sup>śārṅgaravá=ādi=<sup>2</sup>aÑ-aḥ=ÑIN

[The affix 3.1.1] ÑIN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1] beginning with *śārṅgaravá-* 'n.pr. of a person' and those [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] aÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

1. *śārṅgaravá+ÑIN* = *śārṅgarav-I* 'n.pr. of a woman'.

2. *bida+aÑ* (104)+*ÑIN* = *baída+I* = *baíd-I* 'a female descendant of Bida', but *baída-ya strI* = *baída+ÑfS* (65) = *baid-f* 'wife of Baida'.

#### 4.1.74 yaÑ-as=CāP

[The affix 3.1.1] CāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yaÑ [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

By interpretation the affix [yaÑ] here serves as a cover term for taddhita affixes [NyaÑ and SyaÑ] respectively introduced by rules 171 and 78 below.

1. NyaÑ: *āmbaṣṭhá+NyaÑ* (171)+*CāP* = *āmbaṣṭhya+ā* = *āmbaṣṭhy-ā* 'a woman of the Āmbaṣṭhá country'.

2.  $\text{ṢyaṆ: kroḍa}+i\tilde{N}$  (96) =  $\text{kraúḍ-i}+Ṣya\tilde{N}$  (80)+ $C\acute{A}P$  =  $\text{kraud}\emptyset+ya+\acute{a}$  =  $\text{kraud-y-}\acute{a}$  (6.4.148) 'female descendant of Kroḍa'.

#### 4.1.75 $\acute{a}vaṭy-\acute{a}t=ca$

[The affix 3.1.1  $C\acute{A}P$  74] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1]  $\acute{a}vaṭya-$  'descendant of Avata' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$avaṭa+ya\tilde{N}$  =  $\acute{a}vaṭ-ya+C\acute{A}P$  (105) =  $\acute{a}vaṭ-y-\acute{a}$  'female descendant of Avata'.

#### 4.1.76 taddhit- $\acute{a}ḥ$

(Here begins the section on) taddhitá [affixes 3.1.1].

This is a governing rule extending up to the end of the fifth chapter. The t.t. [taddhitá] designating the affixes introduced in this section, will recur in each of the subsequent sūtras.

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.1.38; 2.46,49,76ff.; 3.8; 2.1.51; 4.1.17,22; 5.4.92; 6.1.61,164; 2.155; 3.39,62; 4.133,144,150,151; 7.2.117ff. 8.1.57; 3.101.

#### 4.1.77 $yún-as$ tí-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] tí is introduced [after the nominal stem 1]  $yúvan-$  'youth, teen-ager' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

$yúvan+ti$  =  $yuva\emptyset+ti$  (8.2.7) =  $yuva-ti-$  'maiden, young woman'.

#### 4.1.78 $^1\acute{a}N-^2i\tilde{N}$ -or $\acute{a}n-\acute{a}rṣay$ -or $gurú=upottamay-os=Ṣyá\tilde{N}$ gotr-é

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1]  $\acute{S}yá\tilde{N}$  replaces [the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1]  $\acute{a}N$  and  $i\tilde{N}$  introduced as patronymics (gotr-é) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] containing a heavy penultimate syllable ( $gurú=upottamay-oḥ$ ) excluding the names of  $\acute{ṛṣi}$ s 'seers' ( $\acute{a}n-\acute{a}rṣay-oḥ$ ) [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

$kārīṣa-sya$   $gandhā-h$   $iva$   $gandhā-h$   $a-syá$  =  $karīṣa-gandh-i-$  (5.4.137) 'n.pr. of a man';  $karīṣa-gandhér$   $ápalya-m$  =  $karīṣa-gandhí+\acute{a}N$  (92)  $\rightarrow$   $\acute{S}yá\tilde{N}+T\acute{a}P$  =  $kārīṣa-gandh-i+\acute{S}yá\tilde{N}+C\acute{A}P$  (74) =  $kārīṣa-gandh-y-\acute{a}$  (6.4.148) 'female descendant of Karīṣa-gandhi'. Similarly  $kaumuda-gandh-y-\acute{a}$  'female descendant of Kumuda-gandhi'.

$varāhā-sya$   $ápalya-m$  =  $varāha+i\tilde{N}$  (95) =  $vārah-a+\acute{S}yá\tilde{N}+C\acute{A}P$  =  $vārah-y-\acute{a}$  'female descendant of Varāha'.

Counter examples: (a) not containing a heavy penultimate syllable: *upagu+aṆ+ṆIP* (15) = *aupa-gavá* (6.4.146)+*I* = *aupagav-í* 'female descendant of Upagu'; (b) names of sages: *vásiṣṭha+aṆ+ṆIP* (15,114) = *vásiṣṭh-í* 'female descendant of Vásiṣṭha'.

#### 4.1.79 gotra=avayav-ât

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 *ṢyaṆ* replaces the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1 *áṆ* and *iṆ* 78 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] representing well-known families (gotra=avayav-ât) [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

*punika-sya ápatya-m* = *punika+iṆ* (95)→*ṢyaṆ+CáP* (74) = *paunik-y-á* 'female descendant of Punika'.

This rule is for including expressions which do not have a heavy penultimate syllable. Here the word [gotrá-] is not taken in its technical sense (162) so that even the daughter of Punika will be denoted by *paunik-yá*.

#### 4.1.80 kraúḍi=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 *ṢyaṆ* 78] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *kraúḍ-i-* 'descendant of Kroḍá' [to derive a feminine 3 nominal stem 1].

The role of [*ṢyaṆ*] differs here from that in 78-79 where it is a replacing element [ādesá] while here it is a regular affix [pratyayá]. This [*kraúḍi*-class] includes expressions not necessarily ending in the affixes *áṆ* or *iṆ* or containing a heavy penultimate syllable: *kraúḍ-i+ṢyaṆ+CáP* = *kraud-y-á* 'female descendant of Kroḍá'; similarly *caupayat-y-á* 'f. descendant of Copayata'.

#### 4.1.81 <sup>1</sup>daíva-yajñi-<sup>2</sup>śáu-ci-vṛkṣi-<sup>3</sup>sátya-m-ugri- 'kânṭhe-viddhi-bhyaḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 *ṢyaṆ* 78] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *daíva-yajñ-i-*, *śáu-ci-vṛkṣ-i-*, *sátya-m-ugr-i* and *kânṭhe-viddh-i-* [before a feminine 3 affix 3.1.1].

*daíva-yajñ-i+ṢyaṆ+CáP/daíva-yajñi+ṆíṢ* (65) = *daíva-yajñ-y-á/daíva-yajñ-í* 'female descendant or daughter of Deva-yajna'. Likewise: *śauci-vṛkṣ-y-á/í* 'f. descendant or daughter of Śuci-vṛkṣa'; *sátya-mugry-á/sátya-m-ugr-í*; *kânṭhe-viddh-y-á/í* 'f. descendant or daughter of Śuci-vṛkṣa, Satya-m-ugra and Kânṭhe-viddha'.

#### 4.1.82 sámarthā-nām pratham-āt=vā

[A taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2] the first (pratham-āt) padá syntactically (and semantically) connected with others (samarthā-nām) (provided by the rules themselves).

This is a governing rule and the three words [sámarthā-nām], [pratham-āt] and [vā] will recur in this section extending up to 5.2.150 as required by the context. Thus in 92 below [tásya=ápatyam] the first expression [tá-sya] represents any nominal stem denoting the name of a person syntactically and semantically connected with [ápatya-m] and the affix [áN 83] is generally introduced after such a name to denote a descendant optionally so that *úpago-r ápatya-m/upagu+áN = aupagav-á-* can be optionally used in any given context.

#### 4.1.83 prág dīvyat-aḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 3.1.2] (under meaning conditions listed in the subsequent rules) prior to (prág) 4.4.2 [t-éna dīv-ya-ti khán-a-ti jáy-a-ti ji-tá-m].

This is also a governing rule or [adhikārá] extending up to the end of the third quarter of this chapter. The affix [áN] is the [utsargá] or general affix which may be replaced by others under specific conditions to be stated in the subsequent rules.

#### 4.1.84 aśva-patí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 is introduced] also [after 3.1.2 the nominal-stem-class 1] beginning with (°-ādi-bhyas) aśva-patí- ‘n.pr.’ (to denote the meanings listed in this section).

This listing of meanings begins with 92 below; the present pādá primarily deals with patronymic affixes, but with 2.1 a variety of meanings is listed.

This is a prior exception to 85 below where affix [Nyá] is introduced. *aśva-patf+áN = āśva-patḥ-á* (6.4.148; 7.2.117) = *āśva-pat-á-* ‘descendant of Áśvapatí (92)’.

#### 4.1.85 <sup>1</sup>díti=<sup>2</sup>áditi=<sup>3</sup>ādityá=<sup>4</sup>pátí=uttara-pad-āt Nyá-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] díti-, áditi-, ādityá- ‘names of persons’ and those ending in (uttara-pad-āt) °-pátí- (as posterior member in composition) [to denote the meanings listed in this section 83ff.].

*diti+Nyá = dait-yá-* ‘descendant of Diti’ (92); similarly *āditi-yá-* ‘descendant of Aditi’.



*ādit-yá-h devátā=a-syá háviṣ-ah* = *ādit-yá+Nyá* = *ādit∅∅+yá-m* (6.4.148,150) = *ādit-yá-m hávi-h* ‘sacrificial oblation sacred to Āditya’. Similarly *prajā-patī+Nyá* = *prājā-pat-yá-m hávi-h* ‘sacrificial oblation sacred to Prajāpati’ (2.24); if the sense of 92 is specified, 6.4.148,151 applies for ∅ replacement of syllable [ya] of [ādit-yá] before the affix [Nyá] to derive the patronymic. The nominal-class beginning with [aśva-pati] is a prior exception to this.

#### 4.1.86 útsa-ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal-stem-class 1] beginning with útsa- ‘well’ [to denote the meanings listed in this section 83ff.].

Exception to áN 83. *úts-e bhavá-h* (3.53) = *útsa+aÑ* = *aúts-a-* occurring or located in a spring, water-hole or well; similarly *uda-pāná+aÑ* = *aúda-pān-a-*.

#### 4.1.87 <sup>1</sup>strī-<sup>2</sup>púmsā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>naÑ-<sup>2</sup>snaÑ-au bhávan-āt

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] naÑ and snaÑ are (respectively 1.3.10) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems] strī ‘woman’ and púms- ‘man’ [to denote the meanings listed in 83ff.] prior to 5.2.1 [dhānyā-nām bhávan-e kṣétr-e khaÑ].

*strī-sú bhavá-h* (3.53)/*strī-ñám samāhá-h* (2.37)/*strī-bhyáḥ=a-ga-ta-h* (3.74)/*strī-bhyáḥ hi-tá-h* (5.1.5) = *strī+naÑ* = *strāí-na-h*; similarly *paúm-sna-h*.

#### 4.1.88 dvigó-r luK=án-apaty-e

luk (∅<sup>1</sup>) replaces [a taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 belonging to this section 83ff.] excluding patronymic affixes (án-apaty-e 92ff.) [whose meaning serves as a condition for forming a Dvigú compound] introduced [after 3.1.2 that] Dvigú compound.

*pañcá-su kapāle-su sām-s-kr̥-ta-h* = *pañca+∅<sup>1</sup>+kapāla+áN* (2.16) = *pañca-kapāla+∅<sup>1</sup>* = *pañca-kapālá-* ‘prepared in five vessels’; *dv-aú ved-aú ádhī-te véd-a vā* = *dvi+∅<sup>1</sup>+veda+áN* (2.59) = *dvi-vedá+∅<sup>1</sup>* ‘who has studied two Vedas’, but *dváy-or deva-dattáy-or ápatya-m* = *dvi+∅+devadatta+iÑ* (95) = *dvaí-devadatt-i-*.

#### 4.1.89 gótr-e=á-luK=aC-i

In the domain of patronymic [affixes 3.1.1] (gótr-e) replacement by luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) [of those taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced by 2.4.63ff.] does not take place before [affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i) [in the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

*gargá-nām chātr-āḥ* = *gargá+yaN̄* (105) + *cha* (2.114) = *gārgya+cha* = *gārgy $\emptyset$ +īya* (6.4.148) = *gārg $\emptyset$ -īya* (6.4.150) + *Jas* = *gārg-īy-āḥ* 'pupils of Gargá'.

#### 4.1.90 yún-i luK

luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces the yúvan (163ff.) [affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 89 to denote the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

*phāntāḥṛta-sya ápatya-m* = *phāntā-hṛta+iN̄* (95), *tá-sya ápatya-m yúvā* = *phāntāḥṛti+Nā* (150) = *phāntāḥṛt-á-h*, *tásya chātrāḥ* = *phāntāḥṛt-i+ $\emptyset^1$ +áN̄* (2.112) + *Jas* = *phāntāḥṛt-āḥ* 'disciples or pupils of the yúvan descendant of Phāntāḥṛti'.

Descendant of Tika = *tika+phiN̄* (154) = *taik-āyani* (7.1.2); his yúvan descendant: *taik-āyani+cha* (2.114) = *taik-āyan-īya-* (149); his pupils or disciples: *taik-āyani+ $\emptyset^1$ +cha* (2.114) + *Jas* = *taik-āyan-īy-āḥ*.

The luK replacement is supposed to take place when the yúvan affix is introduced and not afterwards: *glucuka+phiN̄* (160) = *glucuk-āyani-(+áN̄→ $\emptyset^1$ )+áN̄* = *glaucuk-āyaná-* where, otherwise, affix *cha* would have operated (2.114) in the place of áN̄.

#### 4.1.91 <sup>1</sup>phaK-<sup>2</sup>phiN̄-or anya-tará-syām

[luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) 90] optionally (anyatarásyām) replaces [the yúvan 90 affixes 3.1.1] phaK and phiN̄ introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 89 to denote the meanings listed in this section prior to (4.2) 83].

*gargá-sya ápatya-m* = *gargá+yaN̄* (105) = *gārg-ya-h*; *gārgya-sya ápatya-m yúvā* = *gārg-ya+phaK* (101) = *gragy-āyaná-h*; *ta-sya chātrāḥ* = *gārgya+ $\emptyset^1$ +cha+Jas* = *gārg-īyāḥ/gārgy-āyan-īyāḥ*

*yaska-sya ápatya-m* = *yaska+áN̄* (112) = *yāsk-á-h*; *tá-sya ápatya-m yúvā* = *yāsk-á+phiN̄* = *yāsk-āyani-h*; *tá-sya chātrāḥ* = *yāsk-á+ $\emptyset^1$ +cha+Jas* = *yāsk-īyāḥ/yāskāyan-īyāḥ*.

#### 4.1.92 tá-sya=ápatya-m

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83] is introduced [after 3.1.1 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote a descendant (ápatya-m).

[ápatya-m] here designates progeny beginning with the son (or daughter) in opposition to the t.t. [gotrá 162] which denotes one beginning with the grandchild.

úpagoṛ apatyam = úpagu+áN = aupa-gav-á- 'descendant (from the son onwards) of Úpagu'; similarly dēva-pat-á (84).

#### 4.1.93 éka-h=gotr-é

Only one patronymic (gotr-é 162) [affix 3.1.1] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] to denote a gotrá descendant (at whatever level).

[Gotrá 162] is defined as a descendant commencing from the grandchild; a restriction is, therefore, necessary to indicate a descendant beyond the grandchild and the recursive use of these affixes. Thus the son of Gargá will be *garga+iN̄* (98) = *gārg-i-*, and his son will be *garga+yaN̄* = *gārg-ya-* (105) since he is a *gotrāpatyá* (162) of Gargá; now the son of this Gārgya will also be Gārgya-.

#### 4.1.94 gotr-āt=yūn-i=á-striy-ām

When denoting a yúvan (163ff.) descendant [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] a gotrá [affix 3.1.1] (gotr-āt) except in the case of a feminine derivative (á-striy-ām).

*gārg-ya-sya ápatyam yúvā* = *gārg-ya+pháK* (101) = *gārgy-āyaná-h* 'son of Gārgya who is a yúvan', but *garga-sya ápatyam caturthám strī* = *garga+iN̄+N̄fS* (65,95) = *gārg-f* 'great-great-granddaughter of Garga'.

#### 4.1.95 aT-aḥ=iN̄

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iN̄ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*dákṣa-sya ápatyam* = *dákṣa+iN̄* = *dákṣθ+iN̄* = *dákṣ-i-* (6.4.148) 'descendant of Dákṣa'. Similarly *dása-rath-i-* 'son or descendant of Dásaratha'.

#### 4.1.96 $\bar{b}āhú=\bar{a}di-bhyas=ca$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 iÑ 95] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1] beginning with  $\bar{b}āhú-$  ‘n.pr.’ [ending in the 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

$\bar{b}āhór \acute{a}patyam = \bar{b}āhú+i\bar{N} = \bar{b}āhó+i\bar{N} = \bar{b}āhav-i-$  (6.4.146; 6.1.78) ‘descendant of Bahú’.

#### 4.1.97 $su-dhātú-r akā\bar{N} ca$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 iÑ 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1]  $su-dhātṛ-$  ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the substitute  $akā\bar{N}$  replaces (its stem-final 1.1.53).

$sudhātú-r \acute{a}patyam = sudhātṛ+i\bar{N} = sudhāt-ak-i\bar{N} = saúdhāt-ak-i-$

Exception to 1.1.51 in the matter of  $\bar{r}$  replacement, since the substitute is [ak] and not [a].

#### 4.1.98 $gotr-é kuñja=\bar{a}di-bhyas=Cphá\bar{N}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1]  $Cphá\bar{N}$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with  $kuñja-$  ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote a  $gotrá$  descendant (162).

The affix [ $Cphá\bar{N}$ ] has two IT markers; C here governs the accent (6.1.163) and  $\bar{N}$  operates under 7.2.117.

$kuñjá-sya gotrāpatyám = kuñjá+Cphá\bar{N} = kauñj-āyaná-$  ‘descendant of K. beginning with the grandchild’.

#### 4.1.99 $naḍá=\bar{a}di-bhyaḥ pháK$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1]  $pháK$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with  $naḍá-$  ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant beginning with the grandchild ( $gotr-é$ ) 98].

$naḍá-sya gotrāpatyám = naḍá+pháK = nāḍ-āyaná-$  (6.1.165; 7.1.2; 2.118) ‘descendant of Naḍá beginning with the grandchild’, but  $naḍá+i\bar{N} = nāḍ-i-$  (95) ‘son of N.’

#### 4.1.100 $\text{hárita}=\text{ādibhyaḥ}=\text{aÑ-ah}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with hárita- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a gotrá 98 descendant 92] while [terminating in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ (104).

This class of nominal stems is a sub-set of the "bidá-class" (104) by reason of which [aÑ] is introduced after it to denote a gotrá descendant. Thus the gotrá descendant of Hárita is  $\text{hárita}+\text{aÑ} = \text{hárit-a-}$  and by the present rule is also  $\text{hárit-a}+\text{pháK} = \text{hárit-āyaṇá-}$  when he is at the same time a yúvan descendant (163). This obviates the restriction of the governing rule 93 above.

#### 4.1.101 $\text{yaÑ}=\text{iÑ-os}=\text{ca}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and iÑ [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a gotrá descendant 92,98].

1. yaÑ:  $\text{garga}+\text{yaÑ} = \text{gárg-ya-}$  (105);  $\text{gárgy-a}+\text{pháK} = \text{gárgy-āyaṇá-}$  'Gārgya's son, i.e., great-grandson of Garga'.
2. iÑ:  $\text{dákṣa}+\text{iÑ} = \text{dákṣ-i}+\text{phaK} = \text{dákṣ-āyaṇá-}$  'great-grandson of Dákṣa'.

The affix [pháK] is introduced only after the gotrá affixes [yaÑ and iÑ] but not others. This rule blocks the operation of 2.48 and 3.10.

#### 4.1.102 $\text{śarád-vat-}^2\text{śunaká-}^3\text{darbh-āt}^1\text{bhṛgu-}^2\text{vatsá-}$ $\text{āgrāyaṇé-ṣu}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] śarád-vat-, śunaká- and darbhá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] when signifying respectively a Bhṛgu, Vatsá and Āgrāyaṇá (1.3.10).

$\text{śarádvat}+\text{pháK} = \text{śarád-vat-āyaṇá-}$  'gotrá descendant of Ś.' if he is a Bhārgavá, but when not so,  $\text{śarád-vat}+\text{aÑ}$  (104) =  $\text{śarád-vat-a-}$ .

$\text{śunaká}+\text{pháK} = \text{śaunak-āyaṇá-}$  'gotrá descendant of Śaunaká' if he is a member of the Vatsá clan, otherwise  $\text{śaúnak-a}(\text{Ñ } 104)$ .

$\text{darbhá}+\text{pháK} = \text{dārbh-āyaṇá-}$  'gotrá descendant of D.', otherwise  $\text{darbhá}+\text{iÑ}$  (95) =  $\text{dārbh-i-}$ .

#### 4.1.103 <sup>1</sup>dróṇa-<sup>2</sup>párvata-<sup>3</sup>jīvant-āt=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 pháK 99] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] dróṇa-, párvata- and jīvantá- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote gotrá descendants 98].

Exception to iÑ (95). *dróṇa-sya gotrāpatyām* = *dróṇa+pháK/iÑ* = *drauṇ-āyaní-/drauṇ-i-* 'gotrá descendant of Dr.'

Similarly: *párvat-āyaní-/párvat-i-*; *jaivant-āyaní-/jaivant-i-*.

#### 4.1.104 án-r̥ṣi=ānantary-e bidá=ādibhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with bidá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98, but after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] not designating Vedic seers (án-r̥ṣi) to denote an immediate (ānantary-e) [descendant 92].

*bidá+aÑ* = *baíd-a-* 'gotrá descendant of Bidá' but *paútr-a(Ñ)-/daúhitr-a(Ñ)* respectively (1.3.10) denoting 'son's son/daughter's son'.

#### 4.1.105 gargá=ādibhyaḥ=yaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gargá- 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98].

*gargá+yaÑ* = *gárgḥ+ya* (6.4.148, 7.2.117) 'gotrá descendant of G.' Similarly *vatsá-* : *váts-ya-*; *agastí-* : *ágast-ya-*, etc.

#### 4.1.106 <sup>1</sup>mádhu-<sup>2</sup>babhrv-ór <sup>1</sup>brāhmaṇá-<sup>2</sup>kaúśike-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] mádhu- and babhrú- 'proper names' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] representing respectively (1.3.10) a brahmin and a Kaúśika.

*mádhu+yaÑ* = *mádho+ya-* (6.4.146) = *mádhav-ya-* (6.1.79) 'a brahmin gotrá descendant of Mádhu', otherwise *madhu+áÑ* (92) = *mádhav-á*. Similarly *bábhrav-ya-* 'gotrá descendant of Babhrú, if a Kaúśika', otherwise *bábhrav-á*.

#### 4.1.107 <sup>1</sup>kapí-<sup>2</sup>bodh-āt=āṅgiras-é

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kapí- and bodhá- ‘proper names’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98] designating an Āṅgirasá.

*kapí+yaÑ* = *kāp-ya-*, *bodhá+yaÑ* = *baúdh-ya* ‘gotrá descendants respectively of Kapí and Bodhá belonging to the Āṅgirasá clan’ but elsewhere *kapi+dháK* (122) = *kāp-eyá-*, *bodha+iÑ* (95) = *baúdh-i-*.

#### 4.1.108 vataṇḍ-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.2 yaÑ 105] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] vataṇḍa- ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98 designating an Āṅgirasá 107].

*vataṇḍa+yaÑ* = *vátanḍ-ya-* ‘gotrá descendant of V belonging to the Āṅgirasá clan’, otherwise *vátanḍ-á* (*N* 83). According to commentaries beginning with Kāśikā this expression is included in the class of stems beginning with śiva- (112) after which taddhitá affix [áÑ] is introduced, but since it occurs as No. 22 in the list, it is an open question whether 83 or 112 is relevant here. Similarly this is also included in the garga- class, but its specific mention here is for the purpose of restricting it to an Āṅgirasá only.

#### 4.1.109 luK striy-ām

luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 yaÑ 105 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 vataṇḍa- 108 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote] a female (striy-ām) [gotrá descendant 98 representing the Āṅgirasá clan 107].

*vataṇḍa+yaÑ+ÑiN* (79) = *vataṇḍa+ $\emptyset^1$ +ÑiN* = *vátanḍ-i* ‘grand-daughter of V.’; when not an Āṅgirasá: *vataṇḍa+yaÑ* (105)+*Śpha* (18)+*ÑfŚ* (41) = *vátand-āyan-f/vataṇḍa+áN* (112) +*ÑiP* (15) = *vátanḍ-f*. Since this stem is included in the śiva-class of expressions (112) affix [áÑ] is also introduced, but is blocked by 108 when designating an Āṅgirasá.

#### 4.1.110 ásva=ādibhyaḥ pháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] pháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with ásva- ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotrá descendant 98].

*ásva+pháK* = *ásu-āyanā-*; similarly *ásman+pháK* = *ásmañ-āyanā-* (6.4.144) ‘gotrá descendant of Ásman’.

#### 4.1.111 bharg-āt traígart-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 *pháK* 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *bhargá-* ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 92 to denote a gotra’ descendant 98] to designate a Traígarta.

*bhargá+pháK* = *bhārg-āyanā-* ‘a gotra descendant of Bhargá belonging to the Traígarta clan’; elsewhere *bhargá+iñ* (95) = *bhārg-i-*.

#### 4.1.112 śivá=ādibhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with *śivá-* ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*śivá+áN* = *śaiv-á-* ‘descendant of Śivá’; with this sūtra the expression [gotr-é 98] does not recur, and consequently represents [ápatyam 92] instead. So affix [*áN*] introduced after the nominal stem [*vataṇḍa-*] can equally result from 83 or 112 when not referring to an Āṅgirasá (cf. 108).

*vataṇḍa+áN* = *vātaṇḍ-á-* ‘a descendant of Vataṇḍa other than an Āṅgirasá’.

#### 4.1.113 á-vṛddhā-bhyaḥ=<sup>1</sup>nadī<sup>2</sup>mānuṣī-bhyaḥ=tán-nāmikā-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 *áN* 83(112) is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] denoting the names of rivers or women employed as such (*tán-nāmikā-bhyaḥ*) whose first vowel is not [ā, ai or au] (*á-vṛddhā-bhyaḥ* 1.1.73) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

Exception to *dháK* (120 below),

1. river names: *yamúnā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *yamúnā+áN* = *yāmun-á-* ‘son of Yamúnā; similarly *airāvat-á-* ‘son of Írāvati’.

2. feminine personal names: *cintitā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *cintitā+áN* = *caintit-á-*.

But if the stem belongs to the *vṛddha* type: *cāndrabhāga+yañ+CáP* = *cāndra-bhag-y-ā;* *tá-syāḥ ápatyam* = *cāndra-bhāg-y-ā+dháK* = *cāndra-bhāgñ-eyá-* (6.4.151) = *cāndra-bhāg-eyá-*; and when the stem does not designate either a river or a woman’s name: *suparṇā+dháK* = *sau-parṇ-eyá-* = *su-parṇā-yāḥ ápatyam*. *vinatā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *vainateyá-*.



#### 4.1.114 <sup>1</sup>ṛṣi=<sup>2</sup>andhaká-<sup>3</sup>vṛṣṇí-<sup>4</sup>kúru-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112)] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] consisting of the names of Vedic seers (ṛṣi-°) and those belonging to the race of Andhaká, Vṛṣṇí and Kúru [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

1. Vedic seers: *vásiṣṭha+áN* = *vásiṣṭh-á-*. *viśvā-mitra+áN* = *vaiśvā-mitr-á-*.
2. Andhaká: *śvaphalka-sya ápatyam* = *śvāphalk-á-*.
3. Vṛṣṇí: *vasu-devá+áN* = *vāsudev-á-*.
4. Kuru: *nakulá-sya ápatyam* = *nākul-á-*.

#### 4.1.115 mātú-r uT <sup>1</sup>saṁkhyā-<sup>2</sup>sám=<sup>3</sup>bhadrá-pūrvā-yāḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] °-māṭṛ- ‘mother’, preceded by numerals (saṁkhyā-°), sám-° and bhadrá-° as prior members (°pūrvā-yāḥ) (in composition) [terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and phoneme short u(T) replaces (the stem-final 1.1.52).

*ṣaṇ-ñām māṭṛ-ñām ápatyam* = *ṣaṭ+māṭṛ+áN* = *ṣaṇ-māt-ur-á-* (1.1.51). Similarly:  
*sám-mātur ápatyam* = *sām-mat-ut-á-*; *bhadra-mātur ápatyam* = *bhādra-māt-ur-á-*.

#### 4.1.116 kanyā-yāḥ kanína ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kanyā ‘maiden, young woman’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the substitute kanína replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] the nominal stem.

*kanyā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *kanyā+áN* = *kānína+á* = *kānīm-á-* ‘descendant of an unmarried woman or girl’.

#### 4.1.117 <sup>1</sup>vikarṇá-<sup>2</sup>śuṅgá-<sup>3</sup>chagal-át <sup>1</sup>vatsá-<sup>2</sup>bharádvāja=<sup>3</sup>átri-ṣu

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112) is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] vikarṇá-, śuṅgá and chagalá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] belonging (respectively 1.3.10) to the clan of Vatsá, Bharádvāja and Átri.

*vikarṇá-sya ápatyam* = *vikarṇa-áN* = *vaikarṇ-á-* = *vátśya-*, but elsewhere *vaikarṇ-i(N 95)*.

*śauṅgá-sya ápatyam* = *śauṅg-á-* = *bhāradvāja-* but elsewhere *śauṅg-i(N)*.

*chagalá-sya ápatyam* = *chāgal-á-* = *ātreya-* but elsewhere *chāgal-i(N 95)*.

#### 4.1.118 pīlā-yāḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112)] is introduced optionally (vā) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pīlā ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*pīlā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *pīlā-áN/dháK* = *pail-á-/pail-eyá-* (120).

#### 4.1.119 dháK ca maṇḍūk-āt

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 áN 83 (112)] as well as (ca) dháK are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] maṇḍūka- ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*maṇḍūka-sya ápatyam* = *maṇḍūka-áN/dháK* = *māṇḍūk-á-/māṇḍūk-eyá-*.

#### 4.1.120 strī-bhyáḥ=dháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] dháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] feminine [affixes 3.1.1 (= 4ff.) ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*suparṇá+TāP+dháK* = *suparṇá+dháK* = *sauparṇ-eyá-* = *suparṇá-yāḥ ápatyam* ‘son or descendant of S.’ Similarly *vinatá-yāḥ ápatyam* = *vainat-eyá-*.

#### 4.1.121 dvy-áC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 a feminine affix 120] and consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC-aḥ) [terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*dattá-yāḥ ápatyam* = *dattá+dháK* = *datt-eyá-*; exception to áN 113; cf. *yamúnā-yāḥ ápatyam* = *yāmun-á(N 113)*.

#### 4.1.122 iT=as=ca=án-iÑ=ah

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] phoneme short i(T) excluding [the affix 3.1.1] °-iÑ [and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*átrēr ápatyam* = *átri+dháK* = *átr-eyá-*; but *dákṣa+iÑ* (95)+*pháK* (101) = *dákṣ-i+pháK* = *dákṣ-āyaṇá* = *dákṣer ápatyam*.

#### 4.1.123 śubhrá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dháK 120] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with śubhrá- 'n.p.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*śubhrá-sya ápatyam* = *śubhrá+dháK* = *śaubhr-eyá-*.

These classes of nominal stems listed in the Gaṇa-pāṭha are of two types: closed and open; in the former the rule applies to those listed under the particular class while in the latter the list is only by way of illustration (ākṛti-) and covers all such occurrences as may be found in actual usage. This particular class is an open class and provides for such forms as *gāṇḍ-eyá-*, *pāṇḍav-eyá-* etc.

#### 4.1.124 <sup>1</sup>vikarṇá-<sup>2</sup>kuśítak-āt káśyap-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *vikarṇá-* and *kuśítaka-* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] belonging to the clan of Káśyapa.

*vikarṇá-sya ápatyam* = *vikarṇa+dháK* = *vaikraṇ-eyá-* = *káśyapa*, but elsewhere *vaikarṇ-i* (95); similarly *kuśítak-eyá-* contra *kaúśítak-i* (Ñ 95).

#### 4.1.125 bhruv-áh=vuK ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *bhrú* [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and (ca) the final increment *vuK* is inserted after *bhrú*.

*bhruv-áh ápatyam* = *bhrú+vuK+dháK* = *bhrauv-eyá-*.

#### 4.1.126 kalyāñī=ādī-nām inaṆ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kalyāñī [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and the element inaṆ replaces the stem-final (1.1.53).

*kalyāñy-āḥ ápatyam = kalyāñ-in+ḍháK = kalyāñin-eyá-; su-bhagá āḥ ápatyam = saubhāg-in-eyá-.*

#### 4.1.127 kulaṭā-yāḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ḍháK 120 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kulaṭā [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 and the stem-final (1.1.53) substitute element inaṆ 126] replaces its stem-final optionally (vā).

*kulaṭā-yāḥ ápatyam = kulaṭā+ḍháK/kulaṭ-in+ḍháK = kaulat-eyá-/kaulat-in-eyá-.*

#### 4.1.128 caṭakāyāḥ=airáK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] airáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] caṭakā [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*caṭakā-yāḥ ápatyam = caṭakā+airáK = cāṭak-airá-.*

#### 4.1.129 godhā-yāḥ=ḍhráK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhráK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] godhā [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*godhā-yāḥ ápatyam = godhā+ḍhráK = godhā+eyráK = gaudh-eṭhrá (6.1.66) = gaudh-erá-.* Since this stem is also included in the class beginning with śubhrá (123) we have the alternate form *godhā+ḍhaK = gaudh-eyá-.*

#### 4.1.130 āráK udīc-ām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] āráK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] godhā ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ām).

*godhā-yāḥ āpatyam = godhā+ārāK = gaudh-ārā-*.

#### 4.1.131 kṣudrā-bhyaḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dhraK 129 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 in the feminine gender 120] expressing physical or moral deformity (kṣudrā-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] optionally (vā).

*kāñā-yāḥ āpatyam = kāñā+dhraK/dhaK(120) = kāñ-erā-/kāñ-eyā-; dāsy-āḥ āpatyam = dās-erā-/dās-eyā-*.

#### 4.1.132 pitṛ-ṣva-ús=chaN

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] chaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] pitṛ-ṣvasṛ- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*pitṛ-ṣvas-úr āpatyam = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ+chaN = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ-ḥya-* ‘son or descendant of paternal aunt’.

#### 4.1.133 dháK-i lopa-ḥ

[Before the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] dháK introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem pitṛ-ṣvasṛ- 132 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] substitute lopa (Ø) replaces its stem-final (1.1.52).

*pitṛ-ṣvasúr āpatyam = pitṛ-ṣvasṛ+dháK = pitṛ-ṣvasØ-eyá = pitṛ-ṣvas-eyá-*.

#### 4.1.134 mātṛ-ṣvas-ús=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 chaN 132 is introduced] also [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] mātṛ-ṣvasṛ- ‘maternal aunt, mother’s sister’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92, and before taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 dháK introduced after 3.1.2 it, lopa (Ø) replaces its stem-final phoneme 133].

*mātṛ-ṣvasúr āpatyam = mātṛ-ṣvasṛ+chaN/dháK = mātṛ-ṣvasṛ-ḥya-/°-ṣvas-eyá-*.

#### 4.1.135 cátuṣ-pād-bhyaḥ=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1] designating quadrupeds (cātuṣ-pād-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*kamaṇḍalo-r ápatyam = kamaṇḍalu+dhaÑ = kámaṇḍalø-eya* (6.4.147) = *kámaṇḍal-eya*- ‘descendant of K.’

#### 4.1.136 gr̥ṣṭí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ 135] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with gr̥ṣṭí- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*gr̥ṣṭé-r ápatyam = gr̥ṣṭí+dhaÑ = gārṣṭ-eya* (6.4.148).

This rule applies where the stem represents a biped, since under 135 quadrupeds are already covered.

#### 4.1.137 <sup>1</sup>rāja(n)-<sup>2</sup>śvāsura-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] rājan- and śvāsura- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*rājñi-aḥ ápatyam = rājan+yàT = rājan-yà-* (6.4.168) ‘son or descendant of a king’;  
similarly *śvāsura-sya ápatyam = śvāsura-yà-* ‘son or descendant of the father-in-law’.

#### 4.1.138 kṣatr-āt gha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kṣatrā- [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*kṣatrā-sya ápatyam = kṣatrā+gha = kṣatr-ḥya-*.

#### 4.1.139 kúl-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kúla- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*kúla-sya ápatyam = kúla+kha = kul-ína-*.

#### 4.1.140 á-pūrva-pad-āt=anya-tará-syām <sup>1</sup>yàT=<sup>2</sup>ḍhakaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and ḍhakaÑ are optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 kúla- 139] when not preceded by a prior member (á-pūrva-pad-āt) in composition [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

When the option is exercised not to introduce these two affixes, affix [kha 139] will operate; thus three affixes may be introduced under the constraint mentioned in this rule: *kúla-sya ápatyam = kula+yàT/ḍhakaÑ/kha = kúl-ya-/kaúl-eyaka-/kul-ína-*.

#### 4.1.141 mahā-kul-āt=<sup>1</sup>aÑ=<sup>2</sup>khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] mahā-kulá- [optionally 140, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*mahā-kulá-sya ápatyam = mahā-kula+aÑ/khaÑ = máhā-kula-/máhā-kul-ína-* ‘son or descendant of a great family’ = *mahā-kul-ína*-(139).

#### 4.1.142 dúṣ-kul-āt ḍháK

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [optionally 140 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] dúṣ-kula- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*dúṣ-kul-asya ápatyam = dúṣ-kula+ḍhaK/kha(139) = daúṣ-kul-eya- / duṣ-kul-ína-* ‘descendant of a low family’.

#### 4.1.143 svás-us=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] svásṛ- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*svás-ur ápatyam = svásṛ+cha = svasr-íya-* ‘sister’s son or descendant’.

#### 4.1.144 bhrát-ur vyàT=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 cha 143] as well as (ca) vyàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] bhrátṛ- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*bhrát-ur ápatyam = bhrátṛ+cha/vyàT = bhratr-íya-/bhrátṛ-vyà* 'son or descendant of the brother'.

#### 4.1.145 vyaN sapátn-e

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] vyaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 bhrátṛ- ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to] denote a rival (sapátn-e).

*bhrátṛ+vyaN = bhrátṛ-vya-* 'rival, foe, adversary'.

#### 4.1.146 revátī=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with revátī [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*revátī-āḥ ápatyam = revátī+ṭhák = raivat-iká-* 'son or descendant of Revátī'.

#### 4.1.147 gotra-stríy-āḥ kútsan-e Ná ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaK 146] and (ca) Ná are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] designating a female gotrá descendant (gotra-stríy-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] when expressing reproach (kútsan-e).

*gargá+yaN̄ (105)+N̄iP (16) = gārg00+I (6.4.151); gārgy-āḥ ápatyam = gārg-i+ṭhák/Ná = gārg-iká-/gārg-á-* 'illegitimate or bastard son or descendant of Gārgi'.

#### 4.1.148 vṛddh-át=ṭhaK sauvīré-ṣu bahulám

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced variously (bahu-lám) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] containing phonemes [ā, ai or au] in the first syllable (vṛddh-át 1.1.73) denoting Sauvīrá gotrá [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 when expressing reproach 147].



When this affix is not introduced the alternate affix is phaK (101). *bhāga-vitte-r ápatyam* = *bhāga-vitti+ṭhāK/phāK* = *bhāga-vitt-iká-/bhāga-vitt-āyand-* ‘illegitimate or wicked son or descendant of Bh.’ When reproach is not expressed: *bhāga-vitt-āyand-*.

#### 4.1.149 phe-s=cha ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhāK 148] and (ca) cha are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] phi(Ñ 154ff.) [containing a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable and representing the Sauvīrá gotrá 148, terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 when expressing reproach 148].

*yamunda-sya ápatyam* = *yamunda+phiÑ(154)* = *yāmund-āyani-h*, *tá-sya ápatyam* = *yāmund-āyani+ṭhāK/cha* = *yāmund-āyani-ká-/yāmund-āyan-īya-* ‘despicable son or descendant of Yām’.

#### 4.1.150 <sup>1</sup>phāṇṭāhṛti-<sup>2</sup>mimatā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>Ṇá-<sup>2</sup>phiÑ-au

[The taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṇá and phiÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] phāṇṭāhṛti- and mimatā- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 belonging to the Sauvīrá gotrá 148].

Non-observance of rule 2.2.34 [álpa=aC-taram] in the order of the two nominal stems forming the compound is indicative of blocking metarule 1.3.10 so that both affixes are introduced after each stem: *phāṇṭāhṛti+Ṇá/phiÑ* = *phāṇṭāhṛt-á-/phāṇṭāhṛt-āyani-* ‘son or descendant of Ph.’ Similarly *maimat-á/māimat-āyani-* son or descendant of Mimata’. When not representing the Sauvīrá gotrá: with affix [phaK 101]: *phāṇṭāhṛt-āyand-, maimat-āyand-*.

#### 4.1.151 kúru=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ṇyá-h

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ṇyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with kúru- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*kúro-r ápatyam* = *kuru+Ṇyá* = *kaurav-yá-h* (sg.) and (pl.) *kaurav-yāḥ* ‘son(s) or descendant(s) of Kúru’. Here [Kúru] represents a person other than a ksatriya, since for a ksatriya [Kúru] 172 below provides the same affix [Ṇyá] which belongs to the [tad-rāja] group replaced by Ø<sup>1</sup> in the plural forms (2.4.72): *kaurav-yá-h, kaurav-yáu, kúrav-aḥ*.

#### 4.1.152 <sup>1</sup>sénā=anta-<sup>2</sup>lākṣaṇa-<sup>3</sup>kārī-bhyaṣ=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá 152 is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-sénā ‘army’, [the nominal stem 1] lākṣaṇa- and those designating artisans (kārī-bhyaḥ) also (ca) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*hāri-ṣeṇa-sya ápatyam = hāriṣeṇa+Nyá = hāriṣeṇ-yá- ‘son or descendant of H.’;*  
*similarly lākṣaṇ-yá, nāpit-yá- ‘son or descendant of Lakṣaṇa or a barber’.*

#### 4.1.153 udīc-ām iÑ

According to Northern Grammarians [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1 ending in 1.1.72 °-senā or the nominal stem lākṣaṇa- and those designating artisans 152, terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*hāri-ṣeṇi-i; lākṣaṇ-i; nāpit-i.*

#### 4.1.154 tiká=ādi-bhyaḥ phiÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] phiÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1 beginning with 1.1.72] tiká- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*tiká-sya ápatyam = tiká+phiÑ = tañk-āyani- ‘son or descendant of T.’*

#### 4.1.155 <sup>1</sup>kaúsalya-<sup>2</sup>kārmāryá-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] kaúsalya- and kārmāryá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

By a vārttika these expressions are derived from [kosala-, karmāra] with an initial augment yuT at the head of the affix introduced.

*kosala-sya ápatyam = kosala+yuT+phiÑ = kaúsaly-āyani-; karmāra-sya ápatyam*  
*= karmāra+yuT+phiÑ = kārmāry-āyani-.*

#### 4.1.156 áN-aḥ=dvy-áC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic [nominal stem 1] (dvy-áC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.71 the affix 3.1.1] áN [and terminating in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*kart-úr ápatayam* = *kartṛ+áN* (83,92) = *kātr-á-*, *kātr-á-sya ápatyam* = *kātr-á+phiN̄* = *kātr-āyaṇi* ‘son or descendant of Kātrá’. But *dāks-i(N̄)+pháK* (101) = *dāksāyaṇá-*; poly-syllabic: *úpago-r ápatyam* = *aupagav-á(N̄)+iN̄* = *aúpagav-i* ‘son of Aup.’

#### 4.1.157 udīc-ām vṛddh-āt=á-gotr-āt

According to Northern Grammarians [the taddhita 76 affix 3.1.1 phiN̄ 154 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] whose first syllable contains a vṛddhi vowel (1.1.73 vṛddhāt) and which is not a patronymic (á-gotrāt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*āmra-gupta-sya ápatyam* = *āmra-gupt-āyaṇi-*, alternating according to other grammarians with *āmra-gupt-i*.

#### 4.1.158 vākina=ādī-nām kuK ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiN̄ 154 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1] beginning with vākina- [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92] and (ca) final increment kuK is inserted after the stem-final (before the affix).

*vākina-sya ápatyam* = *vākina-kuK+phiN̄* = *vākina-k-āyaṇi-*.

#### 4.1.159 putrá=ant-āt=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 phiN̄ 154] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72] °-putrá- [whose first syllable contains a vṛddhi vowel and which is not a patronymic 157, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 and final increment kuK is inserted after the stem-final before the affix 158].

By 157 above affixes phiN̄ (according to Northern Grammarians) and iN̄ (according to others 95) are both introduced after these stems ending in °putrá-; the present rule provides for final increment kuK to be inserted after the stem before affix phiN̄, optionally, so that three sets of forms are realized: stem+phiN̄/kuK+phiN̄/iN̄: *gārgī-putr-āyaṇi-/gārgī-putra-k-āyaṇi-/gārgī-putr-i-*.

#### 4.1.160 *prāc-ām á-vṛddh-āt phiN bahulām*

According to Eastern Grammarians [the *taddhitá* 76 affix 3.1.1] *phiN* is introduced variously (*bahulām*) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] not containing a *vṛddhi* vowel (*á-vṛddh-āt* 1.1.73) in its first syllable [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth *sUP* triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*glucuka-sya apatyam* = *glucuka+phiN* = *glúcuk-āyani-* according to Eastern Grammarians, but according to others *glucuka+iñ* (95) = *gláucuk-i-*.

#### 4.1.161 *māno-r jāt-au <sup>1</sup>añ-<sup>2</sup>yàT-au ṣuK ca*

[The *taddhitá* 76 affixes 3.1.1] *añ* and *yàT* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] *mānu*, with final increment *ṣuK* inserted after the stem-final to denote species (*jāt-au*).

*manu+añ/yàT* = *mānu-ṣ-a-/manu-ṣ-yà-* 'human being, homo sapiens'.

#### 4.1.162 *ápatyam paútra-prabhṛti gotrám*

(The t.t.) *gotrá* denotes a descendant beginning with the grandson.

As a t.t. occurs in: 2.4.63; 4.1.78,89,93,94,147; 2.29,111; 5.1.134; 6.2.69; 3.43,85; 8.3.91.

#### 4.1.163 *jívat-i tu vámsy-e yúvā*

(The t.t.) *yúvan* denotes, however (*tu*), [a descendant beginning with the grandson 162] if the elder representative of the line (*vámsy-e*) is alive (*jívat-i*).

As a t.t. occurs in: 1.2.65; 2.4.58; 4.1.90,94,167.

*gargá-sya ápatyam paútra-prabhṛti* (= *gotrápatyám*) = *garga+yañ* (105) = *gárg-ya-*; *gárgya-sya ápatyam* = *gárgy-āyaṇá-* (101); *gargá-sya ápatyam* = *garga+iñ* = *gárg-i-* (95). In the line of descent father-son-grandson-greatgrandson (*Gargá-Gárgi-Gárgya-Gāgyāyaṇá*) if either *Garga* or *Gárgi* is alive, *Gāgyāyaṇá* will be a *yúvan* descendant and not a *gotra* descendant.

#### 4.1.164 *bhrátar-i ca jyāyas-i*

[The t.t. *yúvan* 163] also denotes (a younger brother) if the elder brother (*jyāyas-i bhrátar-i*) [is alive 163 as a descendant starting with the grandson 162].

If the gotrá descendant of Garga (viz. Gárg-ya) is alive, his younger brother will be Gārgyāyaṇá by this definition.

#### 4.1.165 $vā=anyá-smin\ sá-piṇḍ-e\ sthávira-tare\ jīvat-i$

[The t.t. yúvan 163] optionally ( $vā$ ) denotes [a gotrá descendant 163] if an older ( $sthávira-tar-e$ ) relation [of the elder brother 164] within seven generations ( $sá-piṇḍ-e$ ) above is alive ( $jīvat-i$ ).

If an uncle or grand-uncle or cousin older than the descendant is alive, the descendant will be either a gotrá or yúvan descendant and will be called either Gárgya or Gārgyāyaṇá (cf. illustrations to 163-4 above).

#### 4.1.166 $vṛddhá-sya\ ca\ pūjā-yām$

[The t.t. yúvan 163 optionally 165 denotes] a descendant starting with the grandson ( $vṛddhá-sya$ ) when expressing respect ( $pūjā-yām$ ).

[ $vṛddhá$ ] is, according to commentators, a pre-Pāṇinian t.t. for [gotrá]. Gárgya may also be referred to as Gārgyāyaṇá as a mark of respect.

#### 4.1.167 $yūn-as=ca\ kutsā-yām$

[The t.t. yúvan 163] also ( $ca$ ) [optionally 165 denotes] a yúvan descendant to express reproach ( $kutsā-yām$ ).

$gārg-ya-h/gārgy-āyaṇá-h\ jālma-h$  'G. is a wretch'.

#### 4.1.168 $jana-pada-śabd-āt\ kṣatṛíy-āt=a\tilde{N}$

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1]  $a\tilde{N}$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1] denoting a country ( $jana-pada-śabd-ā$ ) which at the same time denotes a royal family ( $kṣatṛíy-āt$ ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

$pañcālā-sya\ ápatyam = pañcālā+a\tilde{N} = pañcāl-a-$  'descendant of P.' Similarly  $aikṣvāk-a-$  (6.4.174) 'descendant of Ikṣvákú'.

But when country names are not signified by  $kṣatṛíya$  names:  $druhyó-r\ ápatyam = druhyú+a\tilde{N}$  (83,92) =  $drauhyav-á-$ ; similarly  $brāhmaṇá-sya\ pañcālā-sya\ ápatyam = pañcālā+i\tilde{N}$  (95) =  $pañcāl-i-$ .

#### 4.1.169 <sup>1</sup>sālveyá-<sup>2</sup>gāndhāri-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 168] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] sālveyá- and gāndhāri- [denoting a country which is at the same time a designation of a royal family 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

As both these words have a vřddhi vowel in their first syllable they would normally be governed by 171 below, but this is a prior exception to that: *sālveyá-sya ápatyam* = *sālveyá+aÑ* = *sālvey-a-*; *gāndhāri+aÑ* = *gāndhar-a-*; these also designate the ruler of these regions.

#### 4.1.170 <sup>1</sup>dvi=áC-<sup>2</sup>magádha-<sup>3</sup>kaliṅga-<sup>4</sup>sūramas-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 designating countries which at the same time denote a royal family 168] consisting of two syllables (dvy-áC-°) and [the nominal stems 1] magádha-, kaliṅga- and sūramasa- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

*ánga-sya ápatyam* = *ánga+áN* = *āng-á-* 'ruler of Aṅga (174). Similarly: *māgadh-á-*, *kāliṅg-á-*, *sauramas-á-* 'ruler of Magadha, Kāliṅga, Sūramasa respectively'.

#### 4.1.171 <sup>1</sup>vřddhá=<sup>2</sup>iT-<sup>3</sup>kosala=<sup>4</sup>ajād-āt=ÑyaÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] ÑyaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 denoting simultaneously country and royal family names 168] containing a vřddhi vowel in their first syllable (vřddhá-°) or those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short i(T) and [the nominal stems 3.1.1] kosala- and ajādá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92].

1. *āmbaṣṭhá-sya ápatyam* = *āmbaṣṭhá+ÑyaÑ* = *āmbaṣṭh-ya-*. (6.4.148).
2. °-i: *avanti+ÑyaÑ* = *āvant-ya-*; *kunti+ÑyaÑ* = *kaúnt-ya-*.
3. *kosala-sya ápatyam rája* (174) = *kosala+ÑyaÑ* = *kaúsál-ya-*.
4. *ajādá-sya ápatyam* = *ājād-ya-*.

#### 4.1.172 <sup>1</sup>kúru-<sup>2</sup>n-ādi-bhyaḥ=Ñyá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] Ñyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] *kúru-* and those with initial phoneme [n-] (*n-ādi-bhyaḥ*) [simultaneously designating names of regions and their ruling class 168,

ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or king 174].

By 152 affix [Nyá] has been introduced after the stem [kúru-] to denote a descendant; its inclusion here is for the purpose of designating the king (rájan 174).  
*kúru-ñām ápatyam rájā vā = kúru+Nyá = kaurav-yá-.*  
*niśadha-sya ápatyam rájā vā = naiśadh-yá.*

#### 4.1.173 <sup>1</sup>sālva=avayavá-<sup>2</sup>pratyágratha-<sup>3</sup>kalakūṭá=<sup>4</sup>ásmak-āt=iÑ

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] iÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] designating divisions of Sālva 'name of a locality' (sālva=avayava- °) and [the nominal stems] pratyágratha-, kalakūṭá- and ásmaká- [denoting simultaneously names of regions and their rulers 68, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174].

By interpretation the divisions of Sālva are enumerated as under: [Udumbára], [Tilakhala-], [Madrakārā- Yugandhará-], [Bhulinga-] and [Śaradaṇḍa]. The word *sālvá-* is derived as follows: *sālv-ā nāma kṣatríy-ā; tá-syāḥ ápatyam = sālvā+dhak/áN* (113) = *sālv-eyá/sālv-á-*; *sālvá-sya nivāsa-ḥ = sālvá-ḥ janapadā-ḥ* (2.81): *udumbára+iÑ = udumbára-sya ápatyam rájā vā = aúdumbar-i-*; similarly: *tañlakhal-i-*; *mādrakār-i-*; *yaúgandhar-i-*; *bhaúling-i-*; *śáradanḍ-i-*. *pratyágratha-sya ápatyam rájā vā = pratyagrath-i-*; likewise *kálakūt-i-*; *ásmak-i-*.

#### 4.1.174 té tad-rāj-āḥ

Those (té) [taddhitá 76 affixes 3.1.1] (introduced by 168ff.) are denoted by the t.t. tadrājá.

The affixes involved are: [aÑ 168, áN 170, ÑyaÑ 171, Nyá 172 and iÑ 173] denoting the ruler (tád-rāja-).

As a t.t. occurs in: 2.4.62; 5.3.119.

#### 4.1.175 kamboj-āt=luK

luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1] kamboja- [designating simultaneously the name of a region and its ruler 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174].

*kamboja-sya ápatyam rájā vā = kamboja+aÑ* (168) = *kamboja+Ø<sup>1</sup> = kamboja-*.

#### 4.1.176 striy-<sup>1</sup>ām <sup>1</sup>avanti-<sup>2</sup>kunti-<sup>3</sup>kúru-bhyas=ca

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 175 replaces the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] avanti-, kunti- and kúru- [designating simultaneously names of regions and their rulers 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174] before feminine (affixes: striy-ām).

*avante-h ápatyam/rājā vā = avanti+ÑyaÑ (171) = avanti+Ø<sup>1</sup>+ÑfS (65) = avant-í;*  
similarly *kunt-í* 'female descendant of or queen of Kunti'. *kūrū-ñām ápatyam*  
*strī/rājñī vā = kúru+Ñyá (172) = kuru+Ø<sup>1</sup>+úÑ (66) = kur+ú.*

#### 4.1.177 aT-as=ca

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 175] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1] short a(T) (= aÑ, áÑ) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 designating simultaneously the name of a region and its ruler 168, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a descendant 92 or the ruler 174 before a feminine 176 affix 3.1.1].

*śūrasena-sya ápatyam strī/rājñī vā = śūrasena+aÑ (168) = śūrasena+Ø<sup>1</sup>+NfS =*  
*śūrasen-í* 'queen or princess of Ś.'  
*madrá-sya ápatyam strī/rājñī vā = madrá+áÑ = madra+Ø<sup>1</sup>+ÑfS = madr-í* 'queen  
or princess of M.'

#### 4.1.178 ná <sup>1</sup>prácya-<sup>2</sup>bhárga=ādi-<sup>3</sup>yaudheyá-ādi-bhyas=ca

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 175] does not replace [the taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 a(= aÑ, áÑ) 178 (5.3.117) introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1 designating names of princes] of the East (prácya- °) [and classes of nominal stems 1] beginning with bhárga- and yaudheyá- conglomerates [before feminine 176 affixes 3.1.1].

1. Eastern Region: *pañcālā-nām rājñī = pañcālā+aÑ (168)+ÑIN (73) =*  
*pañcāl-a+ÑIN = pañcāl-ī* 'queen or princess of Pañcālā'.
2. bhárga-class: *bhárga+áÑ (170)+ÑIP (15) = bhārg-a+I = bhārg-í.*
3. yaudheyá-class: *yaudheyá+aÑ (5.3.117)+ÑIN (73) = yaúdhey-ī* 'queen or princess of Y.'



#### 4.2.1 t-éna ra-kt-ám rāg-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) denoting a color (rāg-āt) to express the sense of dying (rak-tám).

The word [rāgá-] is derived from the verbal stem *rañj-* (I 1048) : *raj-yá-te an-éna* = *rañj+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *rañj+GHaÑ* (6.4.27) = *rāg-á-* ‘color’, specifically that which transforms what is white or uncolored.

*kaṣāy-əṇa rak-tá-m vástra-m* = *kaṣāya+áN+am* = *kāṣāy-ám vástra-m* ‘cloth dyed with red coloring’; but *devadatt-éna rak-tá-m vástra-m* ‘cloth dyed by D.’ where D. is the agent and not the instrument (káraṇa).

#### 4.2.2 <sup>1</sup>lākṣā-<sup>2</sup>rocanā-(<sup>3</sup>śákala-<sup>4</sup>kardám-)āt ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *lākṣā* ‘lac’, *rocanā* ‘a bright yellow pigment’, (*śákala*- ‘black pigment’ and *kardáma-* ‘mud’) [ending in the third sUP triplet to denote the sense of ‘dyeing with’ 1].

The original sūtra had only the first two nominal stems; the two additions made by a vārttika have been incorporated in the Kāśika version of Aṣṭ. while the Siddhānta-Kaumudī retains the original reading.

*lākṣā-yā rak-tá-m* = *lākṣā+ṭháK* = *lākṣ-iká* (6.4.64; 7.3.50) ‘dyed with lac’; similarly *raucan-iká-* ‘dyed with a bright yellow pigment’; *śákal-iká-* ‘dyed with black pigment’ and *kārdam-igá-* ‘dyed with mud’.

#### 4.2.3 nákṣatr-əṇa yuk-tá-ḥ kālā-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a constellation (*nákṣatr-əṇa*) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the time (*kālā-ḥ*) of conjunction (*yuk-tá-ḥ* with the moon).

The conjunction (*yóga*) here, represented by the participle (*yuk-tá-*) is that of the moon with the particular constellation. *puṣy-əṇa yuk-tá-ḥ kālā-ḥ* = *puṣyá+áN* = *pauṣṭh-á-* (6.4.149 *vārt*) ‘the day when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation P’.

#### 4.2.4 luP=á-viśeṣ-e

luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 denoting the name of a constellation 3 ending in 1.1.72

the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the period of conjunction 3] when there is no specific mention (of day or night: á-veśeṣ-e).

*adyā puṣyā-h* ‘today the moon is in conjunction with the asterism Puṣyā’ but  
*puṣya+áN+ÑIP* (1.15) = *pauṣ-í rátri-h/pauṣ.ám áha-h*.

#### 4.2.5 saṁjñā-yām <sup>1</sup>śrávaṇa-<sup>2</sup>aśvatthā-bhyām

[luP (Ø<sup>3</sup>) 4 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śrávaṇa and aśvatthā- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote a name (saṁjñā-yām).

*śrávaṇa+áN* = *śrávaṇa+Ø<sup>3</sup>+TāP* = *śrávan-ā rátri-h* ‘the night in which the moon is in conjunction with the constellation Śrávaṇa’. Similarly *aśvatthā+luP* = *aśvatthā-h muhūrtā-h* ‘the particular time when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation Áśv.’ When a proper name is not implied: *śrávaṇa+áN+ÑIP* (15) *śrávan-í rátri-h* (1.83,15); *aśvatth-í rátri-h*.

#### 4.2.6 dvaṁdv-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 denoting names of asterisms 3] comprising a Dvaṁdvá compound (2.2.3) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the time of conjunction (with the moon) 3, whether specified or not 4].

*rādhā=anurādhā=bhyām yuk-tā rátri-h* = *rādhānurādhā+cha* = *rādhānurādhāfyā+TāP* (1.4) = *rādhānurādh-fy-ā rátri-h* ‘the night when the moon is in conjunction with the constellations R. and A.’

#### 4.2.7 dṛṣ-ṭā-m sāma

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the sense of ‘seen’ (dṛṣ-ṭā-m), the object seen being a sāman.

*vāsiṣṭh-ena dṛṣ-ṭā-m* = *vāsiṣṭa+áN* = *vāsiṣṭhā-m sāma* ‘S. perceived or seen by V.’; the Vedic ṣis are called ‘seers’ (draṣṭā-ah) and the eternal Vedas are revealed to them; they are not the authors but the perceivers of the sacred hymns.

#### 4.2.8 kále-r ḍháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] káli- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of ‘sāman has been perceived by’ 7].

*káli-nā ḍṛṣ-ṭá-m = káli+ḍháK = kálθ+cyá-m sāma* ‘sāman perceived by Káli’.

#### 4.2.9 vāmádev-āt=<sup>1</sup>DyàT=<sup>2</sup>Dy-aú

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] DyàT and Dyá are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vāmádeva- [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of ‘sāman perceived by’ 7].

*vāmá-dev-ena ḍṛṣ-ṭá-m = vāmá-deva+DyàT/Dyá = vāma-dev-yà-/°-dev-yá* ‘sāman perceived by V.’

#### 4.2.10 pári-vṛ-ta-ḥ=rátha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1] to denote the sense of ‘enveloped’ (pári-vṛ-ta-ḥ), the object being a chariot (rátha-ḥ).

*vástr-ena pári-vṛ-ta-ḥ rátha-ḥ = vástra+áN = vástr-á-ḥ* ‘a chariot covered or enveloped by a cloth’.

#### 4.2.11 pāṇḍu-kambalât=ínġi-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ínġi is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pāṇḍu-kambalá ‘white rug or blanket’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote the sense of ‘chariot enveloped with’ 10].

*pāṇḍu-kambal-éna pári-vṛ-ta-ḥ rátha-ḥ = pāṇḍu-kambalá+ín = pāṇḍu-kambal-ín-* ‘chariot covered with a white rug’.

#### 4.2.12 <sup>1</sup>dvaípa-<sup>2</sup>vaíyāghr-ât=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dvaíp-a- ‘panther’s skin’ and vaíyāghr-a- ‘tiger’s skin’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 1 to denote ‘chariot covered or enveloped with’ 10].

*dvaíp-ena pári-vṛ-ta-ḥ = dvaípa+aÑ = dvaípθ-a-* ‘chariot covered with panther skin’; similarly *vaíyāghra+aÑ = vaíyāghrθ-a-*.

#### 4.2.13 kaumār-á=á-pūrva-vacan-e

The expression kaumār-á is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1 kumārī] to denote the sense of ‘not betrothed to anyone before’ (á-pūrva-vacan-e).

This form is derived from *kumārī* ‘virgin’, ending in the second sUP triplet with affix áN to denote the husband: *á-pūrva-pati-m kumārī-m páti-r upá-pan-na-h* = *kumārā+ÑiP+áN* = *kaumar-āḥ páti-h* ‘who has married a maiden who was not married previously’; similarly *á-pūrva-pati-h kumārī páti-m upá-pan-nā* = *kaumārā+ÑiP* (1.15) = *kaumār-f* ‘a maiden not previously married but now married’.

#### 4.2.14 tá-tra=úd-dhṛ-ta-m ámatre-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) and designating a vessel (ámatre-bhyaḥ) to denote the sense of ‘lifted and placed therein’.

*śārāve-ṣu úd-dhṛ-ta-m* = *śārāva+áN* = *śārāv-a-h odand-h* ‘rice lifted and placed in dishes’. The term [úd-dhṛ-ta-] normally denotes ‘lifting up’ and should govern the fifth sUP triplet (ablative case) but the notion of lifting and placing denotes the locus and justifies the use of the locative. *Kāśikā* gives a technical meaning to this term as *bhukta* = *úc=chiṣ=ta-* ‘leavings, remnants of food (after eating)’.

#### 4.2.15 sthaṇḍil-āt śayitār-i vrat-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sthaṇḍila- ‘bare ground’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14] to denote the sense of ‘sleeping thereon’ (śayitar-i) as part of a vow (vrat-é).

*sthaṇḍil-e śáy-i-tum vratá-m a-syá* = *sthaṇḍila+áN* = *sthaṇḍil+áN* = *sthāṇḍil-ā-h bhikṣú-h* ‘an ascetic who sleeps on the bare ground in fulfilment of a vow’.

#### 4.2.16 sám-s-kṛ-ta-m bhakṣ-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14] to denote items of food (bhakṣ-āḥ) cooked therein (sám-s-kṛ-ta-m).

*bhrāṣṭr-e sám-skr̥t-am* = *bhrāṣṭra+áN* = *bhrāṣṭr-ā-h apūpá-h* ‘cake fried in the frying pan’.

#### 4.2.17 <sup>1</sup>śūla=<sup>2</sup>ukh-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śūla- ‘spit’ and ukhā ‘cooking pot’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

*śūl-e sāmśkṛtam* = *śūla+yaT* = *śūl-ya-* ‘roasted on a spit’; *úkh-ya-* ‘cooked in a pot’ (6.4.64).

#### 4.2.18 dádhn-aḥ=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dádhi- ‘curds’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

*dádhan-i sāmśkṛtam* = *dádhi+ṭhák* = *dádhi-ká-* (7.3.50) ‘cooked in curds’.

#### 4.2.19 udaśvít-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 18] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] udaśvít- ‘whey’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

Alternates with the general affix áN (1.83): *udaśvít-i sāmśkṛtam* = *udaśvít+ṭhák/áN* = *audaśvít-ká-* (7.3.51)/*audaśvít-á-* ‘cooked in whey’.

#### 4.2.20 kṣīr-āt=dhañ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhañ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kṣīrá- ‘milk’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 14 to denote items of food cooked therein 16].

*kṣīr-e sāmśkṛtam* = *kṣīrá+dhañ* = *kṣaír=eya-* (7.1.2) ‘cooked in milk’.

#### 4.2.21 śā=a-smín paurnamāsī=iti (saṁjñā-yām)

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (śā) and denoting the name of the full-moon night (paurnamāsī) to designate a name (saṁjñā-yām) of the period in which that full-moon night falls.

The form so derived denotes either the month, fortnight or year. In the original

sūtra the word [samjñā-yaṃ] did not occur, but was introduced by later Pāṇinīyas on the authority of a vārttika. The derived word does not signify a period of less than fifteen days or the intercalary month.

*pausī paurnamāsī a-smīn* = *pausī+áN* = *pausθ+á-* (6.4.148) = *paus-á-h māsa-h/ardha-māsá-h/samvatsará-h* ‘month/half-month/year in which the Pausī full-moon night occurs’.

#### 4.2.22 <sup>1</sup>āgrahāyaṇí=<sup>2</sup>aśvatth-āt=<sup>3</sup>tháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] āgrahāyaṇí and aśvatthá- ‘names of full-moon nights’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to designate the name of the period in which these full-moon nights occur 21].

*āgr-e háyana-m a-syáḥ* = *agrá+θ<sup>1</sup>+háyana+áN* (5.4.3)+*NiP* (1.15) = *āgra-hāyaṇ-í paurnamāsī a-smīn* = *āgra-hāyaṇ-í+tháK* = *āgra-hāyaṇ-iká-* month/half-month/year in which Āg. full-moon occurs’; similarly: *aśvatth-éna yuk-tá paurnamāsī a-smīn* = *aśvatth-iká-* ‘month/half-month/year in which the full-moon is in conjunction with the asterism Áśv.’

#### 4.2.23 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>phālguní-<sup>2</sup>śrávaṇā-<sup>3</sup>kārttikí-<sup>4</sup>caitrí-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tháK 22] is optionally introduced (vibhāṣā) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] phālgunī, śrávaṇā, kārttikí and caitrí ‘names of full-moon nights’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote the period in which they occur 21].

The option is in respect of the obligatory affix áN (1.83): *phālguní paurnamāsī a-smīn* = *phālguní+tháK/áN* = *phālgun-iká/phālgun-á-* ‘month/fort-night/year in which the Ph. full-moon night occurs’; similarly: *kārttik-iká/kārttik-á-*; *śrávaṇ-iká-/śrávaṇ-á-*; *caitr-iká-/caitr-á-*.

#### 4.2.24 sâ=a-syá devá-tā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] representing a divinity (devá-tā) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sâ) to denote ‘that is its (a-syá) divinity’.

*indra-h devá-tā a-syá háviṣ-aḥ* = *indra+áN* = *aindr-á-m háviḥ* ‘a sacrificial oblation of which Indra is the divinity’.

#### 4.2.25 ká-sya iT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ká- ‘n. of a divinity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘that is its divinity’ 24] and the substitute element short i(T) replaces (its stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 before the affix).

*ká-h prajā-patī-r devā-tā a-syā = ká+áN = ki+dN = kai+á (7.2.115) = kāy-á-m (6.1.78) hávi-h* ‘sacrificial oblation offered to Ka’.

#### 4.2.26 śukr-āt=ghaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śukrá- ‘n. of a divinity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity; 24].

*śukrá+ghaN - śukr-īya-m háviḥ* ‘sacrificial oblation offered to Śukrá’.

#### 4.2.27 <sup>1</sup>apó-náptr=<sup>2</sup>apām-náptr-bhyām gha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1] apó-náptr- and apām-náptr- ‘n.pr. of divinities’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity 24].

*apó-náptr+gha = apo-naptr-īya-m háviḥ; apām-naptr-īya-m háviḥ.*

#### 4.2.28 cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha (= íya 7.2.2) is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 apó-náptr- and apām-náptr- 27 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity 24].

*apo-naptr-īya-/apām-naptr-īya-.*

#### 4.2.29 mahendr-āt=<sup>1</sup>gha=<sup>2</sup>áN-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] gha and áN are introduced in addition to (ca) [cha 28 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mahendrā- ‘n.pr. of a divinity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity’ 24].

*mahendrā+gha/áN/cha = mahendr-īya-/māhendr-á-/mahendr-īya-.*

#### 4.2.30 sóm-āt=ṬyáN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬyáN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sóma- ‘n.pr. of a divinity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity’ 24].

*sóma-h devátā a-syá háviṣ-ah = sóma+ṬyáN = saum-yá-m háviḥ, saum-yá+ÑIP*  
(1.15) = *saum*∅∅+*f*ṛK (6.4.148, 150).

#### 4.2.31 <sup>1</sup>vāyú=<sup>2</sup>ṛtú=<sup>3</sup>pitṛ=<sup>4</sup>úṣas-ah=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vāyú-, ṛtú-, pitṛ- and úṣas- ‘names of divinities’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity’ 24].

*vāyú+yàT = vāyo+yàT* (6.4.146) = *vāyav-yà-* (6.1.79); *ṛtav-yà-*; *pitr-ya-* (7.4.27; 6.4.148) *uṣas-yà-*.

#### 4.2.32 <sup>1</sup>dyāvā-prthivī=<sup>2</sup>súnāsīra=<sup>3</sup>marútvat=<sup>4</sup>agnī-ṣóma- <sup>5</sup>vāstoṣ-pāti=<sup>6</sup>grha-medh-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT 31 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dyāvā-prthivī, súnā-sīra-, marút-vat-, agnī-ṣóma-, vāstoṣ-pāti- and grha-medhá- ‘names of divinities’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity’ 24].

*dyáús ca prthivī ca = dyāvā-prthivy-aú devā-te asyá = dyāvā-prthivī+cha/yàT = dyāvā-prthiv-īya-/°-prthiv-yà-,* ‘of which Heaven and Earth are divinities’.  
Similarly: *súnā-sīr-īya-/°-sīr-yà-*; *marut-vat-īya-/°-marut-vat-yà-*; *agnī-ṣom-īya-/°-som-yà-*; *vāstoṣ-pat-īya-/°-pat-ya-*; *grha-medh-īya-/°-medh-yà-*.

#### 4.2.33 agné-r dhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] agnī- ‘n. of a divinity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘he is its divinity’ 24].

*agnī-r devā-tā a-syá = agnī+dhák = āgn-eyá-* ‘consecrated to Agnī as divinity’.



#### 4.2.34 *kālē-bhyaḥ=bhava-vát*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 3.1.2] designating time (*kālē-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24] are the same as those introduced [after 3.1.2] in the section dealing with *bháva* affixes (3.11-52 below).

*māsa-h devā-tā a-syá* = *māsa+ṭhaÑ* (3.11) = *mās-ika-* 'consecrated to Māsa ('month') as divinity'; similarly *sāmvatsar-ika-* consecrated to Sāmvatsará ('year') as divinity'.

#### 4.2.35 <sup>1</sup>*mahā-rājā-<sup>2</sup>proṣṭha-pad-āt=ṭhaÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *mahārājā-* and *proṣṭha-padā-* [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'he is its divinity' 24].

*mahārājā-h devā-tā a-syá* = *mahārājā+ṭhaÑ* = *māhā-rāj-ika-*; *proṣṭha-padā+ṭhaÑ* = *prauṣṭha-pad-ika-*.

#### 4.2.36 <sup>1</sup>*pitṛvyā-<sup>2</sup>mātulā-<sup>3</sup>mātāmahā-<sup>4</sup>pitāmah-āḥ*

The finished expressions *pitṛvyā-* 'father's brother', *mātulā-* mother's brother', *mātāmahā-* 'mother's father' and *pitāmahā-* 'father's father' are introduced as derivatives [with taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1].

The actual derivation is given by *vārttikas*: *pitṛ+vyāT* = *pitṛ-vyā-*; *mātr+DulāC* = *māt-ulā-*; *mātr/pitṛ+DāmahāC* = *mātā-mahā-/pitā-mahā-*. This last affix is deemed to be marked with Ṣ as IT so that the maternal/paternal grandmothers are derived from these expressions with affix [ÑfS]: *mātā-mah-f/pitā-mah-f*.

#### 4.2.37 *tá-sya sam-ūhā-h*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áÑ* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote a 'collection thereof' (*tásya samūhāḥ*).

The scope of application of this rule is restricted to stems denoting conscious objects (*cittavát-* 47), having *ánudātta* accent on their first syllable (*ánudāttādi-* 44), and not being a patronymic (*á-gotra-* 46) and not covered by any of the subsequent rules up to 51 below: cf. 44, 46 and 47 in this connection where respectively [aÑ], [vuÑ] and [tháK] are introduced in the place of [áÑ].

*śúkā-nām samūhā-h* = *śúka+áÑ* = *śauk-á-m* 'a flight of parrots'. Similarly: *kākā-nām samūhā-h* = *kāk-á-m* 'flight of crows'.

#### 4.2.38 bhikṣā=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 3.1.1] beginning with bhikṣā 'alms' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

The repetition of [áN] in this rule when it was already recurring by the governing rule 1.83 is to block out the operation of 44 below in the case of [bhikṣā] et al.

*bhikṣā-nām samūhā-ḥ* = *bhikṣā+áN* = *bhaikṣ-á-m* 'collection of alms'.  
*garbh-ñī-nām samūhā-ḥ* = *garbhñ-á-m* (6.4.164) 'group of pregnant women'.

#### 4.2.39 <sup>1</sup>gotrá=<sup>2</sup>ukṣá(n)=<sup>3</sup>úṣṭra=<sup>4</sup>urabhra-<sup>5</sup>rājan-<sup>6</sup>rājanya-<sup>7</sup>rāja-putrá-<sup>8</sup>vatsá-<sup>9</sup>manuṣyà=<sup>10</sup>aj-át=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] gotrá [affixes 3.1.1] and [the nominal stems 1.1] ukṣán- 'ox', úṣṭra- 'camel', urabhra- 'ram', rājan- 'king', rājanya- 'royal personage', rāja-putrá- 'prince', vatsá- 'calf', manuṣyà- 'man' and ajá- 'goat' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection or group thereof' 37].

By interpretation the word [gotrá] denotes a descendant in general and not its technical meaning (1.162) of one starting with the grandson, this being confined to the section on patronymics only.

*aupagavá-nām* = *upagór-ápatyā-nām samūhā-ḥ* = *aupagav-á+vuÑ* = *aúpagav-aka-m* 'a group of Upagú's descendants'.

Similarly: *aúkṣ-aka-m* 'herd of oxen'; *aúṣṭr-aka-m*, *aúrabhr-aka-m*; *rāj-aka-m*; *rājany-aka-m*; *rāja-putr-aka-m*; *váts-aka-m*; *mānuṣy-aka-m*; *áj-aka-m*.

#### 4.2.40 kedār-āt=yaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced in addition to (ca) [vuÑ 39 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kedāra- 'irrigated field' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

*kedārā-nām samūhā-ḥ* = *kedāra+yaÑ/vuÑ* = *kaídār-ya-m/kaídār-aka-* 'a group of irrigated fields'.

#### 4.2.41 ṭhaÑ kavacín-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kavacín- 'covered with armor', in addition to (ca) [kedāra- 40, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37].

*kavacín-ām samūhá-ḥ* = *kavacín+ṭhaÑ* = *kavaciṭṭhikaÑ* (6.4.144) = *kāvaciṭṭhika-* (6.4.148) ‘a group of armor-bearers’; similarly *kedārā-ñām samūhá-ḥ* = *kaidār-ika-m*.

#### 4.2.42 <sup>1</sup>brāhmaṇá-<sup>2</sup>māṇavá-<sup>3</sup>vāḍav-āt=yaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] brāhmaṇá- ‘brahmin’, māṇavá- ‘pupil, lad’ and vāḍava- ‘brahmin’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a collection of group thereof’ 37].

*brāhmaṇá-ñām samūhá-ḥ* = *brāhmaṇá+yaN* = *brāhmaṇ-ya-m* ‘a group of brahmins’; similarly *māṇav-ya-m*; *vāḍav-ya-m*.

#### 4.2.43 <sup>1</sup>grāma-<sup>2</sup>jána-<sup>3</sup>bāndhu-<sup>4</sup>sahāyē-bhyas=taL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] taL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grāma- ‘village’, jána- ‘individual, person’, bāndhu- ‘kin’ and sahāyá- ‘ally’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a collection thereof’ 37].

*grāmā-ñām samūhá-ḥ* = *grāma+taL+TāP* (1.4) = *grāmá-t-ā* ‘a group of villages’ and likewise: *janá-tā* ‘population, people in general’; *bāndhú-t-ā* ‘group of kinspeople’; *sahāyá-t-ā* ‘group of allies or aides’.

#### 4.2.44 án-udātt-āde-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing a low-pitched vowel (án-udātta-°) on its first syllable (°-ādé-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a collection thereof’ 37].

*kapótā-ñām samūhá-ḥ* = *kapóta+aÑ* = *kápot-a-m* ‘a flight of pigeons’; *mayūrā-ñām samūhá-ḥ* = *máyūr-a-m* ‘a flight of peacocks’.

#### 4.2.45 khāṇḍika=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 44] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with khāṇḍika- ‘pupil’ (i.e., one who learns section by section) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a group thereof’ 37].

The stems have a high-pitched accent (udátta) on their first syllable and are thus excluded from the previous rule;

*khāṇḍikā-nām samūhā-h* = *khāṇḍika+aN* = *khāṇḍik-a-m* 'a group of pupils'.

#### 4.2.46 cáraṇe-bhyaḥ=dharma-vát

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of Vedic schools (cáraṇe-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37] are the same as those introduced in section (3.126-33 below) for dhárma.

In 3.116 below [gotra-caraṇ-āt=vuN̄] that affix is restricted by a vārttika to denote either [dhárma] or [āmnāyá] and it is the first significance which is involved here. *kāthā-nām samūhā-h* = *kāthā+vuN̄* = *kāthak-a-m* 'a group of Ks.' *kalāpā-nām samūhā-h* = *kālāpak-a-m*.

#### 4.2.47 <sup>1</sup>á-citta-<sup>2</sup>hastí(n)-<sup>3</sup>dhenó-s=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting inanimate objects (á-citta-°) and [the nominal stems 1.1] hastín- 'elephant', and dhenú- 'milch cow' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection or group thereof' 37].

Exception to [aN̄] and [áN̄].

1. inanimate: *apūpā-nām samūhā-h* = *apūpā+ṭháK* = *āpūp-kiá-m* 'a collection of cakes'.
2. *hastí-nām samūhā-h* = *hastín+ṭháK* = *hāsti-ká-m* 'herd of elephants'.
3. *dhenū-nām samūhā-h* = *dhainu-ká-m*.

#### 4.2.48 <sup>1</sup>késa=<sup>2</sup>ásvā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>yaN̄=<sup>2</sup>ch-au=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yaN̄ and cha are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] késa- 'hair' and ásva- 'horse' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'a collection thereof' 37] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

The option here is with respect to the affix [ṭháK 47 above]. *késā-nām samūhā-h* = *késa+yaN̄/ṭháK* = *kāś-ya-m/kāś-iká-m*; *ásvā-nām samūhā-h* = *ásva+cha/áN̄* (37) = *ásv-íya-m/ásv-á-m*.

#### 4.2.49 páśa=ādi-bhyaḥ=yá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with páśa- ‘noose’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a collection thereof’ 37].

*páśā-nām samūhá-ḥ* = *páśa+ya+TāP* (1.4) = *páś-y-á* ‘a collection of nooses’. These derivatives are naturally feminine and the affix [TāP 1.4] is introduced after affix [yá]. Similarly: *tṛṇ-y-á* ‘a cluster or stack of grass’.

#### 4.2.50 <sup>1</sup>khála-<sup>2</sup>gó-<sup>3</sup>ráth-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yá 49 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] khála- ‘threshing floor’, gó- ‘cow or bull’ and rátha- ‘chariot’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a collection thereof’ 37].

*khálā-nām: samūhá-ḥ* = *khala+yá+TāP* = *khal-y-á* ‘a collection of threshing floors’; *gav-y-á* ‘herd of cattle’; *rath-y-á* ‘group of chariots’. Excluded from 49 above, since 51 applies only to these.

#### 4.2.51 <sup>1</sup>íni-<sup>2</sup>trá-<sup>3</sup>kaṭyáC-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] íni, trá and kaṭyáC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 khála-, gó- and rátha- 50, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘a collection thereof’ 37].

*khala+ín+ÑiP* (1.5) = *khal-ín-i*; *gó+trá+TāP* (1.4) = *gō-tr-á*; *rátha+kaṭyá+TāP* = *ratha-kaṭy-á*.

#### 4.2.52 viṣayá-ḥ=deś-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37] to denote a region dominated or inhabited (by the agent) (viṣayá-ḥ=deś-é).

*śībī-nām viṣayá-ḥ deśá-ḥ* = *śībī+áN* = *śaib-á-ḥ* ‘country dominated by the Śibis’. Similarly *āṅg-á-ḥ/vāṅg-á-ḥ* country dominated or inhabited by Aṅgas/Vaṅgas’.

#### 4.2.53 *rājanya*-ā=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuṅ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuṅ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *rājanya*- ‘royal personage’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37 to denote ‘a region dominated or inhabited by’ 52].

*rājanyā-nām viṣayā deśā-ḥ = rājanya+vuṅ = rājanya-aka-ḥ* ‘country inhabited or dominated by royal personages’.

#### 4.2.54 <sup>1</sup>*bhaúriki*=ādi-<sup>2</sup>*aīṣukāri*=ādi-bhyaḥ

<sup>1</sup>*vidhaL*=<sup>2</sup>*bhaktaL*-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *vidhaL* and *bhaktaL* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the classes of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *bhaúriki*- and with *aīṣu-kāri*- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 37 to denote a region inhabited or dominated by them 52].

*bhaúrikī-nām viṣayā-ḥ deśā-ḥ = bhaúriki+vidhaL = bhaurikī-vidha-ḥ; aīṣukāri+bhaktaL = aīṣukāri-bhakta-ḥ* ‘country dominated or inhabited by Ais.’

#### 4.2.55 *sá-ḥ*=a-syá=ādī-r iti=chándas-aḥ pragāthé-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a meter (*chándas-aḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (*sá-ḥ*) to denote ‘it is the beginning (*ādī-ḥ*) in stanzas (*pra-gāthé-ṣu*).

*pañktī-r ādī-r a-syá = pañktī+áN = pañkt-á-ḥ pragāthá-ḥ* ‘stanza beginning with a *pañktī* metre’.

#### 4.2.56 *saṁ-grām-é* <sup>1</sup>*pra-yóḥ-ana*-<sup>2</sup>*yod-dhṛ-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the object (*pra-yóḥ-ana-*°) or the combatant (°-*yod-dhṛ-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 55] to denote a battle (*saṁ-grām-é*).

*súbhadrá pra-yóḥ-ana-m a-syá saṁ-grāmá-sya = súbhradrā+áN = saubhadr-á-ḥ* ‘battle fought for winning *Súbhadrá*’; *bharatāḥ yoddhār-aḥ a-syá = bharatá+áN = bhārat-áḥ sām-grāmá-ḥ* ‘battle in which the *Bharatás* are the warriors’.

#### 4.2.57 táđ a-syām pra-hár-ana-m iti krīḍā-yām Ná-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a weapon (pra-hár-ana-m) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (táđ) to denote a game or sport in which it is a weapon (a-syām krīḍā-yām).

*daṇḍá-ḥ pra-hár-ana-m a-syām = daṇḍá+Na+TāP = dāṇḍ-ā krīḍá* ‘a game in which sticks are used as a weapon’; similarly *mauṣṭ-ā* ‘a game of fisticuffs or fist fight’.

#### 4.2.58 GHaÑ-aḥ sá=a-syām kriyā=iti Ña-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ, expressing action (kriyā), [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá) to denote ‘this action (kriyā) is taking place in this (a-syām).

*pat+GHaÑ = páta-ḥ* ‘alighting, chase’; *śyena-śya pātá-ḥ a-syām kriyā-yām = śyena+θ<sup>1</sup>+pātá+Ña+TāP = śyaína+nuM+pāt-ā* (6.3.71) = *śyaína-m-pāt-ā* ‘falconry’.

#### 4.2.59 táđ ádhīte táđ véda

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áÑ 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (táđ) to denote ‘studies or knows it’ (ádhīte/véda).

*chāndaḥ ádhīte/véda vā = chāndaś+áÑ = chāndaś-ā-ḥ* ‘who studies or knows Chāndaś (= metrics/Vedas)’; *vy-ā-kár-ana-am ádhīte véda vā = vai-yā-kar-aṇḍ-ḥ* ‘who studies or knows grammar’.

#### 4.2.60 <sup>1</sup>krātu=<sup>2</sup>ukthá=ādi-<sup>3</sup>sūtra=ant-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating names of a sacrifice (krātu-°) and the class of expressions beginning with ukthá- ‘n.pr. of a recitation’ and words ending in °sūtra- [terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘studies or knows that’ 59].

*agni-śtomá-m ádhīte véda vā = agni-śtomá+ṭháK = agni-śtom-iká-ḥ* ‘who studies or knows A.’; similarly *aukth-iká-* ‘who knows or studies U.’; *vārttika-sūtrá-m ádhīte véda vā = vārttika-sūtr-iká-ḥ*.

#### 4.2.61 *kráma*=*ādi-bhyaḥ*=*vuN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kráma*- ‘a mode of Vedic recitation’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘studies or knows that’ 59].

*kráma-m ádhñte véda vā* = *kráma+vuN* = *krám-ika-h*; *padám ádhñte véda vā* = *pád-ika-h* ‘who studies or knows the Pada-pāṭha’.

#### 4.2.62 *anu-brāhmaṇ-āt*=*ínī-h*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ínī* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *anu-brāhmaṇá*- ‘secondary Brāhmaṇa’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘studies or knows that’ 59].

*anu-brāhmaṇá-m ádhñte véda vā* = *anu-brāhmaṇa+ín* = *anu-brāhmaṇ-ín-*.

#### 4.2.63 *vasantá*=*ādi-bhyaḥ*=*ṭháK*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭháK* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *vasantá*- ‘a text pertaining to Spring’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘studies or knows that’ 59].

*vasantá-m ádhñte véda vā* = *vasantá+ṭháK* = *vāsant-iká-h*.

#### 4.2.64 *proktát*=*luK*

*luK* ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a *proktá* (3.101-11) [affix 3.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘studies or knows that’ 59].

*pāṇini-nā proktá-m* = *pāṇini+cha* (114) = *pāṇin-īya-m*, *tád ádhñte véda vā* = *pāṇin-īya+áN* = *pāṇin-īya $\emptyset^1$ -h* ‘who studies or knows P.’

In the feminine gender, affix [Tāp 1.4] functions: *pāṇin-īy-ā*; if  $\emptyset^1$  did not replace *áN* by this rule, the masculine and feminine forms would have been *\*pāṇin-īy-á-/ \*pāṇin-īy-í* (1.15).



#### 4.2.65 sūtr-āt=ca ká=upadh-āt

[luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) 64 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a sūtra ‘aphorism’ containing phoneme [k] as penultimate and [ending in 1.1.71 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘studies or knows that’ 59].

*pānin-īya-m āstaka-m ādhīte veda vā* = *āstaka+āN* = *astak-ā-h* ‘who studies or knows P’s Ast.’

#### 4.2.66 <sup>1</sup>chāndas=<sup>2</sup>brāhmaṇā-n-i ca tād-viṣayā-ṇi

The names of Vedic and Brāhmaṇa texts [ending in 1.1.72 proktá 3.101-11 affixes 3.1.1, with θ<sup>1</sup> replacing them 64] denote the same (tād-viṣayā-ṇ-i = ‘learner or knower’ 59 of the texts).

*kath-éna proktám ādhīte veda vā* = *katha+Nīni* (3.104) = *katha+θ<sup>1</sup>* (3.107) = *kathá+āN* (1.83) = *kathá+θ<sup>1</sup>* (64) = *kathá-h* ‘who studies or knows the K. recension promulgated by K.’ Similarly *aitarey-éna proktá-m brāhmaṇá-m ādhīte veda vā* = *aitareyá+Nīn* = *aitarey-ín+āN* (1.83) = *aitarey-ín+θ<sup>1</sup>* (64) = *aitarey-ín-* ‘who studies or knows Ait. Br.’

✓

#### 4.2.67 tād a-smín ás-ti=iti deś-é tán-nāmn-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1, ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tād) to denote ‘it is in this place’ (a-smín deś-é ás-ti) bearing its name (tan-nāmn-i).

*udumbārāḥ a-smín deś-é s-ānti* = *udumbāra+āN* = *audumbar-ā-h* ‘n.pr. of a place abounding in Ud. trees (Ficus Glomerata)’; similarly *pārvat-ā-h* ‘n.pr. of a hilly region’.

#### 4.2.68 t-éna nír-vṛt-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 āN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote ‘completed by him’ (nír-vṛt-ta-m) [to indicate a placename 67].

*kuśāmb-ena nír-vṛt-tā nāgar-I* = *kuśāmba+āN+NIP* (1.15) = *kausāmb-f* ‘n.pr. of a city built or completed by K.’

#### 4.2.69 tá-sya ni-vās-ā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'a residence' (ni-vās-āh) [indicating a placename 67].

*śibmām viśayo deśā-h = śibi+áN = śaib-ā-h(52).*

#### 4.2.70 á-dūra-bhava-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 69] to denote 'situated not far from it' (á-dūra-bhava-h) [indicating a placename 67].

*vidiśā-yāḥ á-dūra-bhava-m nágara-m = vidiśā+áN = vaidiś-ā-m 'n.pr. of a city near V.'*

#### 4.2.71 o-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] [terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets denoting the meanings listed in 67-70 above to indicate a placename 67].

1. *karkāṭav-aḥ a-smín deś-é ś-ánti = karkāṭu+aÑ = kárkātav-a-h* 'n.pr. of a place abounding in K. (Numidian) cranes'; similarly: *kákṣatav-a-h* 'region teeming with kaksatu plants'.
2. According to Nyāsa on Kāśikā the following three examples illustrate 67-69:
  - (a) *araḍav-aḥ a-smín deś-é ś-ánti = araḍu+aÑ = áraḍava-m* (67).
  - (b) *kakṣatu-nā nír-ṛt-ta-m = kákṣatav-a-m* (68).
  - (c) *karkāṭelū-nām nivāsā-h = kárkātēlav-a-m* (69).

#### 4.2.72 matO-s=ca bahu=áC=aṅg-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] which is polysyllabic (bahu=ác=aṅg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] matUP [and terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above to indicate a placename 67].

*sidhrakā-vān a-smín ás-ti = sidhrakā-vat+aÑ = saidhrakā-vat-a-m* 'n.pr. of a region (abounding in sidhraka trees)'.

The qualifying word [bahu=áC=aṅga] applies to the pre-affixal base before affix [matUP], so that in non-polysyllabic pre-affixal stems this affix has no domain:  
*mālā-vat+áN = mālāvat-ā-m.*

#### 4.2.73 bahu=áC-aḥ kúpe-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahu=áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70] to designate a well (kúpe-ṣu).

*dīrghá-varatr-ena nīr-vṛt-ta-ḥ* = *dīrghá-varatra+aÑ* = *daīrgha-varatr-a-ḥ kúpa-ḥ* (68) 'a well completed or built by D.'

*vṛkṣa-mūlā-sya ādūra-bhava-ḥ* = *vārṣa-mūl-a-ḥ kúpa-ḥ* (70) 'a well situated near the roots of a tree'.

#### 4.2.74 udák ca vípāś-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 to designate a well 73] situated on the northern bank of the river Vípāś.

This provides for the introduction of [aÑ] after non-polysyllabic stems also, provided the situation of the well is as specified: *datt-éna nīr-vṛt-ta-ḥ kúpa-ḥ* = *dātt-a-ḥ* 'well situated on the northern bank of river V. and built or completed by D.'

#### 4.2.75 sām-kala=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with sām-kala- 'multitude' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

*sām-kal-ena nīr-vṛt-ta-ḥ* = *sām-kal-a-ḥ* 'built or completed by S.' (a region) 68.

#### 4.2.76 strīṣú <sup>1</sup>sauvīrá-<sup>2</sup>sālvá-<sup>3</sup>prāk-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 71 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 to designate placenames 67] in the feminine gender (strī-ṣú) situated in the Sauvīrá and Sālvá and the Eastern regions.

1. Sauvīra: *dattā-mitr-éna nīr-vṛt-tā nāgarī* (68) = *dāttā-mitr-I* (1.15) 'n.pr. of a city built by D.'

2. Sālva: *vādhūmāgni-nā nīr-vṛt-tā* = *vādhūmāgn-I nāgarī*.

3. Prāc-i: *kakand-ena nīr-vṛt-tā* = *kākand-I nāgarī*.

#### 4.2.77 *suvāstu=ādi-bhyaḥ=āN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *su-vāstu-* ‘n.pr. of a river’ [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

*su-vāsto-r ā-dūra-bhava-m nāgara-m* (70) = *suvāstu+āN* = *sauvāstav-ā-m* ‘n.pr. of a city near the river S.’ This is an exception to 71 above (*aÑ*) and also a prior exception to 85 below: *sauvāstav-ā+ÑIP* (1.15) = *sauvāstav-ī nadī*.

#### 4.2.78 *ronī*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *ronī* [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

The expression [*ronī*] in the sūtra is indicative of the fact that the affix is introduced after it when it occurs either by itself or as a final member in composition: *ronī+āN* = *rauṇ-āḥ kūpa-ḥ* ‘a well built or completed by R.’ Similarly *ājaka-ron-ā-ḥ* ‘well built or completed by Ajakarōṇī’.

#### 4.2.79 *kA=upadh-āt=ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *āN* 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate also (*ca*) [and ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above indicating a placename 67].

*trī-saṅku-nā nīr-vṛt-ta-ḥ* = *trai-saṅkav-ā-ḥ kūpa-ḥ* (73) ‘well built or completed by T.’ Exception to *aÑ* (71,73).

4.2.80 <sup>1</sup>*vuÑ*-<sup>2</sup>*chaN*-<sup>3</sup>*ká*-<sup>4</sup>*ṭháC*=<sup>5</sup>*ilá*-<sup>6</sup>*sá*-<sup>7</sup>*inī*-<sup>8</sup>*rá*-<sup>9</sup>*ḍhaÑ*-<sup>10</sup>*Nyá*-<sup>11</sup>*yá*-<sup>12</sup>*pháK*-<sup>13</sup>*phiÑ*-<sup>14</sup>*iÑ*-<sup>15</sup>*Ñya*-<sup>16</sup>*káK*-<sup>17</sup>*ṭháK-aḥ* <sup>1</sup>*arīhaṇa*-<sup>2</sup>*kṛśśásva*=<sup>3</sup>*ṣṣya*-<sup>4</sup>*kúmuda*-<sup>5</sup>*kāśá*-<sup>6</sup>*ṭṭṇa*-<sup>7</sup>*prekṣā*-<sup>8</sup>*ásma(n)*-<sup>9</sup>*sákhi*-<sup>10</sup>*sām-kāśa*-<sup>11</sup>*bála*-<sup>12</sup>*pakṣá*-<sup>13</sup>*kárṇa*-<sup>14</sup>*sutaṁ-gamá*-<sup>15</sup>*pragadín*-<sup>16</sup>*varāhá*-<sup>17</sup>*kúmuda=ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The seventeen taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with *vuÑ* and end-

ing with *ṭhák* are respectively introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stem classes 1.1] beginning with *arihaṇa-* and ending with *kúmuda*<sup>2</sup> [terminating in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above (i.e., to denote a placename *deś-e tan-nāmn-i*)].

- (1) *arihaṇa+vuN̄* = *ári-haṇ-aka-* 'n.pr. of a locality'.
- (2) *kṛśāsva+chaN̄* = *kāśāsṇ-śya-*.
- (3) *śśya+ká* = *śśya-ká-*.
- (4) *kúmuda*<sup>1</sup>+*ṭhádC* = *kumud-iká-*.
- (5) *kāśá+īla* = *kāś-īla-*.
- (6) *tṛṇa+sá* = *tṛṣa-sá-*.
- (7) *prekśá+ín* = *prekṣ-ín-*.
- (8) *ásman+rá* = *asmaṭ-rá* (6.4.144).
- (9) *sákhi+dhaN̄* = *sákh-eya-*.
- (10) *sām-kāśa+N̄yá* = *sām-kāś-yá-* 'n.pr. of a town'.
- (11) *bála+yá* = *bal-yá-* (6.4.148).
- (12) *pakśá+pháK* = *pākṣ-āyaṇá-*.
- (13) *kárṇa+phiN̄* = *kārṇ-āyani-*.
- (14) *sutaṁ-gamá+iN̄* = *saútaṁ-gam-i-*.
- (15) *pragadín+N̄ya* = *prágadṭṭṭ-ya* (6.4.144,148).
- (16) *varāhá+káK* = *vārāha-ká-*.
- (17) *kúmuda*<sup>2</sup>+*ṭhák* = *kaumud-iká-*.

#### 4.2.81 janapad-é luP

luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above] when designating an inhabited country (janapad-é).

*pañcālā-nām ni-vās-á-h janapadá-h* = *pañcālā+áN̄* (69)+*Jas* = *pañcālā+ $\emptyset^3$ +Jas* = *pañcāláh̄*. Replacement by luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) does not affect either gender or number (1.2.51).

#### 4.2.82 varaṇā=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *varaṇā* also (ca) [to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

This rule covers cases of stems which do not designate an inhabited country;  
*varaṇā-nām ádūra-bhava-m nágara-m* (70) = *varaṇā+(áN̄- $\emptyset^3$ )+Jas* = *varaṇáh̄*  
 'a city near V.'

#### 4.2.83 *śárkarā-yāḥ=vā*

[luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) 81] optionally (*vā*) replaces [the *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śárkarā* 'rocks' [to denote the appropriate meanings listed in 67-70 above to denote a placename 67].

This word is included in the nominal stem-classes beginning with [kúmudā<sup>1</sup> (4)] and [varāḥā-(16)] of 80 above, so that four affixes are alternately introduced after it: [áN 1.83], [tháC (80d)], [káK (80p)], [ $\emptyset^3$ ]; *śárkar-á-* (1.83), *śárkar-iká-* (80d), *śárkara-ká-* (80p) and *śárkará-*.

#### 4.2.84 *ṭháK-<sup>2</sup>ch-au ca*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ṭháK* and *cha* are also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *śárkarā* 83 ending in the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above].

*śárkarā+ṭháK/cha* = *śárkar-iká-* / *śárkar-īya-*.

#### 4.2.85 *nady-ām matUP*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *matUP* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above] when designating a river (*nady-ām*).

*udumbārāḥ yá-syām e-ánti* = *udumbára+matuP+N̄tP* (1.8) = *udumbarā-* (6.3.119) + *vat-I* = *udumbarā-vat-I* (6.1.219; 8.2.9) 'n.pr. of a river on the banks of which abound Udumbára trees (*Ficus Glomerata*)'.

#### 4.2.86 *mádhu=ādi-bhyas=ca*

[The *taddhitá* 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *matUP* 85] is also introduced (*ca*) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *mádhu-* 'honey, mead' [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

This rule is to designate objects other than rivers: *mádhu a-smín á-sti* = *mádhu+matUP* = *mádhu-mat-* 'region abounding in honey, land of honey'.

#### 4.2.87 <sup>1</sup>kúmuda-<sup>2</sup>naḍá-<sup>3</sup>vetasé-bhyaḥ=DmatUP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] DmatUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúmuda- ‘lotus’, naḍá- ‘reed’ and vetasá- ‘cane’ [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

*kú-muda+DmatUP = kúmudθ<sup>1</sup>+matUP (6.4.143) = kúmud-vat- (8.2.9); on the same pattern: naḍ-vát-, vetas-vát- (6.1.176; 8.2.10) ‘regions abounding respectively in lotuses, reeds and canes’.*

#### 4.2.88 <sup>1</sup>naḍá-<sup>2</sup>śāḍ-āt=DvaláC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] DvaláC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naḍá- ‘reed’ and śāḍa- ‘young grass’ [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70].

*naḍá+DvaláC = naḍθ<sup>1</sup>+valá (6.4.143) = naḍ-valá- ‘region abounding in reeds’; similarly śāḍ-valá- ‘region where young grass is in abundance’.*

#### 4.2.89 śíkhā-yāḥ=valáC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] valáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śíkhā ‘peak, summit’ [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above].

*śíkhā-valá-m náma nágara-m ‘n.pr. of a city abounding in peaks or summits’.*

#### 4.2.90 utkará=ādi-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with utkará- ‘rubbish, heap’ [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above denoting a placename 67].

*utkará+cha = utkar-ḥya-m nágaram ‘a city abounding in rubbish/heap’.*

#### 4.2.91 naḍá=ādi-nāṁ kyK ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 90 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with naḍá- ‘reed’ [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the meanings listed in 67-70 above] and (ca) the final increment (k) is introduced after it (before the affix cha).

*nadā+cha = nadā-k-īya-m nágara-m* ‘city abounding in reeds’.

#### 4.2.92 śéṣ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] provided by rules in the section beginning here are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 when the meaning conditions are] the remainder (śéṣ-e) [with reference to those specified before in 1.92-2.70].

This is a governing rule [adhikārá] heading this section extending up to 3.24 below.

The precise meaning conditions are stated from 3.25 onwards. [śéṣ-e] thus signifies ‘previously unspecified’ and will be rendered as such below.

#### 4.2.93 <sup>1</sup>rāṣṭrá=<sup>2</sup>avāra-pār-āt=<sup>1</sup>gha=<sup>2</sup>kh-au

[The taddhita 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] gha and kha are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *rāṣṭrá-* ‘kingdom’ and *avāra-pār-* ‘the nearer and farther banks’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*rāṣṭrá+gha = rāṣṭr-īya-* ‘born in the kingdom’ (3.25).

*avāra-pār+ kha = avāra-pār-īṇa-* ‘belonging to both shores or banks’. By interpretation affix [kha] is introduced after the individual constituents of the compound expression and after a change in their order also: *pārāvar-īṇa-*; *avār-īṇa-* ‘belonging to this bank’ and *pār-īṇa-* ‘belonging to that bank’.

#### 4.2.94 grām-āt=<sup>1</sup>yá-<sup>2</sup>khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yá and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *grāma-* ‘village’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*grāma=yá/khaÑ = gram-yá-/grām-īṇa-* ‘occurring in or proper to the village’ (3.25, 53, etc.).

#### 4.2.95 káttri=ādi-bhyas=ḍhakaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhakaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kát-tri* ‘three blameworthy objects’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kát-tri+ḍhakaÑ = kát-tr-eyaka-* (3.53) ‘what belongs to kát-tri’; similarly *paúṣkar-eyaka-* ‘pertaining to the blue lotus’ *púṣkara+ḍhakaÑ*.



#### 4.2.96 <sup>1</sup>kúla-<sup>2</sup>kukṣí-<sup>3</sup>grīvā-bhyas=<sup>1</sup>śvā(n)=<sup>2</sup>así=<sup>3</sup>alam-kāré-su

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḍhakaÑ 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúla- ‘family’, kukṣí- ‘sheath’ and grīvā ‘neck’ to denote [respectively 1.3.10] a dog (śván-), a sword (así-) and an ornament (alam-kāré-su).

*kúla+ḍhakaÑ* = *kaúl-eyaka-ḥ* = *śvā* (3.53) ‘a dog’ but in other senses: *kula+áN* (1.83) ‘born’ (3.25) or ‘occurring in (3.53) a family’. Similarly *kaúks-eyaka-ḥ* = *así-ḥ* ‘sword’ but *kauks-á* (Ñ 1.83) ‘born in a sheath or cocoon’; *grāiv-eyaka-ḥ* = *alam-kārā-ḥ* ‘necklace’; but *grāiv-á(N)* ‘pertaining to the neck’.

#### 4.2.97 nadí=ādi-bhyas=ḍháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with nadí ‘river’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*nadī+ḍhaK* = *nād-eya-* (3.53) ‘belonging to the river’; *mahí+ḍhaK* = *māh-eya-* ‘belonging to the earth’.

#### 4.2.98 <sup>1</sup>dakṣiṇā-<sup>2</sup>paścāt-purás-as=tyáK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dakṣiṇā ‘in the south’, paścāt ‘behind’ and purás ‘before, in front’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*dakṣiṇā+tyáK* = *dakṣiṇā-tyá-* ‘born or originating in the south’; *pāścāt-tyá-* ‘born or originating in the west’; *pauras-tyá-* ‘born or originating in the east’ (3.25,53).

#### 4.2.99 kāpíśy-ās=ṢphaK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢpháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kāpíś ‘n.pr. of a city’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kāpíś+ṢpháK* = *kāpíś-āyaná-m mādhu* ‘honey originating in K.’; and *kāpíś-āyaná+ÑfS* (1.41) = *kāpíś-āyan-f drákṣā* ‘grape originating in K.’

#### 4.2.100 ranko-r á-manuṣye=áN ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ranku- 'n.pr. of a region' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to designate (an object) other than a human being (á=manuṣy-e) in addition to (ca) [ṢpháK 99].

*ranku+áN/ṢpháK* = *rāṅkav-á-h* / *rāṅkav-āyaṇá-h* 'a species of antelope originating in R. region', but *ranku+vuN* = *rāṅkav-aka-h* (124) *manuṣyá-h* 'a man born or originating in R.'

#### 4.2.101 <sup>1</sup>dyú-<sup>2</sup>prāc=á<sup>3</sup>pāc=<sup>4</sup>údac-<sup>5</sup>pratíc-áh=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dyú- (div-) 'sky'. prāc- 'turned towards the east', ápāc- 'turned towards the west', údac- 'turned towards the north' and pratíc- 'turned towards the west' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*dív+yàT* = *dív-ya-* 'celestial, heavenly, originating in the sky' (3.53); *prāc-ya-* 'eastern', *apāc-yà-* 'western', *udíc-yà-* 'northern', *pratíc-yà-* 'western'.

#### 4.2.102 kanthā-yās=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kanthā 'n.pr. of a village' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kanthā+ṭhák* = *kānth-iká-* 'born or originating in K.'

#### 4.2.103 várṇ-au vuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 kanthā 102] situated in the Várṇu region [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The word [várṇu] designates a region near the river Várṇu. *kanthā+vuK* = *kānth-aká-* 'born or originating in K. in the region of V.' 'n.pr. of a village or city'.

#### 4.2.104 ávyay-āt tyāP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyāP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of an indeclinable (ávyay-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*amā+tyāP* = *amā-tya-* 'ministerial officer'; *ihā-tya-* 'being here'; *kvā-tya-* 'being where?'; *nī-tya-* 'permanent'.

#### 4.2.105 <sup>1</sup>aiśámas=<sup>2</sup>hyás=<sup>3</sup>śvás-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tyāP 104] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] aiśámas- 'in the current year', hyás 'yesterday' and śvás 'tomorrow' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*aiśámas+tyāP* = *aiśámas-tya-* 'of this or current year'; *hyás-tya-* 'pertaining to yesterday'; *śvás-tya-* 'pertaining to tomorrow'.

The alternate forms are generated with affixes [Tyu/Tyul] by 3.23 below.

*aiśámas+tuT+Tyu/Tyul*=*aiśamas-t-ána-/aiśámas-tana-*; *hyas-t-ána-/hyás-t-ana-*; *śvas-t-ána-/śvás-t-ana-*.

#### 4.2.106 <sup>1</sup>tíra-<sup>2</sup>rúpya=uttarapad-āt <sup>1</sup>aÑ-<sup>2</sup>Ñ-a

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and Ña are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] tíra- 'bank, shore' and rúpya- 'silver', occurring as posterior members (in composition: uttara-pad-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kaka-tīr-é bháva-h* = *kaka-tīrá+aÑ* = *káka-tīr-a-* 'originating in K.' (3.53); in like manner: *vṛka-rūpy-é bháva-h* = *vṛka-rúpya+Ña* = *várka-rūpy-a-*. The first expression generates the feminine with affix [ÑP 1.15] and the second with [TāP 1.4] respectively.

#### 4.2.107 dík-pūrva-pad-āt=<sup>á</sup>saṁjñā-yam Ña-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with a direction word as a prior member (dík-pūrva-pad-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to derive an expression not signifying a proper name (<sup>á</sup>saṁjñā-yām).

*pūrva-syām śālā-yam bháva-h* (3.53) = *pūrva+θ<sup>1</sup>+śālā+Ña* = *paúrva- śāl-a-* 'belonging to the eastern chamber', but when denoting a proper name: *pūrvēśukāmsamí* (2.1.50)+*áÑ* = *pūrv=aiśukāma- sam-á-* (7.3.14).

#### 4.2.108 *madré-bhyaḥ=aÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *aÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *madrá-* 'n.pr. of a people' [co-occurring with a direction word as prior member in composition 107 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*púrve-ṣu madré-ṣu bháva-ḥ* = *pūrva-madrá+aÑ* = *paúrva-madr-a-* 'belonging to Eastern Madra'; similarly *ápara-madr-a-*.

#### 4.2.109 *udīcyā-grām-āt=ca bahu=áC-aḥ=ánta=udātt-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *aÑ* 108 is introduced after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (*bahu=áC-aḥ*) [nominal stem 1.1] designating a village name (*grām-āt*) in the north (*udīcyā-*°) ending in a high pitched vowel (*ánta=udātt-āt*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*śiva-pur-é bháva-ḥ* = *śiva-pura+aÑ* = *śaśva-pur-a-* 'belonging to S.' Similarly *mahā-nagará+aÑ* = *māhā-nagar-a-*.

#### 4.2.110 <sup>1</sup>*prasthá=uttara-pada=²paladī=ādi-³kṣ=upadh-āt=áN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] with *prasthá-* as final member (*prasthá=uttara-pada-*°) (in composition) and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *paladī* and those with phoneme [k] as penultimate (*kṣ-upadh-āt*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *māhakt-prasthá+áN* = *māhakt-prasth-á-* 'belonging to M.' Exception to 109 above as these are all northern villages.
2. *paladī+áN* = *pālad-á-* 'belonging to P.' Those placenames in this group which denote Vāhika villages block out affixes [ṭhaÑ, Ñiṭha 117 below].
3. k-penultimate: *niḥnaka+áN* = *niḥmak-á-* 'belonging to N.'

#### 4.2.111 *kāṇva=ādi-bhyaḥ=gotr-é*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áN* 1.83] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kāṇva-* 'n.pr.' [ending in 1.1.72] a patronymic affix (*gotr-é*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kāṇva-sya gotrāpatyam* = *kāṇva+yaÑ* (1.105) = *kāṇv-ya-ḥ*; *tá-sya chātrāḥ* = *kāṇv-ya+áN* = *kāṇvyā+á* (6.4.148) = *kāṇvyā+á-* (6.4.151) + *Jas* = *kāṇv-āḥ*. Prior exception to [cha] (114 below).

#### 4.2.112 iÑ-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix áÑ 1.93] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the patronymic affix 111] iÑ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Prior exception to [cha 114] below. *dákṣa-sya gotrāpatyá-m* : *dákṣa+iÑ = dákṣ-i-h*; *tá-sya chātr-āḥ = dákṣ-i+áÑ = dákṣ-á+Jas = dákṣ-āḥ* ‘pupils of Dākṣi’.

#### 4.2.113 ná dvī=aC-aḥ prācya-bharatē-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áÑ 1.83] is not introduced (ná) [after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic (dvy-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the patronymic affix 111 iÑ 112] pertaining to the Eastern Bharatá lineage [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92]

Exception to the preceding rule, whence the subsequent rule (114) becomes applicable: *prauṣṭhá-sya gotrāpatyá-m = prauṣṭhá + iÑ = prauṣṭh-i-h*; *tá-sya chātr-āḥ* : *prauṣṭhi+cha* (114) = *prauṣṭh-íya+Jas = prauṣṭh-íy-āḥ* ‘pupils of Prauṣṭhi’, but *pānnāgares=chātr-āḥ = pānnāgar-á(N)+Jas* (112); and when not a *prācya-bharata*: *dákṣ-āḥ* (112).

#### 4.2.114 vṛddh-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable (1.1.73) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*śālā-yām bháva-h* = *śālā+cha = śāl-íya-* ‘originating or belonging to a hall or chamber’ (3.53). By 1.1.74 pronominal stems beginning with [tyád-] also come under the definition of this technical term: *tyád+cha = tyad-íya-* ‘his’, *mad-íya-* ‘mine’, *tvad-íya-* ‘thine’, *asmad-íya-* ‘ours’, *yuṣmad-íya-* ‘yours’.

#### 4.2.115 bhávat-as=<sup>1</sup>ṭhák=<sup>2</sup>chaS-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhák and chaS are introduced [after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 1.1] bhávat(U) (= honorific second person pronoun) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The marker [S] of [chaS] is to indicate that the pre-affixal stem is defined as a pada (1.4.16): *bhávat+ṭhák/chaS = bhávat-ká-* (7.3.51)/*bhavad-íya-* ‘your honor’s’.

#### 4.2.116 *kāśi=ādi-bhyas=ṭhaÑ-²Ñiṭh-au*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* and *Ñiṭha* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kāśi-* 'n.pr.' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The difference between these two affixes is seen only in the feminine derivatives:  
[*ÑiṭP*] with [*ṭhaÑ*] and [*TāP*] with [*Ñiṭha*] (cf. 1.15,4 respectively):  
*kāśi+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha* (+ fem. affixes) = *kāśi+ṭhaÑ+ÑiṭP* = *kāś-ik-i*;  
*kāśi+Ñiṭha+TāP* = *kāś-ikā* 'originating in K.'

#### 4.2.117 *vāhika-grāmé-bhyas=ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* and *Ñiṭha* 116 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of villages in the *Vāhika* region (*vāhika-grāmé-bhyaḥ*) [containing *vṛddhi* vowels in their first syllables 114 to denote previously unspecified meanings 93].

*śākalá+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha* = *śākal-ika+ÑiṭP/TāP* = *śākal-ik-i/-ik-ā* 'pertaining to Ś.'  
Exception to 114 [cha].

#### 4.2.118 *vibhāṣā=uśīnāre-ṣu*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* and *Ñiṭha* 116] are optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 denoting names of villages in the *Vāhika* region 117 containing *vṛddhi* vowels in their first syllable 114 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] when they designate names of villages in *Uśīnāra*.

*śaudarśaná+ṭhaÑ/Ñiṭha* = *śaú-darśan-ik-i/-ikā* alternating with affix [cha 114]  
*sau-darśan-īy-ā* 'belonging to the region of S.'

#### 4.2.119 *o-r deś-é ṭhaÑ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] denoting a placename (*deś-é*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*niṣāḍá-karṣu+ṭhaÑ* = *niṣāḍa-karṣu-ka-* (7.3.51) 'of the locality N.'

#### 4.2.120 vṛddh-āt prāc-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 thaÑ 119 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme-class [u], denoting a region 119] situated in the east [prāc-ām] [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] provided the stem is a member of the vṛddhá class (1.1.73).

While this rule could have been covered by the previous rule, its separate mention is to restrict that operation only to names of regions constituting the vṛddhá (1.1.73) type.

*nāpita-vāstú+thaÑ* = *nāpita-vāstu-ka-* 'originating in N.', but when not containing a vṛddhi vowel in the first syllable: *malla-vāstú+āN* (1.83) = *mālla-vāstav-ā* 'belonging to M.'

#### 4.2.121 <sup>1</sup>dhánva(n)=<sup>2</sup>yá=upadh-at=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 containing a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable 120] designating a desert (dhánvan-) or one containing the phoneme [y] as penultimate [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*pāre-dhanván-i jātá-h* (3.25) = *pāre-dhanván+vuÑ* = *pāre-dhanv+aka-* (6.4.144) = *pāre-dhanv-aka-* 'born in P.' Similarly *airāvat-aka-* 'born in Airāvata'.  
*kāmpily+aka-*, *sāmkasy+aka-*.

#### 4.2.122 <sup>1</sup>prasthá-<sup>2</sup>purá-<sup>3</sup>váha=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a vṛddhá type 120 nominal stem 1.1] ending in (°-ant-āt) °-prasthá-, °-purá- or °-váha- [denoting a region 119 to indicate previously unspecified meanings 92].

°-prastha-: *mālā-prasth-é bháva-h* = *mālā-prasthá+vuÑ* = *mālā-prath-aka-* 'born in M.'

°-purá-: *nāndī-purá+vuÑ* = *nāndī-pur-aka-* 'born in N.'

°-váha-: *pailuvah-é bháva-h* = *pailu-vah-aka-* 'born in P.'

#### 4.2.123 <sup>1</sup>rā=upadha=<sup>2</sup>T-oh prāc-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 a vṛddhá-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a locality 119] in the eastern region (prāc-ām) containing the phoneme [r] as penultimate or

[ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long [ṛ(T)] [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *pāṭaliputra+vuṆ* (3.25) = *pāṭali-putr-aka-* 'born in P.'

2. *kākandī+vuṆ* = *kākandī-aka-* 'born in K.'

#### 4.2.124 <sup>1</sup>janapadā<sup>2</sup>-tad-avadhy-ós=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a *vr̥ddhá*-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a locality 119] representing a populated region or country (janapadā-°) or one denoting its limit (°-tad-avadhy-óḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. *janapadā-*: *ābhi-sāre bháva-ḥ* = *ābhi-sāra+vuṆ* = *ābhi-sār-aka-* (3.53) 'occurring in or pertaining to Ābhi.'

2. *tad-avadhy-*: *aupusṭ-e bháva-ḥ* = *aúpusṭ-aka-* 'occurring in or pertaining to the country bordering Aup.'

#### 4.2.125 á-*vr̥ddh*-āt=ápi bahu-vacana-*viṣay*-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121 is introduced even (api) after 3.1.2] a non-*vr̥ddhá*-type [as well as *vr̥ddhá*-type 120 nominal stem 1.1 designating a populated region or country or its limit 124] occurring in the plural (bahuvacana-*viṣay*-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*aṅge-ṣu bháva-ḥ* = *aṅga+vuṆ* = *āṅg-aka-ḥ* 'being in the Aṅga country, an inhabitant of A.'

*ajamīdhe-ṣu jātá-ḥ* = *ājāmīdha+vuṆ* = *ājāmīdha-aka-ḥ* 'native of country bordering on Ajām'.

*dārve-ṣu bháva-ḥ* = *dārva+vuṆ* = *dārv-aka-ḥ* 'belonging to Dār'. *kālanjare-ṣu jātá-ḥ* = *kālanjar-aka-ḥ* 'born in K.'

#### 4.2.126 <sup>1</sup>kaccha=<sup>2</sup>agní-<sup>3</sup>váktra-<sup>4</sup>varttá=uttara-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṆ* 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] °-kaccha- 'marsh', °-agni- 'fire', °-váktra- 'face' and -varttá- 'livelihood, sustenance', occurring as final members (uttara-pad-āt in composition) [designating localities 119, whether *vr̥ddhá* 120 or non-*vr̥ddhá* 125, to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Kāśikā has a variant reading [gartta] for [varttá].



*dāru-kacché-ṣu jā-tá-ḥ* = *dāru-kacch-aka-ḥ*; *pippalī-kacchā+vuṅ* = *paippalī-kacch-aka-ḥ* 'born in Pip.'  
*kāṇḍagnī+vuṅ* = *kāṇḍāgni-ka-ḥ*; *vibhujāgnī+vuṅ* = *vaibhuj-āgn-ika-ḥ*.  
*bāhu-vartā+vuṅ* = *bāhu-vart-aka-ḥ*; *cakra-vartā+vuṅ* = *cākra-vart-aka-ḥ*.

#### 4.2.127 dhūmá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṅ* 121] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *dhūmá-* [designating localities 119 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

This class of stems contains both *vṛddhá* and non-*vṛddhá* types: *dhūm-é bháva-ḥ* = *dhaúm-aka-ḥ* 'belonging to Dh.'

#### 4.2.128 nágara-āt <sup>1</sup>kútsana-<sup>2</sup>prāvīṇyay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṅ* 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *nágara-* 'city' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to express either a sense of reproach (*kútsana-* °) or competency (*prāvīṇyay-oḥ*).

*nágar-e bháva-ḥ/jā-tá-ḥ* = *nágara+vuṅ* = *nágara-aka-ḥ* (a) 'knave, cunning person';  
 (b) 'an accomplished person'.

#### 4.2.129 áraṇy-āt=manuṣy-è

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṅ* 121 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *áraṇya-* 'forest, wood' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to specify a human being (*manuṣy-è*).

*araṇya+vuṅ* = *áraṇy-aka-ḥ manuṣyā-ḥ* 'forester, woodsman', but with reference to non-human beings: *araṇya+áN* (1.83) = *áraṇy-á-* 'born or originating in a forest'.

#### 4.2.130 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>kúru-<sup>2</sup>yugandhará-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuṅ* 121] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *kúru-* and *yugandhará-* 'n.pr. of inhabited regions' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Option is in respect of the obligatory rule 125 above.

*kúru-ṣu bháva-ḥ* = *kúru+vuṅ* = *kaúrav-aka-ḥ* or *kúru+áN* = *kaurav-á-ḥ* 'belonging to the Kúrus'.

#### 4.2.131 <sup>1</sup>madrá=<sup>2</sup>vṛjy-oh kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] madrá- and vṛji- [denoting names of inhabited localities 124 to signify previously unspecified meanings 92].

*madré-ṣu bháv-h/játá-h = madrá+kaN = mádra-ka-h. vṛjī-ṣu jā-tá-h = vṛjī-ka-h.*

#### 4.2.132 ká=upadh-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate (ká=upadh-āt) [designating an inhabited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*ṛṣiké-ṣu jā-tá-h : ṛṣiká+áN = āṛṣik-á-h 'born in R.'*

#### 4.2.133 kaccha=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN 132] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kaccha- [denoting names of inhabited localities 124 to signify previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kaccha+áN = kácch-á- 'born or originating in K.' (3.25,53).*

#### 4.2.134 <sup>1</sup>manuṣyà-<sup>2</sup>tát-sthay-or vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1 beginning with kaccha- 133 designating inhabited localities 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to indicate a human being (manuṣyà- °) or his characteristics ( ° tát-sthay-oh).

*kaccha+vuN = kácch-aka- 'a person born or belonging to K. or his smile/speech/crest of hair etc.', but kaccha+áN (133) = kácch-á-h gaví-h 'a bull originating in K.'*

#### 4.2.135 á-padāt-au sālṽ-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuñ* 134 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sālṽ-* [signifying a habited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92 designating a human being or his characteristics 134] other than a foot-soldier or infantry-man (*á-padāt-au*).

*sālṽ+vuñ* = *sālṽ-aka-* 'a person born or belonging to S., or his characteristic, such as smile/speech etc.'; but *sālṽ+áñ* = *sālṽ-á-h padātí-h* 'infantryman of S.' (133).

#### 4.2.136 <sup>1</sup>go-<sup>2</sup>yavāgv-ós=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *vuñ* 134] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *sālṽ-* 135 signifying an inhabited locality 124 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] to designate a bull or cow (*gó-°*) and barley gruel (*yavāgv-óh*).

*sālṽ-aka-h gau-h* 'a bull originating in S.'; *sālṽ-ik-ā yavāgv-óh* (1.4; 7.3.44) 'barley gruel originating in S.'

#### 4.2.137 gárta=uttara-pad-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with *°-gárta-* as a final member (in composition: *uttara-pad-āt*) [denoting an inhabited locality 124 to indicate previously unspecified meanings 92].

With reference to villages located in Vāhika country (117 above) this affix blocks out [thañ], [ñitha] by virtue of metarule 1.4.2. *vrka-gart-é bháva-h* = *vrka-garta+cha* = *vrka-gart-íya-h* 'belonging to V.'

#### 4.2.138 gaha=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *cha* 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *gahá-* 'cave, cavern' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

Not all items included in this class of nominal stems denote an inhabited locality (janapadá) or a region (deśá) despite the governing rule [deś-e 119] above. *gah-e jā-tá-h* = *gaha+cha* = *gah-íya-h* 'cave-born'.

#### 4.2.139 *prāc-ām káṭa=āde-h*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 138 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] with *káṭa-*° as a prior member (°*ādé-h* in composition) [designating an inhabited locality 119] in the eastern region (*prāc-ām*) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

The expression [*káṭa=ādi*] normally indicates a class [*gaṇa*] of nominal stems headed by that expression, but there is no corresponding list in the GP. Therefore, it represents [*káṭa-*] as a prior member of a compound nominal stem, as the following illustrative examples show, though the *sūtra* does not use the term [*pūrva-pada*] here [cf. 4.1.53,60,140; 2.107; 3.60; 4.64; 5.1.112; 6.2.1; 7.3.19 and 8.3.106]; it is substituted by [°-*ādi*]. This unusual fact has not been noted by *Kāśikā* or SK. In general [°-*ādi*], when not connected with a *gaṇa* listing, is confined to phoneme groups: [*a-ka-kha=ādi*] (8.4.18), [*iC=ādi*] (3.1.36), [*eka-haL=ādi*] (6.3.59) or with technical terms: [*an-ādeśá=ādi*] (6.4.120), [*anudātta=ādi*] (4.2.44) etc.

*kaṭa-nagar-é bháva-h* = *kaṭa-nagar-ḥya-h* 'originating in K.'

*kaṭa-palval-ḥya-* 'born in Kata-palvala'.

#### 4.2.140 *rājñ-aḥ ka ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *rājan-* 'king' and (ca) phoneme [k] replaces its (stem-final 1.1.52) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*rājan+cha* = *rājak-cha* = *rājak-ḥya-* 'pertaining to the king, regal, royal'.

#### 4.2.141 *vṛddh-āt=¹aka=²iká=ant-āt khá=upadh-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing vowels [ā, ai or au] in its first syllable (*vṛddh-āt*) and ending in (°-*ant-āt*) in the elements °*aka-* or °-*ika* or containing phoneme [kh] as penultimate [designating a locality 139 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

1. °-*aka-*: *brāmaṇaka+cha* = *brāhmaṇak-ḥya-* 'born or originating in the locality of Br.' Exception to [áN 79].
2. °-*ika-*: *śālmalika+chá* = *śālmalik-ḥya-* 'born or belonging to S.'
3. kh-penultimate: *áyo-mukha+cha* = *áyo-mukh-ḥya-*.

#### 4.2.142 <sup>1</sup>kanthā-<sup>2</sup>palada-<sup>3</sup>nágara-<sup>4</sup>grāma- <sup>5</sup>hradá=uttara-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 containing phonemes [ā], [ai] or [au] in their first syllable 141] co-occurring with °kanthā ‘sort of garment’, °-palada- ‘kind of building material’, °-nágara- ‘city’, °-grāma- ‘village’ and hradá- ‘pond, pool, lake’ as final members (uttara-pad-āt: in composition) [designating localities to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

- (1) *dākṣi-kantha+cha* = *dākṣi-kanth-īya-*. ‘belonging to D.’ Similarly (2-5):  
*dākṣi-palal-īya-/°-nagar-īya-/°-grām-īya-/°-hrad-īya-*.

#### 4.2.143 párvat-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] párvata- ‘hill, mountain’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*párvat-e bháva-m* = *parvat-īya-m* ‘born or originating in the region of P.’

#### 4.2.144 vibhāṣā=á-manuṣy-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 párvata- 143 to denote previously unspecified meanings 92] when signifying a non-human entity (á-manuṣy-e).

*párvat-e bháva-m* = *parvat-īya-m/párvata+áN* = *párvat-á-m phála-m* ‘fruit originating in P. region’, but *parvat-īya-h manuṣyá-h*.

#### 4.2.145 <sup>1</sup>kṛkaṇa-<sup>2</sup>parṇ-āt bharádvāj-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṛkaṇa- and parṇá- [designating localities 119] of Bharádvāja region [to denote previously unspecified meanings 92].

*kṛkaṇa+cha* = *kṛkaṇ-īya-* ‘of K. in Bharádvāja country’, but *kārkaṇ-á* (N 1.83) elsewhere.

*parṇ-īya-* ‘of Parna in Bh. country’, but *pārṇ-á-* elsewhere.

### 4.3.1 <sup>1</sup>yuṣmád-<sup>2</sup>asmád-or anya-tará-syām khaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ, in addition to (ca) [cha 2.137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] consisting of (the second and first personal pronouns respectively 1.3.10) yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' optionally (anya-tará-syām) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

The use of this option also permits the introduction of the general affix [áÑ 1.83].  
 $yuṣmád+khaÑ/cha/áÑ = yuṣmáka+khaÑ/cha/áÑ$  (2) =  $yaúṣmāk-ṁa-/yuṣmad-ṁya-/yaúṣmāk-á-$  'yours'; similarly  $āsmāk-ṁa-/asmad-ṁya-/āsmāk-á-$  'ours'.

### 4.3.2 tá-smin=áÑ-i ca <sup>1</sup>yuṣmáka=<sup>2</sup>asmāk=au

Before that (tá-smin) [= taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 1] and áÑ substitute morphemes yuṣmáka- and asmāk- replace [the whole of 1.1.55 yuṣmád- and asmád- 1 respectively 1.3.10].

The operation of metarule 1.3.10 with respect to the two affixes [khaÑ] and [áÑ] in connection with the two personal pronominal stems is blocked by the device of yoga-vibhāga by splitting the rule into two parts [tásmin] and [áÑi ca . . .]. The illustrations are already cited under 1 above.

### 4.3.3 <sup>1</sup>távaka-<sup>2</sup>mámak-au=eka-vacan-é

[Before the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 khaÑ 1 and áÑ 2] the substitute morphemes távaka- and mámaka [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 yuṣmád- and asmád- 1] when signifying a single person (eka-vacan-é).

$yuṣmád-(sg.)+khaÑ/áÑ = távaka+khaÑ/áÑ = távak-ṁa-/tāvak-á-$  'thine' and  $mámak-ṁa-/māmak-á-$  'mine'.

### 4.3.4 árdh-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] árdha- 'half' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

$árdha+yàT = árdh\emptyset+ya-$  (6.1.148) =  $árdh-ya$  'pertaining to half'.

### 4.3.5 <sup>1</sup>para=<sup>2</sup>ávāra=<sup>3</sup>adhamā=<sup>4</sup>uttamā-pūrv-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 4] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 árdha- 4] co-occurring with pára-° ‘more distant’, ávāra-° ‘less distant’, adhamā-° ‘lower’, uttamā-° ‘upper’ as prior members (°pūrv-āt in composition) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 1.92].

*parārdhá+yàT* = *parārdh-yà-* ‘being at the more distant side of half’ and similarly: *avarārdh-yà-* ‘being on the near side of half’; *adhamārdh-yà-* ‘being on the lower half’ and *uttamārdh-yà-* ‘being on the upper half’.

### 4.3.6 dík-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 4] as well as ṭhaÑ (ca) are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.52 °ardha- 4] co-occurring with direction words as prior members (dík-pūrva-pad-āt in composition) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*pūrvārdhá+ṭhaÑ/yaT* = *paúrvārdhika-/pūrvārdh-yà-* ‘being on the eastern half-side’; similarly *dākṣiṇārdh-ika-/dakṣiṇārdh-yà-* ‘being on the southern half-side’.

### 4.3.7 <sup>1</sup>grāma-<sup>2</sup>janapadá=eka-deś-āt=<sup>1</sup>aÑ-<sup>2</sup>ṭhaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aÑ and ṭhaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in °árdha 4, co-occurring with direction words as prior members in composition 6] signifying a part of a village (grāma=ekadeśá) or of an inhabited locality (janapada=eka-deśāt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*imé khálu asm-ākam grāma-sya/janapadásya vā paúrvārdh-āḥ (+aÑ) / paúrvārdh-ikāḥ (+ṭhaÑ)* ‘these are, indeed, the eastern sections of our village or inhabited locality’.

### 4.3.8 mādhy-āt má-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] má is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mādhyā- ‘center, middle’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*mādhyā+má-* = *madhya-má-* ‘central, situated in the middle’.

### 4.3.9 á sām-prati-k-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] á is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 mādhyā- 8 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] to express suitability or fitness (sām-prati-k-é).

*mādhyā+á = madhyā+á (6.4.148) = madhy-á- 'median, average'.*

### 4.3.10 dvīp-āt=anu-samudr-ām yaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dvīpā- 'island' situated near the sea (anu-samudr-ām) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*dvīpā+yaÑ = dvaīp-ya- 'pertaining to a peninsula, having water on both sides'; the word [dvīpā-] literally signifies a peninsula, having water on both sides, and if that water happens to be part of a sea or ocean, the affix in question is [yaÑ]; in other situations it is either [áÑ 1.83] or [vuÑ 2.133-34]: dvaīp-á- (1.83)/dvaīp-aka- (2.133-34).*

### 4.3.11 kāl-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating divisions of time (kāl-āt) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*māsa+ṭhaÑ = mās-ika- 'monthly'; ārdha-mās-sika- 'half-monthly, fortnightly'; śāñ-vatsar-ika- 'annual, yearly'.*

The expression [kālā-] recurs in the subsequent sūtras up to and including 24 below.

### 4.3.12 śrāddh-é śarād-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śarād- 'autumn' [signifying time 11 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] to designate funerary rites (śrāddh-é).

*śarād+ṭhaÑ = śārad-ika- 'autumnal funeral rite'; in other senses: śarād+áÑ (16) = śārad-á- 'autumnal'.*



### 4.3.13 vibhāṣā 'rōga-<sup>2</sup>ātapáy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 śarád- 12 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92] for indicating either a disease (rōga-) or 'sunshine, heat' ( ° ātapáy-oḥ).

*śarad+ṭhaÑ/áN* = *śārad-ika-ḥ/śārad-á-ḥ* *rōga-ḥ/ātapá-ḥ* 'autumnal disease/autumnal heat or sunshine'.

### 4.3.14 'nísā-<sup>2</sup>prádoṣā-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11 is introduced optionally 13] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] nísā 'night' and prá-doṣa- 'twilight' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*nísā+ṭhaÑ/áN* = *naiś-ika-/naiś-á-* 'nocturnal'; similarly *prā-doṣ-ika-/prā-doṣ-á-* 'pertaining to the twilight'.

### 4.3.15 śvās-as tuṭ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 11 is optionally 13 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] śvās- 'tomorrow', and the initial increment tuṭ is inserted at the beginning of the affix (1.1.46) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*śvas+ṭhaÑ* = *śvas+tuṭ-ṭhaÑ* = *śaúvas-t-ika-* (7.3.3)/*śvās-tya-* (2.105)/*śvās-t-ana-/śvas-t-ána-* (+*Tyū/TyūL* 23 below) 'pertaining to tomorrow'.

### 4.3.16 'saṁ-dhí+vélā=ādi=<sup>2</sup>ṛtú-<sup>3</sup>nákṣatre-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1.1] beginning with saṁ-dhi-velā 'connecting or linking period of time (such as twilight etc.)' and those designating seasons (ṛtú-) or asterisms ( ° -nákṣatre-bhyaḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

1. *saṁ-dhi-velā+áN* = *sāṁ-dhi-vel-á-* 'pertaining to twilight, etc.'

2. *ṛtu-*: *grīṣmá+áN* = *graiśm-á-* 'relating to summer'; so also *śiśíra+áN* = *śaiśír-á-* 'autumnal'.

3. *nákṣatra*: *tiṣyā+áN* = *taiś-á* (6.4.149) 'relating to the Tiṣyā asterism or lunar mansion'.

#### 4.3.17 prāvṛṣ-ah=ēṇya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ēṇya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prāvṛṣ- ‘rainy season, monsoon’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*prāvṛṣ+ēṇya-* = *prāvṛṣ-ēṇya-h* (*balāhaka-h*) ‘rain-(cloud)’.

#### 4.3.18 varṣā-bhyas=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] varṣā ‘rain’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*varṣā+ṭhák* = *vārṣ-iká-m* (*vāsah*) ‘(cloth fit for the) rainy (season), rain-(coat)’.

#### 4.3.19 chāndas-i ṭhaÑ

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 varṣā 18 to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*varṣā+ṭhaÑ* = *vārṣ-ika-*: *nábhas ca nabhasyá-ś ca vārṣ-ik-au=ṛtú* ‘Nábhas and Nabhasyá (= August-September) are rainy seasons’.

#### 4.3.20 vasant-āt=ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 19 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 19 is also introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vasantá- ‘spring’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*mádhu-ś ca mádha-ś ca vasant-ik-au=ṛtú* ‘Mádhu and Mádha (March-April and April-May) constitute the spring season’.

#### 4.3.21 hemant-āt=ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 19 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 19] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] hemantá- ‘winter’ [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

*sáhas ca sahasyá-ś ca haímant-ik-au=ṛtú* ‘Sáhas and Sahasyá (November-December and December-January) constitute winter season’.

#### 4.3.22 sarvá-tra=áN ca ta-lopá-s=ca

In all domains (sarvá-tra) [= domain of Chándas and elsewhere, the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 hemantá- 21] with the substitute element lopa (Ø) replacing the syllable [ta] of the stem (or alternately phoneme/t/) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92].

The two interpretations are due to the uncertainty of the status of vowel [a] of syllable [ta] of [hemantá-]; the second alternative is based on the assumption that it is used for ease of pronunciation and is not a part of the element to be replaced, which is then subject to 6.4.148. *hemanta+áN* = *hemanØØ+á-* = *haiman-á-/hemanØa+á* = *hemanØ+á* (6.4.148) = *haiman-á-* (6.4.22) 'pertaining to winter'.

#### 4.3.23 <sup>1</sup>sāyám=<sup>2</sup>cirám=<sup>3</sup>práhṇe-e=<sup>4</sup>pragé=<sup>5</sup>ávyaye-bhyaḥ T̥yu-T̥yuL-au tu-T̥ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] T̥yu and T̥yuL are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sāyám 'at even-tide', cirám 'for a long time', práhṇe 'in the morning' pragé 'at dawn' and indeclinables (° ávyaye-bhyaḥ) [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92], and the initial increment tuT̥ is inserted at the head of these affixes.

*sāyám+T̥yu/T̥yuL* = *sāyam+t-ána-/sāyám-t-ana-* (6.1.193) 'vesperine'; similarly: *cirám-t-ána-/cirám-t-ana-* 'long- or ever-lasting'; *práhṇe-t-ána-/práhṇé-t-ana-* 'matutinal'; *prage-t-ána-/pragé-t-ana-* 'early at day-break'; *doṣā-t-ána-/doṣā-t-ana-* 'nocturnal'.

#### 4.3.24 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>pūrvāhṇá=<sup>2</sup>aparāhṇá-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 T̥yu and T̥yuL 23] are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pūrvāhṇá- 'forenoon' and aparāhṇá- 'afternoon' [to denote previously unspecified meanings 2.92 and the initial increment tuT̥ is inserted at the head of these affixes 23].

*pūrvahṇe-t-ána-/pūrvahṇé-t-ana-/paúrvāhṇ-ika-* (+*thaN̄* 11) 'matutinal'; *aparāhṇe-t-ána-/aparāhṇé-t-ana-/āparāhṇ-ika-* 'occurring in the afternoon'.

#### 4.3.25 tá-tra jā-tá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'born there' (jā-tá-h).

With this sūtra the section headed by 2.92 comes to the end. Here onwards specific meaning conditions as well as the sUP triplets associated with the nominal stems are stated. *srughn-e jā-tá-h* = *srughna+áN* = *sraughn-á-h* 'born in S'. Similarly *mathurā-y-ām jā-tá-h* = *māthur-á-h* 'born in M.'

#### 4.3.26 prāvṛṣ-as=ṭhaP

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prāvṛṣ- 'rainy season, monsoon' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born at that time' 25].

*prāvṛṣ-i jā-tá-h* = *prāvṛṣ+ṭhaP* = *prāvṛṣ-ika-h* 'born during the rainy season'.

#### 4.3.27 saṁjñā-y-ām śarād-aḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śarād- 'autumn' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'born at that time' 25] for deriving a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

*śarād-i jā-tá-h* = *śarād+vuÑ* = *śārad-aka-h* 'n.pr. of a plant, a variety of Darbha grass' or 'a variety of beans'.

#### 4.3.28 <sup>1</sup>pūrvāhṇá=<sup>2</sup>aparāhṇá=<sup>3</sup>ārdrā=<sup>4</sup>mūla-<sup>5</sup>prādoṣa=<sup>6</sup>avaskar-āt=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *pūrvāhṇá-* 'forenoon', *aparāhṇá-* 'afternoon', *ārdrā* 'n.pr. of a constellation', *mūla-* 'n.pr. of a constellation', *prādoṣa-* 'twilight' and *avaskarā-* 'dung' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'born in that (place or time) 25 to derive a proper name 27].

*pūrvāhṇ-é jā-tá-h* = *pūrvāhṇa+vuN* = *pūrvāhṇ-aka-* 'born in the forenoon'; similarly: *aparāhṇ-aka-* 'born in the afternoon'; *ārdr-aka-*, *mūl-aka-* 'born under the constellations Ārdrā/Mūla'; *prādoṣ-aka-* 'born in the twilight' and *āvaskar-aka-* 'n.pr. of an insect born in ordure'.

### 4.3.29 path-áh pántha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 28 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] páthin- ‘path’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born in that (place)’ 25] and the substitute pántha- replaces (the whole of 1.1.55) the nominal stem.

*path-í jā-tá-h = pántha+vuN = pánth-aka-h* ‘born on the roadside’.

### 4.3.30 amāvāsyā-y-āḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 28] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] amāvāsyā ‘new-moon night’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born at that time’ 25].

*amāvāsyā-y-ām jā-tá-h = amāvāsyā+vuN/āN (16) = amāvāsy-aka-h/āmāvāsy-ā-h*  
‘born on a new-moon night’.

### 4.3.31 á ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] á is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 amāvāsyā 30, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born at that time’ 25].

*amāvāsyā+á = amāvāsyā+á (6.4.148) = amāvāsy-á* ‘born in new-moon night’.

### 4.3.32 <sup>1</sup>síndhu=<sup>2</sup>apakarā-bhyām kaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] síndhu- ‘n. of a river, Indus’ and apakarā- ‘n. of a locality’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born there’ 25].

*síndh-au jā-tá-h = síndhu+kaN = síndhu-ka* ‘born in the river Indus’; similarly  
*āpa-kara-ka* ‘born in the Ap. region’.

### 4.3.33 <sup>1</sup>áN=<sup>2</sup>aÑ-au ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áN and aÑ are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 síndhu- and apakarā- 32 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born there’ 25].

*síndhu+áN/aÑ = saindhav-á/sáindhav-a = síndhu-ka* (32 above); similarly:  
*āpakar-á/āpakar-a/āpakara-ka*.

**4.3.34** <sup>1</sup>śráviṣṭhā-<sup>2</sup>phálgunī=<sup>3</sup>anurādhā=<sup>4</sup>svātf-<sup>5</sup>tiṣyā-  
<sup>6</sup>púnarvasu-<sup>7</sup>hásta-<sup>8</sup>vísākhā=<sup>9</sup>āṣāḍhā-<sup>10</sup>bahul-āt=luK

luK (0<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] beginning with (1) śráviṣṭhā and terminating with (10) bahulā- ‘names of asterisms or lunar mansions’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born at that time’ 25].

- (1) śráviṣṭhā-su jā-tā-h = śráviṣṭha+Tāp+āN (16) = śráviṣṭha+TāP+0<sup>1</sup> = śráviṣṭha+0<sup>1</sup> (1.2.49) = śráviṣṭha-h ‘born under the constellation Śr.’ Similarly:  
(2) phálguna-h; (3) anurādhā-h; (4) svātf-h; (5) tiṣyā-h; (6) púnarvasu-h; (7) hásta-h; (8) vísākhā-h; (9) āṣāḍha-h; (10) bahulā-h.

**4.3.35** <sup>1</sup>sthāna=anta-<sup>2</sup>go-śālā-<sup>3</sup>khara-śāl-āt=ca

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 34] also replaces (ca) [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] ending in °sthāna- ‘place’ and [nominal stems 1.1] go-śālā- ‘cow-pen’ and khara-śālā- ‘stable for donkeys’ [ending in the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born there’ 25].

- go-sthān-é jā-tā-h = go-sthānā+āN (1.83) = go-sthānā+0<sup>1</sup> = go-sthān-d-h ‘born in G.’ Similarly: go-śālā-h /khara-śālā-h ‘born in a cow-pen/ass-stable’.

**4.3.36** <sup>1</sup>vatsa-śālā=<sup>2</sup>abhi-jít=<sup>3</sup>aśva-yúj=<sup>4</sup>śatā-bhiṣaj-aḥ=vā

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 34] optionally (vā) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vatsa-śālā ‘stall for calves’, abhi-jít-, aśva-yúj- and śatā-bhiṣaj- ‘names of lunar mansions or asterisms’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born therein or thereunder’ 25].

- vatsa-śālā-y-ān jā-tā-h = vatsa-śālā+aN = vatsa-śālā+TāP+0<sup>1</sup> = vatsa-śālā+0<sup>1</sup> = vatsa-śālā-h ‘born in a stall for calves’; likewise: abhi-jít-, aśva-yúj-, śatā-bhiṣaj- ‘born under the respective lunar mansions’; all alternating with vātsa-śāl-ā, abhi-jít-ā-, āśva-yuj-ā-, śāta-bhiṣaj-ā (+āN).

**4.3.37** nákṣatre-bhyaḥ=bahulám

[luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 34] variously (bahulám) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the name of an asterism (nákṣatre-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘born at that time’ 25].

*róhiṇy-āṁ jā-tá-h* *róhiṇI+áN* (16) = *rauhiṇ-á-h/róhiṇa+NIP+θ<sup>1</sup>* = *róhiṇa-θ<sup>1</sup>*  
(1.2.49; 4.1.39) = *róhiṇa-h*.

#### 4.3.38 <sup>1</sup>kṛ-tá-<sup>2</sup>lab-dhá-<sup>3</sup>krī-tá-<sup>4</sup>kúśal-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] to denote the senses of *kṛtá-* ‘made’, *labdhá-* ‘gained’, *krītá-* ‘bought’ and *kúśala-* ‘adept, expert, proficient’ [in that 25]

*srughna+áN* = *sraughn-á-* ‘made, gained, bought or proficient in Śr.’

#### 4.3.39 *prāya-bhavá-h*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] to denote the sense of ‘usually or abundantly found’ (*prāya-bhavá-h*) [therein 25].

*mathurā-y-āṁ prāya-bhavá-h* = *mathurā+áN* (1.83) = *māthur-á-h* ‘abundantly existing in M.’

#### 4.3.40 <sup>1</sup>upa-jānú=<sup>2</sup>upa-karṇá=<sup>3</sup>upa-nīvé-s=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭháK* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *upa-jānú-* ‘near the knee’, *upa-karṇá-* ‘near the ear’ and *upa-nīví-* ‘near the girdle’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote ‘usually or abundantly found’ 39 therein 25].

*upa-jānú+ṭháK* = *aupa-jānu-ká-* ‘usually situated near the knee’ (7.3.51); similarly: *aupa-karṇ-iká-* ‘usually found near the ear’ and *aupa-nīvi-ká-* ‘usually situated near the girdle’.

#### 4.3.41 *saṁ-bhū-t-é*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote] the sense of ‘adequacy, suitability’ (*saṁ-bhū-t-é*).

*rāṣṭr=e saṁ-bhū-tá-h* *rāṣṭra+gha* (2.83) = *rāṣṭr-īya-h* ‘suitable or adequate for a kingdom’.

#### 4.3.42 kós-āt=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kósā- ‘cocoon’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote ‘fit, suitable, adequate’ 4].

*kós-e sam-bhū-tā-m = kósā+dhaÑ = kaus-eya-m (vāstra-m) ‘(cloth) suited to the cocoon (i.e., silk)’.*

#### 4.3.43 kāl-āt <sup>1</sup>sādhú-<sup>2</sup>púṣpyat-<sup>3</sup>pacyā-m-āne-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25] designating a division of time (kāl-āt) to denote the meanings ‘good or proper’ (sādhú-), ‘flowering’ (°-púṣpyat-) or ‘is ripening’ (°-pac-yā-m-āne-ṣu) [‘at that time’ 25].

1. *hemant-ṣu sādhú-ḥ = hemantā+āN (16) = haiman-ā-ḥ (22) (prākāra-ḥ) ‘a surrounding wall proper or good for the winter’.*
2. *vasant-é púṣp-ya-nti = vasantā+āN+ÑIP (1.15)+Jas = vāsanty-āḥ kanda-lat-āḥ ‘vernal creepers good for flowering’.*
3. *śarād-i pac-yā-nte = śarād+āN+Jas = śārad-āḥ śālay-aḥ ‘rice ripening in autumn’; similarly graiṣm-āḥ yāv-āḥ ‘barley ripening in summer’.*

#### 4.3.44 up-t-é ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25, designating a division of time 43] to denote ‘sown’ (up-t-é) [at that time 25].

*hemant-é up-yā-nte = hemanta+āN (16) = haiman-ā (22)+Jas = haiman-āḥ/haimant-āḥ yāv-āḥ ‘barley sown during winter’.*

#### 4.3.45 āśva-yujy-āḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] āśva-yuj-í ‘day of full moon in conjunction with the lunar mansion āśva-yúḥ-’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote ‘sown’ 44 at that time 25].

Exception to [thaÑ 11 above]: *āśva-yujy-ām up-t-āḥ = āśva-yuj-í+vuÑ = āśva-yuj-ak-āḥ māṣ-āḥ ‘māṣa lentils (Phaseolus Radiatus) sown during the full moon day of Āś.’*



#### 4.3.46 <sup>1</sup>grīṣmá-<sup>2</sup>vasant-ât=anya-tára-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 45] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grīṣmá- ‘summer’ and vasantá- ‘spring’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote ‘sown’ 44 at that time 25].

*grīṣmá+vuÑ* = *grāṣm-aka-/grāṣm-á-* (16) ‘sown during summer’; so also *vāsant-aka-/vāsant-á-* ‘sown during spring’.

#### 4.3.47 déya-m ṛṇ-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 designating time-words 43] to denote ‘to be repaid as a debt’ [at that time 25] (déy-am ṛṇé).

*mās-e déyam ṛṇá-m* = *māsa+ṭhaÑ* (11) = *mās-ika-m* ‘a debt repayable in a month’.

#### 4.3.48 <sup>1</sup>kalāpí(n)=<sup>2</sup>aśvatthá=<sup>3</sup>yava-bus-ât=vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kalāpín- ‘period during which peacocks spread their tails’ aśvatthá- ‘the period when the tree Ficus Religiosa bears fruit’ and yava-busá- ‘time for producing chaff from barley’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote ‘a debt payable 47 at that time’ 25].

*kalāpín-i kāl-é déya-m ṛṇá-m* = *kalāpín+vuN* = *kālāp00-aka-m* (6.4.144) ‘debt repayable at the K. time’. Similarly *áśvatth-aka-* ‘debt repayable at A. time’; *yáva-bus-aka-m* ‘debt repayable at the time of producing chaff from barley’.

#### 4.3.49 <sup>1</sup>grīṣmá=<sup>2</sup>avara-sam-ât=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] grīṣmá- ‘summer time’ and avara-samā- ‘less than a year’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote a debt repayable 47 at that time 25].

*grīṣm-é déya-m ṛṇá-m* = *grīṣmá+vuÑ* = *grāṣm-aka-m* ‘a debt repayable in summer’; *ávarā-su samāsu déya-m* = *ávvara-sam-aka-m ṛṇam* ‘a debt repayable in less than a year’.

#### 4.3.50 'saṁvatsarā=āgra-hāyaṇī-bhyām thaÑ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 49] as well as (ca) thaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] saṁ-vatsarā- 'year' and āgra-hāyaṇī 'full moon day when the moon is in conjunction with Agra-hāyaṇa' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 to denote 'a debt repayable' 47 at that time 25].

*saṁ-vatsar-é déya-m = saṁ-vatsarā+thaÑ/vuN = sām-vatsar-ika-m/  
sām-vatsar-aka-m* 'debt repayable at the end of a year'; *āgra-hāyaṇ-ika/  
āgra-hāyaṇ-aka-* 'debt repayable on the full moon day of Agr.'

#### 4.3.51 vy-ā-har-a-ti mṛgá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 25 designating time-words 43] to denote 'a wild beast (mṛgá-ḥ) is prowling' (vy-ā-har-a-ti) [at this time 25].

*nísā-y-āṁ vyā-har-a-ti = nísā+thaÑ (14) = naiś-ika-ḥ/naiś-ā-ḥ (16)* 'a wild beast prowling at night'.

#### 4.3.52 tát a-syá soḍhá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 consisting of time-words 43 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tát) for deriving a stem to denote 'this is his (a-syá) habit, custom or practice' (soḍhá-m).

*nísā-saha-car-i-tám adhy-áy-ana-m = nísā, tát soḍhám a-syá = chātrā-sya =  
nísā+thaÑ (14)/āN (16) = naiś-ika-ḥ/naiś-ā-ḥ* '(a pupil) accustomed to study at night'. Similarly *prādoṣ-ika-/prādoṣ-ā-* 'accustomed to study at twilight'.

#### 4.3.53 tá-tra bháva-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to derive a stem denoting 'being or obtaining there' (tá-tra bháva-ḥ).

*srughn-e bháv-a-ḥ = srughna+āN (1.83) = sraughn-ā-ḥ* 'being or obtaining in S.'

#### 4.3.54 díś=ādi-bhyaḥ=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with díś- ‘direction’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining there’ 53].

*diś-ī bháva-m* = *diś+yàT* = *diś-ya-m* ‘what obtains or occurs in the direction or region’; similarly *várg-e bháva-* = *várg-ya-* ‘found or obtaining in the group’.

#### 4.3.55 śarīra=avayav-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 54 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a member of the body (śarīra=avayav-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

*kañṭh-é bháva-m* = *kañṭhā+yàT* = *kāñṭh-ya-m* ‘velar, occurring in the velum or throat’; similarly *tāl-au bháva-m* = *tālav-yà-m* ‘palatal’, *mūrdhan-yà-* ‘retroflex’, *dānt-ya-* ‘dental’ and *ósṭh-ya-* ‘labial’, *nāsik-yà-* ‘nasal’, *kārṇ-ya-* ‘being in or near the ear’.

#### 4.3.56 <sup>1</sup>dṛṭi-<sup>2</sup>kuṣṭi-<sup>3</sup>kalāśi-<sup>4</sup>vastī=<sup>5</sup>āsti=<sup>6</sup>āher dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dṛṭi- ‘leather bag’, kuṣṭi- ‘abdomen’, kalāśi- ‘jar’, vastī- ‘bladder’, āsti- ‘existence’ and āhī- ‘serpent’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining there’ 53].

*dṛṭ-au bháva-m* = *dṛṭi+dhaÑ* = *dārt-eya-m* ‘contained or being in a leather bag’; *kaúṣṭ-eya-m/kālaś-eya-m/vāst-eya-m/āst-eya-m/āh-eya-m* ‘being or found in the abdomen/a jar/the bladder/in existence/in the serpent’ respectively.

#### 4.3.57 grīvā-bhyaḥ=āN ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhaÑ 56] as well as (ca) āN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] grīvā ‘nape of neck’ [ending in the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘found or obtaining there’ 53].

*grīvā-y-ām bháva-m* = *grīvā+āN/dhaÑ* = *grāiv-ām/grāiv-eya-m* ‘being or found in the nape of the neck’.

#### 4.3.58 gambhīr-āt=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gambhīrá- ‘profound, deep’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘found or obtained there’ 53].

*gambhīr-é bháva-m = gambhīrá+Ñya = gāmbhīr-ya-m* ‘found or occurring in profundity or depth’.

#### 4.3.59 avyayī-bhāv=āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya 58] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound (2.1.6) [to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

By interpretation the application of this rule is restricted to items beginning with [pari-mukhám] ‘round or about the face’ which is not included in the traditional Gaṇapāṭha lists. *pari-mukha+am* (2.4.83)+Ñya = *pari-mukha+∅* (2.4.71)+Ñya = *pari-mukha+Ñya = pári-mukh-ya-m = pari-mukh-ám bháva-m* ‘being around or about’.

#### 4.3.60 antáḥ-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound 59] with antár-° ‘in, within’ as a prior member (pūrva-pad-āt) [to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

*veśman-i bháv-am = antar-veśmán+ṭāC+am = antar-veśm-ám* (5.4.108) *bháv-am = antar-veśm-á+ṭhaÑ = āntar-veśmik-am* ‘being or found inside the house’ = *āntar-geh-ik-am*.

#### 4.3.61 grām-āt <sup>1</sup>pári=<sup>2</sup>ānu-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 60] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 consisting of an Avyayī-bhāvá compound 59 ending in 1.1.72] °grāma- ‘village’, co-occurring with preverbs pári-°, ānu-° [to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

*pari-grām-ám/ānu-grām-ám bháva-ḥ = pári-grām-ika-ḥ* ‘being around the village’, *ānu-grām-ika-ḥ* ‘being in the village’.

#### 4.3.62 <sup>1</sup>jihvā-mūlā=<sup>2</sup>aṅgúle-s=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] jihvā-mūla- ‘root of the tongue’ and aṅgúli- ‘finger’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

*jihvā-mūl-é bháv-am* = *jihvā-mūlā+cha* = *jihvā-mūl-īy-am* ‘being at the root of the tongue’; *aṅgul-īy-am* ‘being on the finger’.

#### 4.3.63 várga=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 62] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-várga- ‘class’ [terminating in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

*ka-varg-é bháv-am* = *ka-varg-īy-am* ‘being in the velar class’.

#### 4.3.64 á-śabd-e <sup>1</sup>yàT-<sup>2</sup>kh-au=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-várga- 63] when not denoting phonemes (á-śabd-e) [terminating in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53].

The option is in respect of affix [cha 63]. *vāsudeva-vargā+yàT/kha/cha* = *vāsu-deva-vārg-ya-/vāsu-deva-varg-īya-/vāsu-deva-varg-īya-* ‘being in the party of V.’ Cf. 6.2.131.

#### 4.3.65 <sup>1</sup>kārṇa-<sup>2</sup>lālāṭ-āt kaN alaṁ-kār-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kārṇa- ‘ear’ and lālāṭa- ‘forehead’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘being or obtaining therein’ 53] when signifying an ornament (alaṁ-kār-é).

*kārṇ-e bhāv-ā* = *kārṇa+kaN+TāP* (1.4) = *kārṇ-ik-ā* (7.3.44) ‘an ear ornament (‘being on the ear’); in other senses *kārṇ-ya-m* (55); *lālāṭ-e bhāv-ā* = *lālāṭ-ik-ā* ‘an ornament (worn by women) on the forehead’; in other meanings *lālāṭ-yā-m* ‘being on the forehead’ (55).

#### 4.3.66 tá-sya vy-ā-khyān-e=iti ca vy-ā-khyā-tāvya-nāmn-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] representing a text commented upon (vy-ā-khyā-tāvya-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to derive a stem denoting its commentary (vy-ā-khyān-e) as well as (ca) [to denote ‘being or obtaining there’ 53].

*sUP-ām vy-ā-khyāna-h* = *sUP+āN* (1.83) = *saup-ā-h* ‘a commentary on declensional affixes’; similarly *sUP-su bháva-m* = *saup-ā-m* ‘found or occurring in the declensional system’.

#### 4.3.67 bahu=áC=aḥ=ánta=udātt-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahv-áC-aḥ) [nominal stem 1.1] with a high-pitched accent on its final syllable (ánta=udātt-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet, representing a text to be commented upon to denote its commentary 66 and ‘being or occurring therein’ 53].

*ṣa-tva=ṇa-tváy-or (vidhāyaka-śāstrá-sya) vy-ā-khyāna-m* = *ṣa-tva-ṇa-tvá+ṭhaÑ* = *ṣā-tva-ṇa-tv-ika-m* ‘a commentary on a text dealing with retroflexion of the phonemes /s/, /n/, found or occurring in the domain of retroflexion of /s/, /n/’.

#### 4.3.68 <sup>1</sup>krātu-<sup>2</sup>yajñé-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 67] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] consisting of names of Vedic sacrifices (krātu- °) and domestic sacrifices (°-yajñé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote the commentaries on them 66 or ‘found or occurring in them’ 53].

1. *krātu-*: *agni-ṣṭomá-sya vy-ā-khyāna-h* = *āgni-ṣṭom-ika-h* ‘a commentary on Agniṣṭomá’. *rājñi-ā sū-yá-te* = *rājan+ṭ<sup>1</sup>+sū+KyaP* (3.1.114) = *rāja-sū-ya+ṭhaÑ* = *rāja-sū-y-ika-* where the original polysyllabic stem is not marked with final udātta accent; similarly *vāja-pé-ya+ṭhaÑ* = *vāja-pe-y-ika-*.
2. *yajñá*: *pāka-yajñá-sya vy-ā-khyāna-h* = *pāka-yajñi-ika-h*.

#### 4.3.69 adhy-āyé-ṣu=éva=fṣe-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 67 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating the name of a Vedic seer (fṣe-h) [ending in 1.1.72

the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on that text 66 and also 'being or obtaining therein' 53] to derive a stem indicating a chapter only (adhy-āyē-ṣu=éva).

*vásiṣṭh-ena dṛṣṭá-h mántra-h = vásiṣṭha-h, tá-sya vy-ākhyāna-h/ta-tra bhava-h vā  
= vásiṣṭha+thaÑ = vásiṣṭh-ika-h adhy-āyá-h.*

#### 4.3.70 <sup>1</sup>pauroḍāśá-<sup>2</sup>puroḍāś-át=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] pauroḍāśá- 'a mantra consecrating Puroḍāśá' and puroḍāśá- 'a text dealing with puroḍāśá' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary thereon 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

*pauroḍāśá+ṢṭhaN = paúroḍāś-ika-h* 'a commentary on Paur./being or obtaining therein'; similarly *puroḍāśá+ṢṭhaN = puro-dāś-ika-h*. In both illustrations the feminine form is derived with affix [ÑṢ (1.41)].

#### 4.3.71 chándas-aḥ=<sup>1</sup>yàT=<sup>2</sup>áN-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and áN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chándas- 'Veda' [ending in 1.1.73 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on it 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 65].

Prior exception to 72 below, blocking out the affix [ṭhaK]. *chándas-aḥ vy-ā-khyāna-h = chándas+yàT/áN = chandas-yà-h/chāndas-á-h* 'a commentary on Ch./found or occurring in Ch.'

#### 4.3.72 <sup>1</sup>dvy-ác=<sup>2</sup>ṛT=<sup>3</sup>brāhmaṇá=<sup>4</sup>ṛc-<sup>5</sup>prathamá=<sup>6</sup>adhvará-<sup>7</sup>puraṣ-cáraṇa-<sup>8</sup>nāmākhyāt-át ṭhaK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] consisting of two syllables (dvy-ác), or [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T), and [the stems] brāhmaṇá- 'a class of Vedic texts', ṛc- 'stanza or verse of Ṛg-Veda', prathamá- 'first', adhvará- 'sacrificial rite', puraṣ-cáraṇa- 'preliminary rite' and nāma=ākhyātá- 'nomen and verbum' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary thereon 66 or 'being or obtaining therein' 53].

1. dvy-ác: *íṣṭe-h vy-ā-khyāna-h/íṣṭ-au vā bháva-h = íṣṭi+ṭháK = aíṣṭ-ika-h* 'commentary on a text dealing with sacrifice [íṣṭi].

2. °ṛT-: *cātur-hotṛ+ṭhák* = *cātur-hotṛ-ká-h* ‘commentary on/or found or occurring in C.’
3. *brāhmaṇá*: *brāhmaṇá+ṭhák* = *brāhmaṇ-iká*- ‘commentary on/or found or occurring in Br.’ *prātham-iká*-, *ārc-iká*-.  
 4. Similarly: *ādhvar-iká*-, *pauraṣ-caraṇ-iká*-, *nāmākhyāt-iká*- where by interpretation this last is also to be considered in addition as two separate expressions generating *nām-iká*-/ *ākhyāt-iká*-.

#### 4.3.73 áN ṛg-ayaná=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix áN] is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with ṛg-ayaná- ‘n. of a text on the study of the RV’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote a commentary on it 66 or ‘found or obtaining therein’ 53].

*ṛg-ayaná-sya vy-ā-khyāna-h/ṛg-ayan-é bháva-h* = *ṛg-ayaná+áN* = *ārg-ayan-á*- ‘commentary on/or found or occurring in Ṛ.’ Exception to [ṭhaN̄ 67, cha 2.114].  
 Non-retroflexion by 8.4.3.

#### 4.3.74 tá-taḥ=ā-ga-tá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (tá-taḥ) to denote ‘arrived from there’ (tá-taḥ=ā-ga-tá-h).

*mathurā-y-āḥ ā-ga-tá-h* = *mathurā+áN* (1.83) = *māthur-á-h* ‘arriving or arrived from Mathurā’.

#### 4.3.75 ṭhák=āya-sthāné-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of revenue offices (āya-sthāné-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote ‘arrived from there’ 74].

*śulka-śālā-y-āḥ ā-ga-tá-h* = *śulka-śālā+ṭhák* = *śaulka-śāl-iká-h* ‘arrived or arriving from the custom house’.

#### 4.3.76 śuṇḍika=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śuṇḍika- ‘tavern’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote ‘arrived from there’ 74].



*śundīk-āt ā-ga-tā-h* = *sundika+āN* = *saundīk-ā-h* ‘arrived from the tavern’.

#### 4.3.77 <sup>1</sup>vidyā-<sup>2</sup>yóni-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating a person related (<sup>°</sup> sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ) either through transmitted knowledge (vidyā-<sup>°</sup>) or consanguinity (<sup>°</sup>-yóni-<sup>°</sup>) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote ‘arrived from there’ 74].

1. vidyā-<sup>°</sup>: *upādhyāyād ā-ga-tā-h* = *upādhyāyā+vuÑ* = *auṣpādhyāy-aka-h* ‘come from the teacher’.
2. yóni-<sup>°</sup>: *pitāmah-āt ā-ga-tā-m* = *paitāmah-ā-m* ‘coming from the paternal grandfather’.

#### 4.3.78 ṛT=as=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short ṛ(T) designating a person related through transmitted knowledge or consanguinity 77, ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote ‘arrived from there’ 74.

1. *hótur ā-ga-tā-m* = *hótṛ+ṭhaÑ* = *haúṭṛ-ka-m* (7.3.51) ‘coming from the H. priest’.
2. *bhrātúr ā-ga-tā-m* = *bhrātṛ-ka-m*.

#### 4.3.79 pitúr yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 78] as well as (ca) yàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pitṛ- ‘father’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote ‘coming from him’ 74].

*pitúr ā-ga-tā-m* = *pitṛ+yàT/ṭhaÑ* = *pitrī+yàT* (7.4.27) = *pitrḥ+ya* (6.4.148) = *pítr-ya-m/paítṛ-ka-m* ‘coming from the father, paternal’.

#### 4.3.80 gotr-ât=añka-vát

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a patronymic descendant (gotr-ât) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote ‘arrived from there’ 74] are like those introduced to denote a sign (añka-vát 126-27 below).

*úpago-r gotrāpatye-bhyaḥ ā-ga-tā-m* = *auṣpagavā+vuÑ* = *áuṣa-gav-aka-m* (126);  
*gargāsya gotrāpatye-bhyaḥ ā-ga-tā-h* = *gārg-ya+āN* (127) = *gārgyḥ+ā* (6.4.148) =  
*gārgḥ+ā* (6.4.151) = *gārg-ā-h*.

#### 4.3.81 <sup>1</sup>hetú-<sup>2</sup>manuṣyè-bhyaḥ=anya-tará-syām rūpya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpya is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating a cause (hetú-°) or a human being (°-manuṣyè-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from that' 74] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

1. hetú: *sam-āt=ā-ga-tá-m* = *sama-rūpya-m/sama+cha* (2.1.38) = *sam-fya-m* 'come from a similar cause'.
2. manuṣyà: *deva-datt-āt=ā-ga-tá-m* = *deva-datta-rūpya-m/deva-datta+áN* (1.83) = *daiva-datt-á-m*.

#### 4.3.82 máyaṭ=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 rūpya 81] and (ca) máyaṭ are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 designating a cause or human being 81, ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'coming from that' 74].

*sama-máya-m; deva-datta-máya-m*. Alternate forms are as given under 81 above.  
Feminine stems are derived with affix [ÑIP 1.15].

#### 4.3.83 prá-bhav-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 74] to denote 'arising therefrom or thence' (prá-bhav-a-ti).

*himavát-aḥ prá-bhav-a-ti* = *himavát+áN* (1.83) *ÑIP* (1.15) = *haima-vat-f* 'the river Ganges (arising from H.)'. Similarly *dārad-f* 'the river Indus (arising from Darada)'.

#### 4.3.84 vidūr-āt=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vídūra- 'n.pr. of a place' [ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 74 to denote 'arising therefrom or there' 83].

*vidūr-āt prá-bhav-a-ti* = *vidūra+Ñya* = *vaidūr-ya-ḥ maṇi-ḥ* 'gem or precious stone arising from the region of V.'

#### 4.3.85 tád gáčch-a-ti 'páthi(n)-<sup>2</sup>dūtáy-oh

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'goes there' (tád gáčch-a-ti) to indicate a path (páthin-) or a messenger (° dūtáy-oh).

*mathurā-m gáčch-a-ti = mathurā+áN (1.83) = māthur-a-h 'a road/messenger going to Mathurā'.*

#### 4.3.86 abhi-nís-krām-a-ti dvār-am

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 85] to denote a gate (dvār-am) which leads towards that (abhi-nísi-kram-ā-ti).

*srughnam abhi-nís-krām-a-ti = srughna+áN = sraughn-ám dvār-am 'a gate leading towards Srughna'.*

#### 4.3.87 adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-t-é granth-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 85] designating the subject on which the work (granth-é) is based to denote that book (adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-t-é).

*sú-bhadr-ām adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-tá-h = súbhadrā+áN (1.83) = saubhadr-á-h granthá-h 'a text composed on Súbhadrā as subject'.*

#### 4.3.88 <sup>1</sup>śísu-krandá-<sup>2</sup>yama-sabhá-<sup>3</sup>dvaṁdvá=<sup>4</sup>indra-jananá= ādi-bhyas=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śísu-krandá- 'cries of children', yama-sabhá- 'assembly of Yama', a Dvaṁdvá compound and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with indra-jananá- 'birth of Indra' [designating the subject on which the work is based to denote that work 87].

*śísu-krand-ám adhi-kṛ-t-ya kṛ-tá-h = śísu-krandá+cha = śísu-krand-íya-h granthá-h; yama-sabh-íya-h; śyena-kapot-íya-h 'a book on hawks and doves'; indra-janan-íya-h 'a text dealing with the topic of Indra's birth'.*

#### 4.3.89 $sá-h=a-syá\ ni-vāsá-h$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet ( $sá-h$ ) to denote 'that is his residence' ( $a-syá\ ni-vāsá-h$ ).

*mathurā ni-vāsá-h a-syá = mathurā+áN (1.83) = máthur-á-h* 'resident of Mathurā'.

#### 4.3.90 $abhi-jána-s=ca$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89] also ( $ca$ ) to denote [that is his 89] ancestral residence ( $abhi-jána-h$ ).

*srughna-h abhi-jána-h a-syá = srughna+áN (1.83) = sraughn-á-h* 'a person whose ancestral home is Sr.'

#### 4.3.91 $āyudha-jīvi-bhyas=cha-h\ párvat-e$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $cha$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating a mountain ( $párvat-e$ ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 representing the ancestral residence 90] to denote mercenaries ( $āyudha-jīvi-bhyaḥ$ ).

*hṛd-gola-h párvata-h abhi-jána-h e-śām = hṛd-gola+cha = hṛd-gol-śya+Jas = hṛd-gol-śy-āḥ* 'mercenaries whose ancestral home is Hṛ.'

#### 4.3.92 $śaṇḍika=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ñya-h$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $Ñya$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with  $śaṇḍika$ - 'n.pr. of a place' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote 'this is his ancestral residence' 90].

*śaṇḍika-h abhi-jána-h a-syá = śaṇḍika+Ñya = śāṇḍik-ya-h* 'one whose ancestral home is Śaṇḍika'.

#### 4.3.93 $^1sīndhu-^2takṣa-śilā=ādi-bhyaḥ=^1áN=^2aÑ-au$

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1]  $áN$  and  $aÑ$  are (respectively 1.3.10) introduced [after the classes of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with  $sīndhu$ - and  $takṣa-śilā$  [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the ancestral residence 90].

*síndhu-h abhi-jána-h a-syá* = *síndhu+áN* = *saindhav-á-h* ‘whose ancestral residence is in the Indus region’. *takṣa-silā abhi-jána-h a-syá* = *takṣa-silā+aÑ* = *tákṣá-sil-a-h*.

#### 4.3.94 <sup>1</sup>tūdī-<sup>2</sup>śalātura-<sup>3</sup>varmatī-<sup>4</sup>kūcavār-āt <sup>1</sup>ḍhák-<sup>2</sup>chaN-<sup>3</sup>ḍhaÑ-<sup>4</sup>yák-aḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ḍhák, chaN, ḍhaÑ and yák are [respectively 1.3.10] introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tūdī, śalātura-, varmatī and kūcavāra- ‘placenames’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote ancestral residences 90].

*tūdī+ḍhák* = *taud-eyá-h* ‘whose ancestral home is T.’ *śalātura+chaN* = *śālātur-íya-h*; *varmatī+ḍhaÑ* = *vármāt-eya-h*; *kūcavāra+yák* = *kauca-vār-yá-h*.

#### 4.3.95 bhák-ti-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89] to denote ‘this is the object of devotion or worship’ (bhák-ti-h).

*vāsu-devá-h bhák-ti-r a-syá* = *vāsudevā+vuN* (98) = *vāsudev-aka-h* ‘devotee or worshiper of V’; similarly *árjun-aka-h* (98).

#### 4.3.96 á-citt-āt á-<sup>1</sup>deśa-<sup>2</sup>kāl-āt=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] designating an inanimate thing (á-citt-āt) other than those representing locality or time (á-deśa-kāl-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion or worship 95].

*apūp-áh bhák-ti-r a-syá* = *apūpá+ṭhák* = *āpūp-iká-h* ‘person fond of cakes’, but *deva-dattá+áN* = *daiva-datt-á-h* (1.83); *erughna+áN* = *sraughn-á-h*; *graiṣm-á-h* (16) (counter-exx. for animate, locality and time respectively).

#### 4.3.97 mahārāj-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mahārājá- ‘great king, emperor’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

*mahārājá-h bhák-tir a-syá* = *mahārājá+ṭhaÑ* = *māhārāj-ika-h*.

#### 4.3.98 vāsudevā= árjunā-bhyām vuN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vāsudevā- and árjuna- ‘names of persons’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote objects of devotion 95].

*vāsudev-aka-h, árjun-aka-h* (cf. 95 above).

#### 4.3.99 <sup>1</sup>gotrá-<sup>2</sup>kṣatriya=ākhye-bhyaḥ=bahulám vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced variously (bahulám) [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] representing patronymics (gotrá-°) or warriors (°kṣatriya=ākhye-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

1. gotrá: *aupagav-á-h bhák-ti-r a-syá = aupagav-á+vuÑ = aúpagav-aka-h*.

2. kṣatriya: *nakulá-h bhák-ti-r a-syá = nakulá+vuÑ = nákul-aka-h*, but *pānin-á+cha = pānin-śya-h* (2.114).

#### 4.3.100 jana-padín-ām jana-pada-vát sárvañ jana-pad-éna samānā-śabdā-nām bahu-vacan-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating rulers of populated localities (jana-padín-ām) which are identical with the names of localities (jana-pad-éna samānā-śabdā-nām) in the plural (bahu-vacan-é) are the same as those introduced after the name denoting the locality (jana-pada-vát) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 89 to denote the object of devotion 95].

*aṅg-āḥ bhák-ti-r a-syá = aṅga+vuÑ* (2.124) = *āṅg-aka-h* ‘a devotee or lover of Aṅga country or its prince’.

#### 4.3.101 t-éna prókta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote ‘promulgated or propagated by him’ (próktam).

This propagation denotes original authorship by another since that situation has already been covered by 87 above. *any-éna kṛ-tā māthur-éna prok-tā = mathurā+áN+ÑiP* (1.15) = *māthur-í vṛt-ti-h* ‘propagated by Māthura’.

#### 4.3.102 <sup>1</sup>tittirí-<sup>2</sup>vara-tantu-<sup>3</sup>khāṇḍika=<sup>4</sup>ukh-āt=cha-N

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] chaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tittirí-, vara-tantu-, khāṇḍika- and ukhā- ‘proper names’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘promulgated or propagated by him’ 101].

*tittirí-nā prók-ta-m = tittirí+chaN = taittirí-īya-; in like manner: vāra-tantav-īya-, khāṇḍik-īya-, aukh-īya-.*

#### 4.3.103 <sup>1</sup>kāśyapa-<sup>2</sup>kaúśíkā-bhyām ṣṣi-bhyām Nínī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nínī is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kāśyapa- and kaúśika- ‘n.pr. of ṣṣi-s’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘promulgated or propagated by him’ 101].

*kāśyap-ena próktam kálp-am = kāśyapa+Nínī = kāśyap-ín-; kaúśika+Nínī = kaúśik-ín-. ‘propagated by K’.*

#### 4.3.104 <sup>1</sup>kalāpi(n)=<sup>2</sup>vaisampāyana=ante-vāsi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nínī is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting names of pupils of Kalāpín and Vaisampāyana [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘promulgated by him’ 101].

There are four pupils of Kalāpín: [Harídrū-], [Chagalín-], [Tumburu-] and [Úlapa].  
*harídrū-nā prók-ta-m = harídrū+Nínī = hāridrav-ín- ‘promulgated by H.’; similarly chagalin+dhinuK=chāgal-eyín (109); aulap-ín-.*

The pupils of Vaisampāyana are nine: [Ālāmbi-, Pālāṅga-, Kāmala-, Ṛcābha-, Aruṇi-, Tāṇḍya-, Śyāmāyana-, Kāthā- and Kalāpin-] *ālāmbi-nā prók-tam = ālāmbi+Nínī = ālamb-ín- ‘promulgated by Ā.’ Similarly: pālāṅg-ín-, kāmāl-ín-, ārcabh-ín-, āruṇ-ín-, tāṇḍ-ín- (6.4.148, 151), śyāmāyan-ín-, kāthā+Nin-luK (107) = kāthā+0<sup>1</sup>; kalāpín+aN (108) = kālāp-ā-.*

#### 4.3.105 purāṇa-pro-ktēṣu brāhmaṇa-kalpé-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Nínī 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 101 to derive stems 1.1] designating either Brāhmaṇá (texts) or Kálpa (śūtras) propagated in ancient times (purāṇa-prok-té-ṣu).

*bhallu-nā purāṇa-muní-nā prók-ta- = bhallu+Níní = bhāllav-ín- ‘Brāhmaṇa text promulgated by the ancient sage Bhallu’.*

*piṅg-ena purāṇa-munī-nā prók-ta-* = *piṅga+Nín* = *paiṅg-ín-* ‘a Kalpa-sūtra promulgated by the ancient sage Piṅga’.

#### 4.3.106 śaúnaka=ādi-bhyas=chándas-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Nínī 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with śaúnaka- ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘propagated by him’ 101] designating the Veda (chándas-i).

*śaúnak-ena prók-ta-* = *śaúnaka+Nín* = *śaunak-ín-* ‘a Veda text propagated by Ś.’

But *śaúnak-ena prók-tā śikṣā* = *śaúnaka+cha* (2.114) = *śaunak-ýy-ā* (1.4).

#### 4.3.107 <sup>1</sup>kathá-<sup>2</sup>cáراك-āt=luK

The substitute luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 Nínī 103 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kathá- and cáراك- ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘propagated by him’ 101].

*kath-éna prók-ta-* = *kathá+Nín* = *kathá+θ<sup>1</sup>* = *kathá-* ‘propagated by Kathá’;

similarly *cáراك+āN* (101; 1.83) = *caraka+θ<sup>1</sup>* = *cáراك-*.

#### 4.3.108 kalāpín-aḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kalāpín ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘propagated by him’ 101].

*kalāpín-ā prók-ta-* = *kalāpín+áN* = *kālāpθθ-ā* (by a vārttika on 6.4.144) = *kālāp-ā-* ‘Vedic text propagated by Kalāpín’.

#### 4.3.109 chagalín-aḥ=ḍhínuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhínuK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] chagalín- ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘propagated by him’ 101].

*chagalín-ā prók-ta-* = *chagalín+ḍhínuK* = *chāgal-eyín-* ‘Vedic text propagated by Ch.’



#### 4.3.110 <sup>1</sup>pārāsarya-<sup>2</sup>śilāli-bhyām <sup>1</sup>bhikṣu-<sup>2</sup>naṭa-sūtrāy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Ńiṇi* 103 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *pārāsarya-* and *śilālin-* ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘propagated by him’ 101] to designate [respectively 1.3.10] *Bhikṣu-sūtrá* and *Naṭa-sūtrá*.

*pārāsary-ena prok-tam* = *pārāsarya+Ńiṇi-* = *pārāsar00-ín-* ‘*Bhikṣu-sūtrá* propagated by P.’ Similarly *śailāl-ín-* ‘*Naṭa-sūtrá* propagated by Ś.’

#### 4.3.111 <sup>1</sup>karmanda-<sup>2</sup>kṛśāśv-āt=íñi-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *íñi* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *kṛśāśva-* and *karmanda* ‘n.pr.’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘propagated by him’ 101] to designate respectively 1.3.10 *Bhikṣu-sūtrá* and *Naṭa-sūtrá* 110].

*karmand-ena prok-tam* = *karmanda+ín* = *karmand-ín-* ‘*Bhikṣu-sūtrá* propagated by Kar.’; similarly *kṛśāśv-ín-* ‘*Naṭa-sūtrá* propagated by Kṛś.’ These two texts deal respectively with the duties of monks and of actors.

Interpretation of rules 101-111 generally illustrate them by extending these formations to denote those who study or know the texts referred to in 2.59 together with 2.66. In consequence the plural forms are given as indicating those who study or know these texts.

#### 4.3.112 t-éna=éka-dik

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) to denote ‘having the same direction with that’ (*t-éna*= *éka-dik*).

*su-dāmn-ā=éka-dik* = *su-dāmán+áN+Ńip* (1.15) = *sau-daman-í* (6.4.167) *vi-dyút* ‘lightning moving in the direction of Mount Sudāmán’.

#### 4.3.113 *tási*-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *tás* is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘having the same direction with that’ 112].

*su-dāmán+tási* = *su-dāma0-tás* (8.2.7) = *su-dāma-táh* (8.3.15) = *sau-dāman-í* (cf. 112).

#### 4.3.114 úras-aḥ=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *tási* 113] as well as (ca) *yàT* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *úras-* ‘chest’, [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘having the same direction with that’ 112].

*úras-ā=ēka-dik* = *úras+yaT/tás* = *uras-yà-h/uras-táh* ‘having the same direction as the chest’.

#### 4.3.115 úpa-jñā-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112] to denote ‘discovered by him’ (*úpa-jñā-t-e*).

*pāṇini-nā úpa-jñā-ta-m* = *pāṇini+cha* (2.114) = *pāṇin-fya-m vy-ā-kāraṇa-m* ‘grammar discovered by P.’

#### 4.3.116 kṛ-t-é granth-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112] to denote ‘a text has been composed by him’ (*kṛ-t-é granth-é*).

*vāra-ruci-nā kṛ-t-āḥ ślok-āḥ* = *vāra-ruci+āN+Jas* (1.83) = *vāra-ruc-āḥ*.

#### 4.3.117 saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote ‘made by him’ 116] to form a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

*māṅṣikā-bhiḥ kṛ-tā-m* = *māṅṣikā+āN* = *māṅṣik-ā-m* ‘honey (= ‘made by bees’).

#### 4.3.118 kúlāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuñ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *vuñ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *kúlāla-* ‘potter’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote ‘made by him’ 116 to form a name 117].

*kúlāl-ena kṛ-tā-m* = *kúlāla+vuñ* = *kaúlāl-aka-m* ‘pottery’.

#### 4.3.119 <sup>1</sup>kṣudrá-<sup>2</sup>bhramará-<sup>3</sup>vaṭara-<sup>4</sup>pādap-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kṣudrá- ‘small bee’, bhramará- ‘bee’, vaṭara- ‘bee’ and pāda-pa- ‘bee’ [ending in 1.172 the third sUP triplet 112 to denote ‘made by it’ 116 to form a name 117.]

*kṣudrá-bhiḥ/bhramar-aḥ/vaṭar-aḥ/pāda-p-aḥ*      *kṛ-tám*      =      *kṣaúdr-a-m/*  
*bhrámar-a-m/váṭar-a-m/pádap-a-m* ‘honey’.

#### 4.3.120 tá-sya=idám

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote ‘this is his’ (tá-sya=idám).

*úpa-gor idám* = *upa-gu+áN* = *aupa-gav-á-m* ‘belonging to Up.’

#### 4.3.121 ráth-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] rátha- ‘chariot’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this is its’ 120].

*rátha-sya=idám* = *ratha+yàT* = *ráth-ya-m* ‘belonging to the chariot (such as wheel, axle, etc.)’.

#### 4.3.122 páttra-pūrv-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem °-rátha- 121] co-occurring with a word denoting a draught animal as a prior member (in composition: páttra-pūrv-āt) [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to it’ 120].

*aśva-rathá-sya idám* = *aśva-rathá+aÑ* = *áśva-rath-á-m* (*cakrá-m*) ‘(a wheel) belonging to the horse-chariot’.

#### 4.3.123 <sup>1</sup>páttra=<sup>2</sup>adhvaryú-<sup>3</sup>pariṣad-as=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 122] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] denoting draught animals (páttra-), adhvaryú- ‘n. of an officiating priest’, and pariṣád- ‘assembly’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to it/him’ 120].

*ásva-sya idám (vahanfya-m) = áśva+aÑ = áśv-a-m* ‘horse-load (= a load fit for a horse to carry)’. *ádhvaryav-a-* ‘belonging to the Adh. priest’; *párisad-a-* ‘belonging to the assembly’.

#### 4.3.124 <sup>1</sup>halá-<sup>2</sup>sīr-āt=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] halá- and sīra- ‘plough’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to it’ 120].

*halá-sya/sīra-sya idám = halá-/sīra+ṭhák = hál-iká-m/sair-iká-m* ‘belonging to the plough’.

#### 4.3.125 dvaṁdv-āt=vuN <sup>1</sup>vairá-<sup>2</sup>maíthunikay-oh

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] consisting of a Dvaṁdvá compound [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to it’ 120] to express enmity (*vairá-°*), or marriage relationship (*°-maíthunikay-oh*).

1. *vaira: kákolūká-sya vairá-m = kákolūka+vuN = kákolūk-ika+TāP (1.4) = kákolūk-ik-ā* ‘pertaining to crows and owls (natural enemies)’. Similarly *bābhavya-sālankāyan-ik-ā* ‘enmity between B. and S.’
2. *maithunikā: atri-bharadvājáy-or vívāhá-h = atri+bharadvājá+vuN = átri-bharadvāj-ik-ā* ‘marriage between A. and Bh. families’.

#### 4.3.126 <sup>1</sup>gotrá-<sup>2</sup>cáraṇ-āt=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating patronymics (*gotrá-°*) and those representing Vedic schools (*°-cáraṇ-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to it’ 120].

1. *gotrá: aupā-gav-á-sya idám = aupā-gav-á+vuÑ = áupa-gav-aka-m* ‘belonging to Aupagavá’.
2. *cáraṇa: káthá-sya idám = káthak-a-m* ‘belonging to the Kátha school of Vedic studies’.

By interpretation the meanings under 2. are restricted to signify law (*dhárma*) and tradition (*ā-mnā-y-á*) only.

#### 4.3.127 <sup>1</sup>saṁghá=<sup>2</sup>aṅká-<sup>3</sup>lákṣaṇe-ṣu=<sup>1</sup>aÑ-<sup>2</sup>yaÑ-<sup>3</sup>iÑ-ām áÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] aÑ, yaÑ and iÑ [and ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 120] to derive stems expressing an assemblage (saṁghá-°), a mark (°-aṅká-°) or a characteristic (°-lákṣaṇe-ṣu).

Exception to [vuÑ 126]. The metarule 1.3.10 does not operate here.

1. aÑ: *bida-sya gotrāpatyá-sya* = *baída-sya* (1.104) *idám* = *baída*+áÑ = *baid-á-h* *saṁghá-h/anká-h; baid-á-m lākṣaṇa-m*.
2. yaÑ: *garga-sya gotrāpatyá-sya* = *gārgya-sya* (1.105) *idám* = *gārg-ya*+áÑ = *gārg-á-h saṁghá-h/anká-h; gārg-ám lākṣaṇa-m*.
3. iÑ: *dākṣe-r idám* = *dākṣi*+áÑ = *dākṣ-á-h saṁghá-h/anká-h dākṣ-á-m lākṣaṇa-m*.

#### 4.3.128 śākal-āt=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áÑ 127] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śākalá- ‘follower of Śákalya’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to him’ 120 to derive a stem expressing an assemblage, mark or characteristic 127].

*śākalá*+áÑ/*vuÑ* (126) = *śākal-á-/śākal-aka-* = *śākalá-sya idám*.

#### 4.3.129 <sup>1</sup>chandogá=<sup>2</sup>aukthiká-<sup>3</sup>yājñiká-<sup>4</sup>bahv-ṛcá-<sup>5</sup>naṭ-āt=Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] chandoga- ‘a priest of the Sāma-Veda’, aukthiká- ‘who knows the recitation of [uktha]’, yājñiká- ‘sacrificer’, bahv-ṛcá- ‘who knows the many stanzas of Ṛg Veda’ and naṭá- ‘actor, dancer’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to him’ 120].

*chandogá-nām dhárma-h/āmnāyá-h* = *chandoga*+Ñya = *chāndog-ya-h* ‘law or tradition of Chandogá-s’. Similarly: *aúkthik-ya-*, *yājñik-ya-*, *bāhv-ṛc-ya-*, *náṭ-ya-*.

#### 4.3.130 ná <sup>1</sup>daṇḍa-māṇavá=<sup>2</sup>ante-vāsí-ṣu

[The taddhitá affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 126] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 consisting of patronymics 126 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to him’ 120] for deriving stems

signifying primary pupils (daṇḍa-māṇavá- ‘staff-pupil’) or advanced pupils (ante-vāsi-ṣu).

*gō-kakṣa-sya gotrāpatyāsya = gaú-kakṣ-ya-sya* (4.1.105) *imé = gaúkakṣ-ya+áN+Jas* (127) = *gau-kakṣ-áh* ‘primary or advanced pupils of Gau.’

#### 4.3.131 raivatiká=ādi-bhyas=cha-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with raivatiká [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to him’ 120].

*revátý-āh ápatyam = reváti+thák* (1.4) = *raivat-ik-á-* (1.46), *tá-sya idám = raivat-ik-á+cha = raivat-ik-íya-m* ‘belonging to Raiv.’

#### 4.3.132 <sup>1</sup>kaupiñjalá-<sup>2</sup>hāsti-pad-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kaupiñjalá- and hāsti-padá- [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to him’ 120].

*kúpiñjala-sya ápatyam = cúpiñjala+áN = kaupiñjal-á-h*, *tá-sya idám = kaupiñjal-á+áN = kaupiñjal-á-m* ‘belonging to Kaup.’; similarly *hāsti-padá-sya idám = hāsti-pad-á-m*.

#### 4.3.133 ātharvaniká-sya=ika-lopas=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN 132 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem ātharvaniká ‘who studies or knows the Atharva-Veda’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘this belongs to him’ 120] with substitute lopa (Ø) replacing the element °-ika-.

*ātharvaṇ-ā prókta-m ádhīte véda vā = átharvan+áN* (1.83)+*thák* (2.63) *ātharvan-iká-h*, *tá-sya=idám = ātharvan-iká+áN = ātharvan-Ø-áN = ātharvaṇ-á-m* ‘belonging to Ātharvaniká’.

#### 4.3.134 tá-sya vi-kār-á-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote ‘transformation of that’ (tá-sya vi-kār-á-h).

The repetition of the word [tá-sya] in this sūtra while it was available by anuvṛtti (recurrence) from 120 above is to block out the affixes introduced in the section

beginning with 2.92 onwards to convey the specific senses mentioned from here onwards.

The illustrations cover the following types of stems subject to this operation: (a) stems denoting inanimate objects or (b) having low-pitched accent (andāṭṭa) on the first syllable or (c) not containing the vowel phonemes [ā, ai, au] in the first syllable, members of the tyad-class or denoting place-names in the east with vowel phonemes [e,o] in their first syllable (1.1.73-75).

*ásman-aḥ vi-kār-á-h* = *ásman+áN* = *asm00+á-h* (by an interpreting vārttika on 6.4.144, contra 6.4.167) 'transformation of a rock or stone', but *ásman-á-* (6.4.167) 'belonging to the rock' (120).

### 4.3.135 avayav-é ca <sup>1</sup>prāñi(n)=<sup>2</sup>ósadhi-<sup>3</sup>vṛkṣé-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced from 1.83 onwards occur after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] signifying names of animals (*prāñin-*°), herbs (°- *ósadhi-*°) or trees (°-*vṛkṣé-bhyaḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'transformation of that' 134] in addition to (ca) 'this is its limb' (*avayav-é*).

1. *prāñin*: *kapóta-sya vikāra-h/avayavá-h* = *kapóta+aN* (154) = *kāpot-a-h* 'modification/limb of a pigeon'.
2. *ósadhi*: *mūrvá-yāḥ vikār-á-h/avayavá-h* = *mūrvá+áN* (1.83) = *maurv-á-h* 'transformation/limb of mūrvá (kind of hemp)'.
3. *vṛkṣá*: *pippala+áN* = *paippal-á-h* 'modification/limb of Ficus Religiosa'.

### 4.3.136 bilvā=ādi=bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *bilvā-* 'wood-apple tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its transformation' 134 or 'its limb' 135].

*bilvā-sya vi-kār-á-h/avayavá-h* = *bilvā+áN* = *bailv-á-h*. This is a prior exception to [áN 140] and [māyaT 144] where these would have become applicable to members of this class: *ikṣu+áN* = *aikṣav-á-h* instead of *\*aikṣav-a-h/\*ikṣu-māya-h*.

### 4.3.137 ká=upadhāt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áN* 136] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing phoneme [k] as penultimate [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'this is its modification' 134 or 'its limb' 135].

Prior exception to [áN 139-40]: *tarkó-r vikār-á-h/avayavá-h* = *tarkú+áN* = *tārkav-á-h* 'modification or limb of a spindle'.

### 4.3.138 <sup>1</sup>trápu-<sup>2</sup>játu-n-oḥ šuK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 136 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] trápu- ‘tin’ and játu ‘lac’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135] with the final increment [s] inserted after the stem final [1.1.46].

*trápu-n-o vikārā-ḥ* = *trápu-+s-áN* ‘modification or transformation of tin’; similarly  
*játu-n-o vikārā-ḥ* = *játu-sá-ḥ*.

### 4.3.139 o-r aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*devadārō-r vikārā-ḥ/avayavā-ḥ* = *deva-dārū+aÑ* = *daḥva-dārav-a-ḥ*  
‘modification/limb of the Devadāru tree’. Exception to [áN 1.83 and 136ff.].  
This rule supplements the succeeding rule by covering stems which have an udātta accent on their first syllable.

### 4.3.140 án-udātta=ādes=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 139] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] containing an ánudātta ‘low-pitched’ accent on the first syllable (án-udātta=āde-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*dadh-án-i tīṣṭh-a-ti* = *dadhi-tthá-ḥ, táśya vikārā-ḥ/avayavā-ḥ* = *dadhi-tthá+aÑ* = *dādhi-tth-a-* ‘produced from or a limb of the tree Feronia Elephantus’; similarly  
*kāpitthá-sya vikārā-ḥ/avayavā-ḥ* = *kāpitth-a-*.

### 4.3.141 palāsá=ādi-bhyaḥ=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 139] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 1.3.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with palāsá- ‘the Butea Frondosa tree’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*palāsá-sya vikārā-ḥ/avayavā-ḥ* = *palāsá+aÑ/áN* = *pālās-a-ḥ/pālās-á-ḥ* ‘produced from or a limb of P.’ The difference in the two derivatives is in accent only. This class of stems consists of both udātta=ādi and ánudātta=ādi stems and the option applies to both.



#### 4.3.142 *śamy-ā-s=ṭlañ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭlañ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śamī* 'the Prosopis Spicigera tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*śamy-ā-h vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *śamī+ṭlañ* = *śamī-la+ñIP* (1.15) = *śamī-l-I* 'made of *śamī* (a ladle)'; *śamī-l-a-m bhās-ma* 'ash from the tree *ś.*'

#### 4.3.143 *máyaṭ=vā=etáy-or bhāṣā-y-ām á-<sup>1</sup>bhakṣyà=<sup>2</sup>ācchādanay-oḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *máyaṭ* is optionally (*vā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] in these two (*etáy-oḥ*) [meanings: its modification 134 or limb 135] excluding food (*°-bhakṣyà*) or clothing (*°-ācchādanīyoh*) in colloquial speech (*bhāṣā-y-ām*).

*ásman-o vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *ásman+máyaṭ/dñ* = *ásma-máya-/āśm-á-/ásman-á-* (6.4.167).

#### 4.3.144 *nítyam <sup>1</sup>vṛddhá-<sup>2</sup>śara=ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *máyaṭ* 143] is necessarily (*nítyam*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] belonging to the *vṛddhá-* type (1.1.73-75) and the class of words beginning with *śará-* 'a kind of reed, Saccharum Sara' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135, excluding food or clothing, in colloquial speech 143].

1. *vṛddhá* stems: *āmra-śya vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *āmra-máya-* 'modification or part of the mango tree'.

2. *śará-ñ-ām vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *śara-máya-*.

In non-colloquial speech 143-44 do not apply: *bailu-á-h khādir-ó vā yūpa-h*.

Similarly: *maudgá-h sūpa-h (bhakṣyē)*, *kārpās-á-m ācchādanam*.

#### 4.3.145 *gó-s=ca pūrīṣ-e*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *máyaṭ* 143] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *gó-* 'cow f., bull m.' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to mean 'cowdung' (*pūrīṣ-e*).

*gó-r vikārá-h pūrīṣam* = *go-máya-m* 'cow-dung'; in other senses: *go+yaṭ* (160) = *gáv-ya-m* 'produced from the cow (such as milk, butter, etc.)'.

#### 4.3.146 piṣṭ-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] piṣṭá- ‘flour’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

*piṣṭá-sya vikārá-ḥ = piṣṭa-máya-* ‘made of flour’.

#### 4.3.147 saṁjñā-y-ām kaN

[The taddhita 1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] piṣṭá- ‘flour’ 146 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to derive a name (saṁjñā).

*piṣṭá-sya vikārá-ḥ = piṣṭa+kaN = piṣṭa-ka-ḥ* ‘cake made of flour’.

#### 4.3.148 vrīhé-ḥ puroḍāś-é

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vrīhí- ‘rice’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to designate a sacrificial cake (puroḍāś-é).

*vrīhí-ṇ-ām vikārá-ḥ = vrīhi-máya-ḥ* (puroḍāśá-ḥ).

#### 4.3.149 á-saṁjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>tīla-<sup>2</sup>yáva-bhyām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] tīla- ‘sesamum’ and yáva- ‘barley’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] when not forming a name (á-saṁjñā-y-ām)

*tīla-sya vikārá-ḥ = tīla-máya-* ‘produced from sesamum’; so also *yáva-sya vikārá-ḥ = yava-máya-*; but as names: *tail-á-m* (1.83)/*yáv-a-ka-* (1.83; 5.4.29) ‘sesamum oil/a particular item of food made of barley’.

#### 4.3.150 dvy-áC-as=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ 143 is introduced after 3.1.2] a dissyllabic [nominal stem 1.1] (dvy-áC-as) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*parṇá-n-ām vikārá-ḥ = parṇa-máya-ḥ* ‘made of leaves’; so also *darbha-máya-*, *śara-máya-* ‘made of grass, reeds’.

#### 4.3.151 ná=<sup>1</sup>uT-vát=<sup>2</sup>várdhra-<sup>3</sup>bilv-āt

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1 máyaT̄ 143] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 containing two syllables 150] (one of which is) short phoneme [u] (uT-vat) [and nominal stems 1.1]. várdhra- ‘strap, thong’ and bilvā- ‘wood-apple tree, Aegle Marmelos’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their modification 134 or limb 135, in the domain of Chandas 150].

Exception to 150 above. *mún̄ja-sya vikārá-h* = *mún̄ja+áN* (1.83) = *maun̄j-á-* ‘produced from Mún̄ja grass’; *garmút-ah=vikārá-h* = *garmút-á-* ‘modification of Garmút beans’; similarly *várdhra-sya vikārá-h* = *várdhra+áN+ÑIP* (1.15) = *vārdhr-í-* ‘leather strap’; *bilvā+áN* = *bailv-á-* ‘made from B.’

#### 4.3.152 tāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with tāla- ‘the Palmyra tree’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*tāla-sya vikārá-h* = *tāla+áN* = *tāl-á-* ‘made from the Tāla tree’.

#### 4.3.153 jātá-rūpe-bhyaḥ pari-māṇ-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 1.83 is introduced after 1.3.2 nominal stems 1.1] signifying gold (jātá-rūpe-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] when the modification is one of weight or measure (pari-māṇ-e).

*hātaka-sya vikārá-h niṣka-h* = *hātaka+áN* = *hātak-á-h* ‘transformation of gold into a niṣka coin’; similarly: *jāta-rūp-á-*, *tāpaniy-á-* but *hātaka-máy-I yaṣṭí-h* ‘a stick made of gold’ which is not a measure or weight.

152-153 are exceptions to [máyaT̄ 143] and [aÑ 154].

#### 4.3.154 <sup>1</sup>prāñí(n)-<sup>2</sup>rajatá=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] designating animals (prāñín-°) and the class of words beginning with rajatá- ‘silver’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 145].

1. prāñín- : *kapóta-sya vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *kapóta+aÑ* = *kápot-a-* ‘modification or limb of pigeon’ and similarly *máyūr-a-* ‘modification or limb of a peacock’.

2. rajatá=ādi: *rājat-a-* 'made of silver'; *sīsa-sya vikārā-h* = *saśa-a-* 'modification of lead'.

#### 4.3.155 Ñ-IT-as=ca tát-pratyay-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 aÑ 154] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 with marker [Ñ] (Ñ-IT-as) [denoting the meanings of modification 134 and limb 135] (tát-pratyay-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 only].

Exception to [máyaT 143]. The affixes denoting [vikārā-/avayavá-], ending in marker [Ñ] are: aÑ (139,154,168), TlaÑ (142), vuÑ (157), dhaÑ (159) and yaÑ (168).

*dāivadārava-sya vikārā-h/avayavá-h* = *dāivadārava+aÑ* = *dāivadārav-a-* 'a post or stake made in the forest of D. trees' (139); similarly *dādhitth-a-* (140), *pālāś-a-* (141), *śāmla-* (142), *kāpot-a* (154), *aśṭrak-a-* (157), *añey-a-* (159), *kāms-ya-*, *pārāsav-a* (168).

#### 4.3.156 krīta-vát parimāṇ-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying a measure (parimāṇ-āt) [to denote a modification 134 or limb 135] are identical with those introduced [in the section 5.1.18ff.] to denote 'purchased by him (krīta-vát 5.1.37).

Exception to [áN 1.83]. Numerals are included under 'measure' for this purpose.

*niṣkā-sya vikārā-h/avayavá-h* = *niṣkā+tháK* (5.1.20) = *niṣk-iká-* 'modification of part of a N.' Similarly *śatá+thaN/yáT* (5.1.21) = *śat-ika-/śat-ya-* 'modification or part of a hundred'.

#### 4.3.157 úṣṭr-āt=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] úṣṭra- 'camel' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*úṣṭra-sya vikārā-h/avayavá-h* = *úṣṭra+vuÑ* = *aúṣṭr-aka-* 'produced from or a limb of a camel'.

#### 4.3.158 <sup>1</sup>úmā=<sup>2</sup>úrṇay-or vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 157] is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] úmā ‘flax’ and úrṇā ‘wool’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

*úmā-y-āḥ vikārā-h* = *úmā+vuÑ/áÑ* (1.83) = *aúm-aka-/aum-á-* ‘produced from flax’; similarly *úrṇā-y-āḥ vikārā-h* = *aúrṇ-aka-/aurṇ-á-* ‘made of wool’.

#### 4.3.159 eṇy-āḥ=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] eṇí ‘antelope, doe’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*eṇy-āḥ vikārā-h/avayavá-h* = *eṇí+dhaÑ* = *aṇ-eya-* ‘produced from or a limb of the doe antelope’, but *eṇa-sya vikārā-h/avayavá-h* = *eṇa+áÑ* = *aṇ-a-* (154).

#### 4.3.160 <sup>1</sup>gó-<sup>2</sup>páyas-or yàT

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] gó- ‘cow, bull’ and páyas- ‘milk, water’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135].

*gó-r vikārā-h/avayavá-h* = *gó+yàT* = *gáv-ya-* ‘produced from the cow or its limb’ similarly *páyas-o vikārā-h* = *payas-yà-* ‘milk product’.

#### 4.3.161 dró-s=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 160 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] drú- ‘wood’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134].

*dró-h vikār-āḥ* = *dru+yàT* = *dráv-ya-* ‘wood product’.

#### 4.3.162 mán-e váya-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] váya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 drú- ‘wood’ 161 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] to signify a measure (mán-e).

*drór vikārāḥ* = *dru+váya-* = *dru-váya-* ‘a wooden measure’.

#### 4.3.163 phál-e luK

luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135] when designating a fruit (phál-e).

*āmalaky-áh vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *āmalaka*+*ÑiS*+(*máyaT* 144→*luK*) *āmalaka*+ $\emptyset^1$  (1.2.49) = *āmalaka-m* 'the fruit of the *Āmalaka* tree'.

#### 4.3.164 plakṣá=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *plakṣá-* 'the *Ficus Religiosa* tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when designating its fruit 163].

*plakṣá-sya vikārá-h/avayavá-h phála-m* = *plakṣá*+*áN* = *plākṣ-á-m* 'the fruit of the *Ficus Religiosa* tree'.

#### 4.3.165 jambv-áh=vā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *áN* 164] is optionally (*vā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *jambú* 'the rose-apple tree' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

*jambv-áh vikārá-h/avayavá-h* = *jambú*+*áN*/[*áN*→*luk*] = *jāmbav-ám/jambú* 'rose-apple'.

#### 4.3.166 luP ca

luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) [optionally 165 replaces the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *jambú* 'rose-apple tree' 165 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

*jambú*+*áN*/[*áN*→*luK*]/[*áN*→*luP*] = *jāmbav-ám/jambú/jambú*; by 1.2.51 when replacement of an affix by luP occurs the original stem retains its gender and number.

#### 4.3.167 harītakī=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP (∅<sup>3</sup>)] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with harītakī ‘Myrobalan’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134 or limb 135 when signifying its fruit 163].

*harītakī-āḥ vikārá-ḥ/avayavá-ḥ phālam* = *harītakī+áN→luP* = *harītakī* ‘the fruit of Myrobalan’.

#### 4.3.168 <sup>1</sup>kaṁsīya-<sup>2</sup>paraśavyà-<sup>3</sup>or <sup>1</sup>yaÑ=<sup>2</sup>aÑ=au luK ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yaÑ and aÑ are introduced respectively (1.3.10) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kaṁsīya- ‘bronze’ and paraśavyà- ‘iron’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its modification 134] and luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the affixes cha 5.1.1 and yàT 5.1.2 respectively (1.3.10) of these stems].

*kaṁsīya-sya vikārá-ḥ* = *kaṁsa+cha+yaÑ* = *kaṁsa+∅<sup>1</sup>+yaÑ* = *káṁs-ya-* ‘made of bronze’. *paraśavyà-sya vikārá-ḥ* = *paraśu+yàT+aÑ* = *paraśu+∅<sup>1</sup>+aÑ* = *párasav-a-* ‘made of iron’.

#### 4.4.1 prāk=váhate-s=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] (in this section) preceding (prāk) the sūtra [tád váhati rátha-yugá-prāsaṅgám (76 below)].

This is a governing rule [adhikāra-sūtra] and the affix [ṭhák] or its replacements will recur in the following sūtra-s 2-75.

#### 4.4.2 t-éna dīv-ya-ti khán-a-ti jáy-a-ti ji-tá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote (a) plays with it (dīv-ya-ti), (b) digs with it (khán-a-ti), (c) wins with it (jáy-a-ti) and conquered with it (ji-tá-m).

1. *akṣ-aír dīv-ya-ti* = *akṣá+ṭhák* = *ākṣ-iká-h* ‘who gambles with dice’.
2. *ābhry-ā khán-a-ti* = *ābhri+ṭhák* = *ābhr-iká-h* ‘who digs with a spade’.
3. *akṣ-aír jáy-a-ti* = *ākṣ-iká-h* ‘who wins with dice’
4. *akṣ-aír ji-tá-m* = *ākṣ-iká-m* ‘won with dice’.

#### 4.4.3 sām-s-kṛ-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘seasoned or garnished with it’ (sām-s-kṛ-ta-m).

*dadh-n-ā sām-s-kṛ-ta-m* = *dādhi+ṭhák* = *dādhi-ká-m* ‘seasoned or garnished with curds’; similarly *marica+ṭhák* = *māric-iká-m* ‘seasoned with pepper’.

#### 4.4.4 <sup>1</sup>kulattha-<sup>2</sup>kā=upadh-āt=āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kulattha- ‘the pulse Dolichos Uniflorus’ and those containing phoneme [k] as penultimate [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘seasoned or garnished with it’ 3].

Exception to [ṭhák 1].

1. *kulatth-ena sām-s-kṛ-ta-m* = *kulattha+āN* = *kaulatth-á-m* ‘mixed with pulse K.’
2. *tittidīk-ena sām-s-kṛ-ta-m* = *tittidīka+āN* = *taittidīk-á-* ‘seasoned or spiced with tamarind’.



#### 4.4.5 tár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1  $\text{ṭhák}$  1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘crosses with it’ (tár-a-ti).

*uḍup-éna tár-a-ti = uḍupá+ṭhák = auḍup-iká-h* ‘who sails across by boat’.

#### 4.4.6 go-pucch-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $\text{ṭhaÑ}$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] go-pucchá- ‘ox-tail’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘crosses with it’ 5].

*go-pucch-éna tár-a-ti = go-pucchá+ṭhaÑ = gaú-pucch-ika-h* ‘who goes across holding on to the tail of an ox’.

#### 4.4.7 <sup>1</sup>naú-<sup>2</sup>dvy-ác-as=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $\text{ṭhaN}$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naú- ‘boat’ and those containing two syllables (dvy-ác-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘crosses with it’ 5].

1. *nāu-á tár-a-ti = naú+ṭhaN = nāv-ika-h* ‘sailor (who crosses by boat).

2. *plāv-ena tár-a-ti = plāv-ika-h* ‘sailor’; *bāhú-bhyām tár-a-ti = bāhu-ka-h* ‘who swims across with his arms’.

#### 4.4.8 cár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1  $\text{ṭhák}$  1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘moves or eats with it’ (cár-a-ti).

*śakaṭ-ena cár-a-ti = śakaṭa+ṭhák = śākaṭ-iká-h* ‘travels by a chariot’; *dadh-n-á cár-a-ti = dādh-iká-h* ‘eats with curds’.

#### 4.4.9 ā-karṣ-āt=ṢṭhaL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $\text{ṢṭhaL}$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ākarṣá- ‘touch-stone’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘moves with it’ 8].

*ākaraṣ-ēna cár-a-ti* = *ākaraṣa+SṭhaL* = *ākaraṣ-ika-h* ‘who moves with a touch-stone’;  
 a variant reading is *ākasa-* with a derivative *ākás-ika-*. Feminine derivative  
 with *ÑfS* (1.41).

#### 4.4.10 *parpá=ādi-bhyas=SṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *SṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem-class 1.1] beginning with *parpá-* ‘wheel-chair’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘moves with it’ 8].

*parp-ēna cár-a-ti* = *parpá+SṭhaN* = *párp-ika-h* m./*parp-ik-f* f. (1.41) ‘moves with a wheel-chair’.

#### 4.4.11 *śva-gaṇ-āt=ṭhaÑ=ca*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaÑ*, in addition to (ca) [*SṭhaN* 10 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *śva-gaṇá-* ‘a pack of dogs’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘moves with it’ 8].

*śva-gaṇ-ena cár-a-ti* = *śva-gaṇá+ṭhaÑ/SṭhaN* = *śvā-gaṇ-ika-h/śvā-gaṇ-ika-h* ‘who moves with a pack of dogs’.

#### 4.4.12 *vétana=ādi-bhyaḥ=jíṽ-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭháK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *vétana-* ‘wages’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘earns his livelihood with it’ (*jíṽ-a-ti*).

*vétan-ena jíṽ-a-ti* = *vétana+ṭháK* = *vaitan-iká-h* ‘who lives with wages’.

#### 4.4.13 <sup>1</sup>*vasná-<sup>2</sup>kraya-vikray-āt=ṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *vasná-* ‘salary’ and *kraya-vikrayá-* ‘buying and selling’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘earns his livelihood with it’ 12].

*vasn-ēna jíṽ-a-ti* = *vasná+ṭhaN* = *vásn-ika-h* ‘lives by earning salary or wages’;  
 similarly *kráya-vikray-ika-h* ‘who earns his livelihood by buying and selling’;  
 separately *kray-ēna/vikray-ēna jíṽ-a-ti* = *kráy-ika-h/vikray-ika-h*.

#### 4.4.14 á-yudh-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha in addition to (ca) [thaN is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] á-yudh-a ‘weapon’ [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘earns his livelihood with it 12].

*á-yudh-ena jív-a-ti = á-yudh-a+cha/thaN = ā-yudh-íya-h/á-yudh-ika-h* ‘a mercenary who earns his livelihood with weapons’.

#### 4.4.15 hár-a-ti=ut-saṅgá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with ut-saṅg-á- ‘lap’ [ending in 1 1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote the sense of ‘carry away, bear’ (hár-a-ti).

*ut-saṅg-éna hár-a-ti = ut-saṅg-á+tháK = aut-saṅg-iká-h* ‘who carries with his lap’.

#### 4.4.16 bhástrā=ādi-bhyas=ṢthaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢthaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with bhástrā ‘leather pouch or bag’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘carry away’ 15].

*bhástray-ā hár-a-ti = bhástrā+ṢthaN = bhástr-ika-h* m., -ikf f. ‘who transports with a leathern bag’.

#### 4.4.17 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>vivadhá-<sup>2</sup>vīvadh-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢthaN 16] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] vivadhá- and vīvadhá- ‘a shoulder yoke’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘carries or bears with it’ 15].

*vivadh-éna/vīvadh-éna hár-a-ti = vīvadhá+ṢthaN/tháK = vīvadh-ika-(m) ( °-ikf f.) / vīvadh-ika- ( °-ikf f.) / vaivadh-iká- (-ikf f.)* ‘who carries with a shoulder yoke’.

#### 4.4.18 áṆ kūṭilikā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 áṆ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] kūṭilikā ‘moving crookedly’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘carries or bears with it’ 15].

*kūṭīlikay-ā hār-a-ti* = *kūṭīlikā+āN* = *kaūṭīlik-ā-h mrgā-h* ‘who carries while moving crookedly (said of an animal)’.

#### 4.4.19 *nīr-vṛt-t-e=akṣa-dyūtá=ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭháK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *akṣa-dyūtá-* ‘gambling with dice’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘originated or accomplished by it’ (*nīr-vṛt-t-e*).

*akṣa-dyūt-éna nīr-vṛtta-m* = *akṣa-dyūtá+ṭháK* = *akṣa-dyūt-iká-m* (*vairám*)  
‘(enmity) engendered by gambling with dice’.

#### 4.4.20 *Ktre-r maP=nítya-m*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *maP* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *Ktrí* (3.3.38 occurring after verbal stems with marker *ḌU* as *IT*) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘originated or accomplished by it’ 19] necessarily (*nítya-m*).

*pāk-éna nīr-vṛt-ta-m* = *ḌU-pac-AṢ+Ktrí+maP* = *pak=trí-ma-m* ‘completed by cooking’; similarly *kṛ-trí-ma-* ‘artificial, accomplished by fashioning’.

#### 4.4.21 *¹apa-mí-t-ya-²yācitá-bhyañ káK= kaNau*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *káK* and *kaN* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *apa-mí-t-ya-* ‘debt’ and *yāc-i-tá* ‘alms’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘originated or accomplished by it’ 19.]

*apa-mí-t-ya nīr-vṛt-ta-m* = *apa-mí-t-ya+káK* = *āpa-mi-t-ya-ká-m* ‘achieved by barter’ (according to Kāśikā and S. Kaumudī) where [*apa-mí-t-ya*] is construed as a gerund, but the nominal stem occurs in AV. Similarly *yācit-éna nīr-vṛt-ta-m* = *yācita-ka-m* ‘received through alms’.

#### 4.4.22 *sám-sṛṣ-ṭ-e*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭháK* i is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘mixed with it’ (*sám-sṛṣ-ṭ-e*).

*dadh-n-ā sām-sṛṣ-ṭa-m = dādhi+ṭhāK = dādhi-kā-m* ‘mixed with curds’.

#### 4.4.23 cūrṇ-āt=īni-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *īni* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *cūrṇa-* ‘powder’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘mixed with it’ 22].

*cūrṇ-ena sām-sṛṣ-ṭa-m = cūrṇa+ín = cūrṇ-ín-* ‘covered with powder’.

#### 4.4.24 lavaṇ-āt=luK

*luK* ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *lavaṇá-* ‘salt’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘mixed with it’ 22].

*lavaṇ-éna sām-sṛṣ-ṭa-m = lavaṇá+ṭhāK→luK = lavaṇá-* ‘salted; mixed with salt’.

#### 4.4.25 mudg-āt=āN

[The taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1] *āN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mudgá-* ‘Mung bean’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2 to denote ‘mixed with it’ 22].

*mudgá+āN = maudg-ā-* ‘mixed with M. beans’.

#### 4.4.26 vy-āñjan-air úpa-sik-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] denoting a condiment (*vy-āñjan-aiḥ*) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘sprinkled with’ (*úpa-sik-t-e*).

*dadh-n-ā úpa-sik-ta-m = dādhi+ṭhāK = dādhi-kā-m* ‘sprinkled with curds’;  
similarly *pāyas-ā úpa-sik-ta-m = pāyas-ikā-m* ‘sprinkled with water/milk’.

#### 4.4.27 <sup>1</sup>ójas=<sup>2</sup>sáhas=<sup>3</sup>ámahas-ā várt-a-te

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhāK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *ójas-* ‘strength’, *sáhas-* ‘violence’ and *ámahas-* ‘water’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 2] to denote ‘proceeds with’ (*várt-a-te*).

*ójas-a várt-a-te* = *ojas+tháK* = *aujas-iká-* ‘endowed with strength’; similarly: *sāhas-iká-* ‘violent’ and *āmbhas-iká-* ‘aquatic’.

#### 4.4.28 tát <sup>1</sup>prāti=<sup>2</sup>ānu-pūrva-m <sup>1</sup>ṭpa-<sup>2</sup>loma(n)=<sup>3</sup>kūla-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] °-ṭpá- ‘water’, °-loman- ‘hair’ and °-kūla- ‘bank, shore’ co-occurring with the preverbs prāti-° and ānu-° as prior members (°-pūrvam) (ending in 1.1.27) the second sUP triplet (tát) [to denote ‘remaining with’ 27].

*pratīpá-m várt-a-te* = *pratīpá+tháK* = *prāṭīp-iká-* ‘moving against the current’; similarly *ānu-ṭp-iká-* ‘moving with the current’; *prāti-lom-iká-/ānu-lom-iká* ‘moving against/along the bank’.

#### 4.4.29 pari-mukhá-ṛm=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] parimukhá ‘round or about the face’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote ‘remaining with’ 27].

*pari-mukhá-ṛm várt-a-te* = *pāri-mukh-iká-* ‘(always) facing (the master) = attendant, servant’.

#### 4.4.30 prá-yacch-a-ti garhyà-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘gives what is blameworthy’ (prá-yacch-a-ti garhyà-m).

*dvi-guṇā-m* (= *dvi-guṇārthā-m*) *prá-yacch-a-ti* = *dvi-guṇa+tháK* = *dvai-guṇ-iká-h* ‘who lends money for the purpose of doubling it (by usury)’.

#### 4.4.31 <sup>1</sup>kúsīda-<sup>2</sup>daśa=ekādaś-āt <sup>1</sup>ṢṭhaN=<sup>2</sup>ṢṭháC-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN and ṢṭháC are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] kúsīda- ‘interest-bearing loan’ and daśa=ekādaśá- ‘lending money at 10 % interest’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote ‘gives what is blameworthy’ 30].

*kúsīda-m prá-yacch-a-ti* = *kusīda+ṢṭhaN* = *kúsīd-ika-h* (°-iká f. 1.41) ‘usurer,

money-lender'. Similarly *daśa=ekādaśa-m prā-yacch-a-ti* = *daśaikādaśa+ṣṭhāC* = *daśaikādaś-ikā-h* 'who charges 10 % interest'.

#### 4.4.32 úñch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'gleans it' (úñch-a-ti).

*badarā-ñ-i uñch-a-ti* = *badara+ṭhák* = *bādar-ikā-h* 'who gleans or gathers jujube fruit'.

#### 4.4.33 rákṣ-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'protects it' (rákṣ-a-ti).

*samājā-m rākṣ-a-ti* = *sāmāj-ikā-h* 'guardian of the assembly'.

#### 4.4.34 <sup>1</sup>śabda-<sup>2</sup>dardura-m kar-ó-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śabda- 'sound' and dardura- 'a particular kind of pot' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'produces it' (kar-ó-ti).

*śabda-m kar-ó-ti* = *śabda+ṭhák* = *śabd-ikā-h* 'grammarian, linguist' similarly *dārdur-ikā-h* 'potter'.

#### 4.4.35 <sup>1</sup>pakṣí(n)-<sup>2</sup>mátsya-<sup>3</sup>mṛgā-n hán-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] designating birds (pakṣín-°), fish (°-mátsya-°) and animals (°-mṛgā-n) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote 'kills them' (hán-ti).

*pakṣín-aḥ hán-ti* = *pakṣī+ikāK* (6.4.144) = *pākṣī-ikā-h* (6.4.148) 'bird hunter'; *māyūr-ikā-h* 'hunter of peacocks'.

*mátsyā-n hán-ti* = *mātsy-ikā-h* 'fisherman' (vārtt. on 6.4.149); similarly *śāphar-ikā-h* 'a fisherman catching Ś. fish'.

*mṛgā-n hán-ti* = *mārg-ikā-h* 'animal-hunter'; so also *sūkarā-n hán-ti* 'hunter of wild-boars': *saukar-ikā-h*.

#### 4.4.36 pari-panthá-m=ca tísth-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-panthá- ‘by or on the way’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘remains’ (tísth-a-ti) in addition to (ca) [kills, strikes’ 35].

*pari-panthá-m tísth-a-ti/hán-ti* = *pari-panthá+ṭhák* = *pāri-panth-iká-* ‘highway robber/murderer’.

Note that 35-36 constitute a natural hemistich of an anuṣṭubh verse.

#### 4.4.37 <sup>1</sup>māthá=uttara-pada-<sup>2</sup>padaví=<sup>3</sup>anupadá-m dhāv-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] co-occurring with °-māthá- ‘way, road’ as final member (°-uttara-pada-° of a compound), and the words padaví ‘footpath’ and anu-padá- ‘following closely’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 29] to denote ‘runs’ (dhāv-a-ti).

*daṇḍa-māthá-m dhāv-a-ti* = *daṇḍa-māthá+ṭhák* = *dāṇḍa-māth-iká-* ‘who runs on a straight road’; similarly *pāḍav-iká-* ‘running on the sidewalk, footpath or pavement’; *ānu-pad-iká-* ‘pursuer, shadower’.

#### 4.4.38 ā-krand-āt=thaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ is introduced, in addition to (ca) [ṭhák 1 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā-krand-á ‘battle-field or place of lamentation’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘runs’ 37].

*ā-krand-á-m dhāv-a-ti* = *ā-krand-á+ṭhaÑ/ṭhák* = *ā-krand-ika-ḥ/ā-krand-iká-ḥ* ‘runs on the battle-field or a place of lamentation’.

#### 4.4.39 padá=uttara-pada-m grh-ṇá-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with °padá- as a final member (°-uttara-pada-m of a compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘grasps it’ (grh-ṇá-ti).

*pūrva-padá-m grh-ṇá-ti* = *pūrva-pada+ṭhák* = *paurva-pad-iká-* ‘who grasps the preceding member (of a compound)’.



#### 4.4.40 <sup>1</sup>prati-kaṇṭhā=<sup>2</sup>ārtha=<sup>3</sup>lalāma-m ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.1 the nominal stems 1.1] prati-kaṇṭhā- ‘throat by throat’, ārtha- ‘sense, import, meaning’ and lalāma- ‘an ornament’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote ‘grasps it’ 39].

*prati-kaṇṭhā-m grh-ñā-ti* = *prati-kaṇṭhā+ṭháK* = *prāti-kaṇṭh-iká-* ‘who seizes throat by throat’; similarly *ārth-iká-* ‘who grasps the meaning’; *lālām-iká-* ‘who holds the ornament’.

#### 4.4.41 dhárma-m cár-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dhárma- ‘law’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘observes or practises it’ (cár-a-ti).

*dhárma-m cár-a-ti* = *dharma+ṭháK* = *dhārm-iká-* ‘who observes or practises law’.

#### 4.4.42 prati-path-ám é-ti ṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1] as well as ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] prati-path-á- ‘path by path’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘goes along it’ (é-ti).

*prati-path-á-m é-ti* = *prati-path-á+ṭhaN/ṭháK* = *prāti-path-ika-/prāti-path-iká-* ‘who goes along each path’.

#### 4.4.43 samavāyā-n sam-á-vaiti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying an assemblage (sam-ava=āyā-n) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘assembles it’ (sam-áva+e-ti).

*samavāyā-n sam-ávai-ti* = *samavāyā+ṭháK* = *sāma-vāy-iká-* ‘frequenter of communities’.

#### 4.4.44 pari-śád-aḥ=Nyá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-śád- ‘assembly’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote ‘frequents it’ 43].

*pari-śád-am sam-ávai-ti* = *pariśad*+*Ŋyá*- = *pāri-śad-yá*- ‘assemblyman, councillor’.

#### 4.4.45 *sénā-y-āḥ=vā*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Ŋyá* 44] is optionally (*vā*) introduced [after the nominal stem 1.1] *sénā* ‘army’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28 to denote ‘frequents it’ 43].

*sénā-m sam-ávai-ti* = *sénā*+*Ŋyá*/*tháK* = *sain-yá*-/*sain-iká*- ‘soldier’.

#### 4.4.46 *saṁjñā-y-ām* <sup>1</sup>*lalāṭa*-<sup>2</sup>*kukkuṭy-áu pásy-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *tháK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *lalāṭa*- ‘forehead’ and *kukkuṭí* ‘hen’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 28] to denote ‘sees it’ (*pásy-a-ti*) when deriving a proper name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

*lalāṭa-m pásy-a-ti* = *lalāṭa*+*tháK* = *lālāṭ-iká*- ‘a negligent servant’; *kukkuṭí-m pásy-a-ti* = *kaukkuṭ-iká-h* (*bhikṣú-h*) ‘wandering (monk)’. These meanings are derived from the fact that in the first case the person looks at the forehead of the master from a distance without performing his duties and in the second case he walks looking down on the ground.

#### 4.4.47 *tá-sya dharm-yà-m*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *tháK* 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote ‘one’s proper duty or obligation’ (*dharm-yà-m*).

*śulka-śālā-y-āḥ dharm-yà-m* = *śulka-śālā*+*tháK* = *śaulka-śāl-iká-m* ‘behavior proper to a custom-house’; similarly *ā-karā-sya dharmyà-m* = *ākar-iká-m* ‘miner’s duty’.

#### 4.4.48 *áŊ máhiṣī=ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áŊ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *máhiṣī* ‘principal queen’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘one’s duty or obligation’ 47].

*máhiṣy-āḥ dharmyà-m* = *máhiṣ-á-m* ‘duties proper to the principal queen’.

#### 4.4.49 ṛT-aḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme short [ɾ] (ṛT-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘one’s proper duty’ 47].

*hót-ur dharmyām = hótṛ+aÑ = haútr-a-m* ‘duty of the Hótṛ-priest’.

#### 4.4.50 ava-kray-á-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 47] to denote ‘its revenue’ (ava-kray-á-ḥ).

*śulka-śālā-y-āḥ ava-kray-á-ḥ = śulka-śālā+ṭhák = śaulka-śāl-iká-ḥ* ‘custom-house revenue’.

#### 4.4.51 tád a-syá pánya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘his commodity for sale’ (a-syá pánya-m).

*apūpá-ḥ pánya-m a-syá = apūpá+ṭhák = āpūp-iká-ḥ* ‘a dealer in cakes’; similarly *módaka+ṭhák = maudak-iká-ḥ* ‘a dealer in sweetmeats’.

#### 4.4.52 lavaṇ-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] lavaṇá- ‘salt’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one’s commodity for sale 51].

*lavaṇá-m pánya-m a-syá = lavaṇá+ṭhaÑ = lávaṇ-ika-ḥ* ‘salt dealer’.

#### 4.4.53 kíśara=ādi-bhyas=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kíśara- ‘n.pr. of a perfume’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one’s commodity for sale 51].

*kíśara-ḥ pánya-m a-syá = kíśara+ṢṭhaN = kíśar-ika-ḥ* ( ‘-ik-í f. 1.41) ‘dealer in perfumery’

#### 4.4.54 śālālu-n-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 53] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śālālu- ‘n: of a perfume’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote one’s commodity for sale 51].

*śālālu pánya-m a-syá* = *śālālu+ṢṭhaN/ṭháK* = *śālālu-ka-ḥ/śālālu-ká-ḥ* ‘dealer specializing in Ś. perfume’. Feminine derivatives are: *śālālu-kí/śālālu-kí* (resp. 1.41, 15).

#### 4.4.55 śílpa-m-

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote that ‘it is one’s art’ (śílpa-m).

*mṛḍaṅga-vādaná-m śílpa-m a-syá* = *mṛḍaṅga+ṭháK* = *mārdang-iká-ḥ* ‘expert drum-player’; similarly *vaiṇ-iká-ḥ* ‘expert player on the Vīṇā’.

#### 4.4.56 <sup>1</sup>maḍḍuka-<sup>2</sup>jharjar-āt=áN=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] maḍḍuka- and jharjhara- ‘kinds of drums’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51 to denote one’s art 55].

The option is with respect to the general affix [ṭháK 1].

*maḍḍuka+áN/ṭháK* = *māḍḍu-ká-ḥ/māḍḍuk-iká-ḥ* ‘expert player on M. drum’; similarly *jhārjhar-á-ḥ/jhārjhar-iká-ḥ*.

#### 4.4.57 pra-hár-aṇa-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote ‘this is [one’s 51] weapon’ (pra-hár-aṇa-m).

*aśi-ḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá* = *aśi+ṭháK* = *āsi-ká-ḥ* ‘swordsmen’.

*dhānuḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá* = *dhānuḥ-ká-ḥ* ‘archer’.

#### 4.4.58 paraśvadh-āt=ṭhaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced in addition to (ca) [ṭháK 1 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] paraśvadh- ‘hatchet’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘this is one’s’ 51 weapon 57].

*paraśvadh+ṭhaÑ/ṭháK = páraśvadh-ika-h/pāraśvadh-iká-h* ‘hatchet-man’.

#### 4.4.59 <sup>1</sup>śakti-<sup>2</sup>yastī-ór īkáK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] īkáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śakti- ‘dart, spear’ and yastī- ‘stick’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘this is one’s’ 51 weapon 57].

*śakti-h pra-hár-ana-m a-syá = śakti+īkáK = śākt-īká-h* ‘wielder of darts or spears’;  
so also *yāṣṭ-īká-h* ‘whose weapon is a stick’.

#### 4.4.60 <sup>1</sup>ásti-<sup>2</sup>násti-<sup>3</sup>diṣṭá-m matí-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] ás-ti ‘there is’, ná=as-ti ‘there is not’ and diṣṭá- ‘fate’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘this is [one’s 51] belief (matí-h)].

*ás=ti matí-r a-syá = asti+ṭháK = āst-iká-h* ‘theist’; so also *nāst-iká-h* ‘atheist’ and *daiṣṭ-iká-h* ‘fatalist’.

#### 4.4.61 śíla-m

[The taddhitá 1.72 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote ‘[this is one’s 51] habit or nature’ (śíla-m).

*apūpa-(bhakṣan-ám) śíla-m a-syá = apūpá+ṭháK = āpūp-iká-h* ‘who has for his regular diet cakes’; similarly *audan-iká-h* ‘accustomed to eat rice’.

#### 4.4.62 cháttra=ādi-bhyaḥ=Ná-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with chát-tra- ‘shelter, cover’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘this is one’s 51 habit or nature 61].

*chát-tra-m śíla-m a-syá = chat-tra+Ná = chāt-tr-á-h* ‘accustomed to take shelter (under a preceptor), pupil’.

#### 4.4.63 kárma=adhy-áyan-e vṛt-tá-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] signifying an action (kárman) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote ‘occurring in [one’s 51] study’ (adhy-áyan-e).

*eka-m anyád adhy-áyan-e vṛt-tám = ekānyá+ṭháK = aikāny-iká-h* ‘(a pupil) who commits a single error in the course of his study’; similarly *dvaiyany-iká-h/traiy-any-iká-h*.

#### 4.4.64 bahu=áC-pūrva-pad-āt=ṭháC

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with a polysyllabic prior member (bahu=áC-pūrva-pad-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 51] to denote ‘occurring in (one’s 51) study’ 63].

*dvā-daśa anyā-n-i kármā-n-i adhy-áyan-e vṛt-tá-m = dvā-daśānyá+ṭháK = dvādaśāny-iká-h* ‘(a pupil) who commits twelve errors in his study’. The difference between the two affixes is with reference to the vṛddhi replacement of the first syllable: *trayodaśāny-iká-h*.

#### 4.4.65 hi-tá-m bhakṣā-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘this is his 51] wholesome diet (hi-tá-m bhakṣā-h).

*odana-(bhakṣaṇá-m) hi-tá-m a-syá = odaná+ṭháK = audan-iká-h* ‘whose wholesome diet is rice’.

#### 4.4.66 tád a-smaí dī-yá-te ní-yuk-ta-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘is allotted to him rightfully’ (a-smaí dī-yá-te ní-yuk-ta-m).

*ágr-e bhój-ana-m a-smaí ní-yuk-ta-m dī-yá-te = ágra-bhojana+ṭháK = ágra-bhojan-iká-h* ‘entitled to be served first with food’.

#### 4.4.67 <sup>1</sup>śrāṇā-<sup>2</sup>māmsa=odan-āt=ṬiṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬiṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śrāṇā 'rice gruel' and māmsaudanā- 'rice mixed with meat' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is allotted to him rightfully' 55].

If only these two nominal stems were involved the affix [ṭhaN] might as well have been introduced in the place of [ṬiṭhaN]; the purpose of so introducing this affix is to indicate, according to interpretation, that besides the compound *māmsaudanā-*, *odanā-* also is subject to the same operation.

*śrāṇā a-smāi dī-yā-te ní-yuk-ta-m* = *śrāṇā+ṬiṭhaN* = *śrāṇ-ika-h* 'entitled to be served with rice gruel'; *odanā+ṬiṭhaN* = *ódan-ika-h* 'entitled to be served with rice'.

#### 4.4.68 bhak-t-āt=áN=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is optionally (*anyatarásyām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *bhak-tá-* 'food' [ending in 1 1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'it is allotted to him rightfully 66].

*bhaktám asmaí níyuktam dīyāte* = *bhaktá+áN/ṭhák* = *bhākt-á-h/bhākt-iká-h* 'entitled to be served with food'.

#### 4.4.69 tá-tra ní-yuk-ta-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*tá-tra*) to denote 'appointed or employed there'(nīyuktaḥ).

*śulka-śālā-y-ām níyuktah* = *śulkaśālā+ṭhák* = *śaulka-śāl-iká-h* 'employed at the custom-house'.

#### 4.4.70 agāra=ant-āt=ṭhaN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] co-occurring with °-agāra- 'house' as a final member (*agārānt-āt* in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'appointed or employed therein 69].

*devāgār-é níyukta-h* = *devāgārā+ṭhaN* = *dévāgār-ika-h* 'temple employ, church employ'; so also *bhāṇḍāgār-ika-h* 'employed in the treasury'.

#### 4.4.71 adhy-āy-ín-i=á-<sup>1</sup>deśa-<sup>2</sup>kāl-āt

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] specifying an improper place or time (á-deśa-kāl-āt) and [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote a student (adhy-āy-ín-i).

1. á-deśa: śmaśān-e ádhi-te = śmaśāna+ṭháK = śmāśān-iká-h '(a pupil) studying in the crematorium'.
2. a-kāla: caturdaśy-am ádhi-te = cāturdaś-iká-h 'who studies on the fourteenth day of a fortnight'.

#### 4.4.72 <sup>1</sup>kaṭhiná=anta-<sup>2</sup>pra-stār-á-<sup>3</sup>saṁ-sthāne-ṣu vy-áva-har-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.16 attix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 1.1] co-occurring with °-kaṭhiná- 'thicket, clump, forest' as a final member (°-antāt of a compound) and the words prastār- 'jungle, forest' and saṁ-sthāna- 'public place' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'transacts business [there 69]' (vy-áva-iar-a-ti).

1. vāmśa-kaṭhin-é vy-áva-har-a-ti = vāmśa-kaṭhiná+ṭháK = vāmśa-kaṭhin-iká-h 'who transacts business in a bamboo thicket'.
2. pra-stār-é vy-áva-har-a-ti = prāstār-iká-h 'who carries on business/trade in a jungle'.
3. saṁ-sthān-e vy-áva-har-a-ti = sāmsthan-iká-h 'who carries on business in a public place'.

#### 4.4.73 ní-kaṭ-e vās-a-ti

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭháK 1 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ní-kaṭa- 'near' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'he lives [there 69] (vās-a-ti).

níkaṭ-e vās-a-ti = níkaṭa+ṭháK = naikaṭ-iká-h (bhikṣū-h) 'lives near (a village) [said of an ascetic]'.

#### 4.4.74 ā-vas-áth-āt=ṢṭhaL

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ā-vas-áth-a- 'house' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 69] to denote 'one lives (there 69)'73].



*ā-vas-áth-e vās-a-ti* = *ā-vas-áth-a+SthaL* = *ā-vas-áth-ika-h* m. ( \*-ikf f. 1.41) ‘who resides in a house’

#### 4.4.75 *prāk=hi-t-āt=yàT*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1] beginning with this section up to 5.1.5 below [*tá-smai hi-tá-m*].

This constitutes a governing rule (*adhikārá*) and the affix [*yàT*] recurs in all subsequent rules of this section unless otherwise specified up to 5.1.4 inclusive.

The section governing the affix [*tháK* 1ff.] ends here.

#### 4.4.76 *tád váh-a-ti* <sup>1</sup>*rátha*-<sup>2</sup>*yugá*-<sup>3</sup>*prāsaṅgá-m*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *rátha*- ‘chariot’, *yugá*- ‘yoke’ and *prāsaṅgá*- ‘a kind of yoke for cattle’ [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet [*tád*] to denote ‘bears or carries that’ (*tád váh-a-ti*).

*rátha-m váh-a-ti* = *ratha+yàT* = *ráth-ya-h* (6.1.13) ‘which draws the chariot’.  
*yugá-m váh-a-ti* = *yúg-ya-h* ‘yoke-bearer’; *prāsaṅgá-m váh-a-ti* = *prāsaṅg-yà-h*.

#### 4.4.77 *dhúr-aḥ=yàT= ḍháK-au*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *yàT* and *ḍhaK* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *dhúr*- ‘beam of a plough’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘bears or carries that’ 76].

*dhúr-am váh-a-ti* = *dhúr+yàT/ḍháK* = *dhúr-ya-h/dhaur-eyá-h* ‘(a beast) carrying the beam of a plough’.

#### 4.4.78 *kha-h sarva-dhur-āt*

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sarva-dhur-á* ‘entire burden’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘bears or carries that’ 76].

*sarva-dhurá-m váh-a-ti* = *sarva-dhurá+kha* = *sarva-dhur*<sup>1</sup>*-fṇa-h* ‘bearing the whole burden’.

#### 4.4.79 eka-dhur-āt=luK ca

luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 78 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] eka-dhur-ā ‘a single shaft’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘bears or carries it’ 78].

*eka-dhur-ā-m vāh-a-ti* = *eka-dhurā+kha/kha* → *luk* = *eka-dhur-īṇa-h/eka-dhur-ā-h* (1.2.49) ‘bearer of a single shaft’.

#### 4.4.80 śakaṭ-āt=āN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix] āN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] śakaṭa- ‘cart’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘bears or carries it’ 76].

*śakaṭa-m vāh-a-ti* = *śakaṭa+āN* = *śakaṭ $\emptyset^1$ +ā-h* (6.4.148) ‘who draws the cart’.

#### 4.4.81 <sup>1</sup>hala-<sup>2</sup>sīr-āt=ṭhāK

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhāK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1.] halā- and sīra- ‘plough’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘bears or carries it’ 76].

*halā-m/sīra-m vāh-a-ti* = *halā/sīra+ṭhāK* = *hāl-ikā-h/sair-ikā-h* ‘who bears the ploughshare’.

#### 4.4.82 samjñā-y-ām jāny-āḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] jānī ‘a young married woman’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘bears or carries her’ 76 to form a name (samjñā-y-ām)].

*jānī-m vāh-a-ti* = *jānī+yāT+TāP* (1.4) = *jān $\emptyset$ -yā* (6.4.148) ‘bridesmaid (who introduces the bride to the bridegroom)’.

#### 4.4.83 vídh-ya-ti=ā-dhanuṣ-ā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yāT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote ‘pierces with [it 76]’ (vídh-ya-ti) other than with a bow (ā-dhanuṣ-ā).

*padā-m vídh-y-anti* = *padā+yāT+Jas* = *pad+yāT+Jas* (6.3.53) = *pád-yāḥ*

(*śárkarā-h*) 'piercing the foot (said of gravel)'. But *pād-aú vídh-ya-ti dhānuṣ-ā* 'pierces the feet with a bow'.

#### 4.4.84 <sup>1</sup>dhána-<sup>2</sup>gaṇá-m lab-dhā

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] dhána- 'wealth' and gaṇá- 'troop' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'receives [that 76]' (lab-dhā).

*dhán-am lab-dhā* = *dhána+yàT* = *dhánθ-ya-h* 'wealthy'; similarly *gaṇá-m lab-dhā* = *gāṇ-ya-h* 'who acquires a multitude'.

#### 4.4.85 ánn-āt=Ná-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ánn- 'food' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'obtains [that 76]' 84].

*ánna-m lab-dhā* = *ánna+Ná* = *ānn-ā-h* 'one who gets food'.

#### 4.4.86 váśa-m ga-tá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1.] váśa- 'control, subjection' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 76] to denote 'has gone to or under [that 76]' (ga-tá-h).

*váśa-m ga-tá-h* = *váśa+yT* = *vás-ya-h* 'subjected, gone under subjection or control of'.

#### 4.4.87 padá-m a-smín dṛś-ya-m

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] padá- 'foot-print' [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (padá-m) to denote 'is to be seen or visible in this' (a-smín dṛś-ya-m).

*padá-m a-smín (kardám-e) dṛś-ya-m* = *padá+yT* = *pád-ya-h (kar-dáma-h)* '(mud) in which a footstep is to be seen'.

#### 4.4.88 mûla-m a-syá=ā-barhí

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mûla- ‘root’ [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (mûla-m) to denote ‘fit for eradication or uprooting’ (ā-barhi).

*mûla-m e-ṣām (māṣā-ṇ-ām ā-barhí) = mûla+yaT+Jas = mûl-yā-h (māṣā-h) ‘these plants of M. beans are fit for uprooting’.*

#### 4.4.89 saṁjñā-y-ām dhenuṣyā

(The irregular expression) dhenuṣyā is introduced as a name (saṁjñā-y-ām) ‘a cow whose milk has been pledged as repayment of a debt’ [irregularly derived with the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75].

*dhenu+yaT = dhenu+ṣuK+yaT+TāP = dhenu-ṣ-yā*

#### 4.4.90 gr̥ha-patí-nā sām-yuk-t-e Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] gr̥ha-patí- ‘master of the house’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (gr̥ha-patí-nā) to denote ‘joined with’ (sām-yuk-t-e)].

*gr̥ha-patí-nā sām-yuk-ta-ḥ (agní-ḥ) = gr̥ha-patí+Ñya = gār̥ha-patṭh-ya-ḥ ‘domestic [fire] joined with the master of the house’.*

#### 4.4.91 <sup>1</sup>naú-<sup>2</sup>váyas=<sup>3</sup>dhárma-<sup>4</sup>vīsa-<sup>5</sup>mûla-<sup>6</sup>mûla-<sup>7</sup>sītā-<sup>8</sup>tulā-bhyas=<sup>1</sup>tār-yà-<sup>2</sup>túl-ya-<sup>3</sup>prāp-ya-<sup>4</sup>vádḥ-ya=<sup>5</sup>ā-nām-yà-<sup>6</sup>samá-<sup>7</sup>sá-mita-<sup>8</sup>sām-mi-te-ṣu

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] naú ‘boat’, váyas- ‘age’, dhárma- ‘law,’ vīsa- ‘poison’, mûla-<sup>1</sup> ‘root’, mûla-<sup>2</sup> ‘capital, value’, sītā ‘furrow made by a plough’, and tulā ‘balance’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] ‘to be crossed’ (tār-yà-), ‘equal to’ (túl-ya-), ‘to be attained’ (prāp-ya-), ‘to be killed’ (vádḥ-ya-), ‘to be bent down’ (ā-nām-yà-), ‘equivalent to’ (samá-), ‘measured out’ (sá-mita-), and ‘equal to’ (sām-mi-te-ṣu).

1. *nāv-ā tār-yà-m = naú+yaT = nāv-yà-m (6.1.79,213) ‘to be crossed by boat, navigable’.*

2. *váyas-ā tul-ya-ḥ = vayas-yā-ḥ ‘companion, friend (of the same age group)’.*

3. *dhárm-ena prāp-ya-m* = *dhárm-ya-m* 'attainable by law, righteous'.
4. *viś-ena vādh-ya-h* = *viś-ya-h* 'to be killed by poison'.
5. *mūl-ena*<sup>1</sup> *ā-nām-yā-m* = *mūl-ya-m*<sup>1</sup> 'to be uprooted/extirpated'.
6. *mūl-ena*<sup>2</sup> *samā-h* = *mūl-ya-h*<sup>2</sup> 'equivalent in value'.
7. *sītay-ā sá-mi-ta-m* = *sīt-ya-m* (*kṣetra-m*) '(a field) measured by the number of furrows'.
8. *tuláy-ā sám-mi-ta-m* = *túl-ya-m* 'having the same weight, equivalent'.

#### 4.4.92 <sup>1</sup>dhárma-<sup>2</sup>páthi(n)=<sup>3</sup>ártha-<sup>4</sup>ny-āy-āt=án-ape-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *dhárma-* 'law', *páthin-* 'path', *ártha-* 'interest' and *ny-āy-ā-* 'rule, law' [ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (°-ny-āy-āt) to denote 'not deviating from' (*án-ape-t-e*).

*dhárm-āt án-ape-ta-m* = *dhárma+yàT* = *dhárm-ya-m* 'not deviating from law, legal, moral'; similarly *páth-ya-m* (6.4.144) 'not diverting from the path'; *árthāt ánapetam* = *árth-ya-m* 'not departing from interest'; *ny-āy-ya-m* 'not deviating from the rule'.

#### 4.4.93 chándas-o nír-mi-t-e

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *chándas-* 'wish, desire' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'created' (*nír-mi-t-e*).

*chándas-ā nír-mi-ta-h* = *chándas+yàT* = *chands-yā-h* 'willingly created'.

#### 4.4.94 úrasa-aḥ=áN ca

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced in addition to (ca) [yàT 75 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *úras-* 'chest, bosom' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'created' 93].

*úras-ā nír-mi-ta-h* = *úras+yàT* = *uras-yā-h* 'produced from one's bosom, legitimate'. *úras+áN* = *auras-á-*.

#### 4.4.95 hṛdaya-sya priy-á-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *hṛdaya-* 'heart' [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (*hṛdaya-sya*) to denote 'dear to' (*priy-á-h*).

*hṛdaya-sya priy-á-h* = *hṛdaya+yàT* = *hṛd+yàT* (6.3.50) = *hṛd-ya-h* 'dear to one's heart, hearty'.

#### 4.4.96 bándh-an=e ca=fṣ-au

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *hṛdaya-* 'heart' 95 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 95] to denote a Vedic incantation (*fṣ-au*) which bewitches (*bándh-an-e*) or 'casts a spell'.

*hṛdaya-sya bándh-ana-m fṣi-h* = *hṛd-ya-h* (*mántra-h*) 'a Vedic spell for bewitching'.

#### 4.4.97 <sup>1</sup>matá-<sup>2</sup>jána-<sup>3</sup>hal-át <sup>1</sup>káraṇa-<sup>2</sup>jalpá-<sup>3</sup>kárṣe-su

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] *ma-tá-* 'knowledge', *ján-a-* 'individual' and *halá-* 'plough' [ending in 1.1.72] in the sixth sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'a means' (*kár-aṇa-*), 'gossip' (*jalp-á-*) and 'dragging' (*kárṣ-a-*).

*ma-tá-sya kár-aṇa-m* = *ma-tá+yàT* = *mát-ya-m* 'means of acquiring knowledge'; similarly *jána-sya jalpá-h* = *ján-ya-h* 'rumor, gossip'; *halá-sya kárṣ-á-h* = *hál-ya-h* 'dragging of the plough'.

#### 4.4.98 tá-tra sādhū-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*tá-tra*) to denote 'it is good for it' (*tátra sādhū-h*).

The expression [*sādhū-* 'good'] also denotes 'proper, suitable, expert in'. *sāma-su sādhū-h* = *sāman+yàT* = *sāman-yā-h* (6.4.168) for retention of [n] 'expert in Sāma Veda'. Similarly *kárman-i sādhū-h* = *karman-yā-h* 'good in action'.

#### 4.4.99 prati-janá=ādi-bhyḥ khaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *khaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with *prati-janá-* 'each person/adversary' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'is good for it' 98].

*prati-jan-é sādhū-h* = *prati-janá+khaÑ* = *prāti-jan-ma-h* 'good/suitable for each person/adversary'.

#### 4.4.100 bhak-t-āt=Ná-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] bhak-tá- ‘food, nourishment’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘is good for it’ 98].

*bhak-t-é sādhdhū-h = bhakta+Ná = bhāk-t-á-h (sāli-h) ‘(rice) suitable as nourishment’.*

#### 4.4.101 pari-śád-aḥ=Nyá-h

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] Nyá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] pari-śád- ‘assembly’ ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘is good for it’ 98].

*pari-śád-i sādhdhū-h = pari-śád+Nya = pāri-śad-yá-h ‘proper/fit for the assembly’.*

#### 4.4.102 kathā-ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 1.16 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with kathā ‘narrative, story’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘is good for that’ 98].

*kathā-y-ām sādhdhū-h = kathā+ṭháK = kāth-ika-h ‘suitable for a narrative’.*

#### 4.4.103 guḍá=ādi-bhyas=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with guḍá- ‘molasses’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘good for that’ 98].

*guḍ-é sādhdhū-h = guḍá+ṭhaÑ = gaúḍ-ika-h ‘good for molasses’.*

#### 4.4.104 <sup>1</sup>páthi(n)-<sup>2</sup>átithi-<sup>3</sup>vasáti-<sup>4</sup>svapatéh=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] páthin- ‘path’, á-tithi- ‘guest’, vas-á-ti ‘residence’, sva-pati- ‘one’s master’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘good for that’ 98].

*path-i sādhdhū-h = páthin+dhaÑ = pátha00+eya- (6.4.144) = páth-eya- ‘good or suitable for the road’. Similarly: átithi+dhaÑ = átith-eya- (6.4.148) ‘proper for the guest’; vásat-eya- ‘suitable for a residence’ and svā-pat-eya- ‘good for one’s master’.*

#### 4.4.105 sabhā-y-āḥ=yā-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sabhā ‘assembly’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘good for that’ 98].

*sabhā-y-ām sādḥū-ḥ = sabhā+yā- = sabh0+yā (6.4.148) = sabh-yā-ḥ* ‘fit for the assembly’.

#### 4.4.106 ḍha-s=chandas-i

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stem 1.1 sabhā ‘assembly’ ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘good for that’ 98].

*sabhā-y-ām sādḥū-ḥ = sabh-ḍya-ḥ.*

#### 4.4.107 sa-mān-a-tīrth-é vās-í

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sa-māna-tīrthá- ‘the same preceptor’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98] to denote ‘residing there’ (vās-í).

*samāna-tīrth-é vās-í = samāna-tīrthá+yàT = sa-tīrtha+yàT (6.3.87) = sa-tīrth-yā-ḥ* ‘living with the same preceptor, co-disciple’.

#### 4.4.108 sa-māna=udar-é śay-itá-s=ó ca=udātta-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sa-māna=udará- ‘the same womb’ [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘lying [therein 98]’ (tá-tra śay-i-tá-ḥ) with phoneme [ó] bearing the udātta accent.

*samānodar-é śay-i-ta-ḥ = samānodará+yàT = samānódar-ya-ḥ (bhrātā)* ‘uterine brother’.

#### 4.4.109 sódar-āt=yā-ḥ

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yā is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] sódara- ‘the same womb’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘lying (therein 98)’ 108].

*sa-mān-e udar-e śay-i-ta-ḥ = sa+udara+yà (6.3.88) = sodar-yā-ḥ* ‘uterine brother’.



#### 4.4.110 bháv-e chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98] to denote ‘occurring or being [therein 98]’ [tá-tra 98] (bháv-e).

*namo médh-yā-ya ca vidyut-yā-ya ca: médh-e bháva-h = médha+yàT = médh-ya-h*  
‘wise one’; similarly *vi-dyut-i bhava-h = vi-dyūt+yàT = vidyut-yā-h* ‘brilliant one’.

#### 4.4.111 <sup>1</sup>páthas=<sup>2</sup>nadí-bhyām DyáN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] DyáN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] páthas- ‘heaven’ and nadí ‘river’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring [therein 98]’. 110].

From hereon up to the end of this chapter these rules pertain to the domain of Chandas (110).

*páthas-i bháva-h = páthas+DyáN = pāthθθ+yá (6.4.143) = pāth-yá-h* ‘heavenly’;  
similarly *nadí+DyáN = nādθ+yá = nād-yá-* ‘fluvial, riverine’.

#### 4.4.112 <sup>1</sup>veśántá-<sup>2</sup>himávad-bhyām áN

[The taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] veśántá- ‘pool’ and hima-vát- ‘snow-clad peak or mountain’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘occurring or being [therein 98]’ in the domain of Chandas 110].

*veśánt-é bháv-ā = veśántá+áN+ÑñP (1.15) = vaiśánt-f* ‘being or occurring in the pool’; so also *himavát+áN+ÑñP = haima-vat-f* ‘occurring in the snow-clad mountains’ etc. (referring to water)’.

#### 4.4.113 srótas-ah=vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>DyàT=<sup>2</sup>Dy-aú

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] DyàT and Dyá are optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] srótas- ‘river’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

*srótas-i bháva-h = srótas+DyàT/Dyá/yàT = srótθθ-ya-h/srot-yá-h*  
(6.4.143)/*srotas-yā-h* ‘being or occurring in the river’.

#### 4.4.114 <sup>1</sup>sa-garbhá-<sup>2</sup>sa-yūthá-<sup>3</sup>sa-nu-t-āt=yaN

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sa-garbhá- ‘same womb’, sa-yūthá- ‘same herd’ and sanutá- [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring (therein 98) 110].

1. *sa-garbh-é bháva-h* = *sa-garbh+yaN* = *sá-garbhθ-ya-h* ‘uterine brother’ in: *ánu-bhrātā sá-garbh-ya-h*.
2. *sa-yūth-é bháva-h* = *sa-yūth+yaN* = *sá-yūth-ya-h* ‘belonging to the same herd’ in: *ánu-sakhā sáyūth-ya-h*.
3. *sa-nu-t-é bháva-h* = *sá-nu-t-ya-h* ‘furtive’.

The word *sanuta-* is not found in Chándas, but the form there is *sanutar-* ind. ‘aside, secretly, clandestinely’ and *sanu-tara-* mfn. ‘furtive’. Nyāsa glosses it in two ways: *samānám nu-tá-m yá-sya* as a Bahuvrīhi or *samāná-m ca tad nutá-m ca* as a Karmadhāraya compound while Padamañjari glosses *nutá-* as *núti-* which is also the gloss of SK.

#### 4.4.115 túgr-āt=ghaN

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá16 affix 1.76] ghaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] túgra- ‘n.pr. of Bhujyu’s father’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring [therein 98] 110].

*túgr-e bháva-h* = *túgra+ghaN* = *túgrθ-ya-h* ‘descendant of T.’

#### 4.4.116 ágr-āt=yàT

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ágra- ‘tip’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring [therein 98] 110].

*ágr-e bháva-h* = *ágrθ-ya-h* (*ágra+yàT*) ‘at the top, foremost’.

#### 4.4.117 <sup>1</sup>gha=<sup>2</sup>ch-au ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá affixes 3.1.1] gha and cha are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] ágra- ‘tip’ 116 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring [therein 98] 110].

*ágr-e bháva-h* = *ágra+gha/cha* = *agr-íya-h/agr-íya-h*.

#### 4.4.118 <sup>1</sup>samudrá=<sup>2</sup>abhr-át=gha-h

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] samudrá- ‘sea, ocean’ and abhrá- ‘cloud’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 98 to denote ‘being or occurring [therein 98]’ 110].

1. *samudr-é bhávā* = *samudrá+gha* = *samudrθ-īya+TāP* = *samudr-íyā* ‘belonging to the sea’: *samudr-íyā-n-ām nadí-n-ām*.
2. *abhr-é bháva-h* = *abhrá+gha* = *abhr-íya-h* ‘occurring in the cloud’ in *abhr-íya-sya=iva ghósa-h*.

#### 4.4.119 barhís-i dat-tá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] barhís ‘layer of kuśa grass’ [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh triplet (barhís-i) to denote ‘given’ (dat-tá-m).

*barhís-i dat-tá-m* = *barhís+yàT* = *barhís-yà-m* ‘oblation offered on the B.’

#### 4.4.120 dūtá-sya<sup>1</sup>bhāga-<sup>2</sup>kárman-ī

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] dūtá- ‘messenger, ambassador’ [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (dūtá-sya) to denote (his) role (bhāga-°) or function (°-kárman-ī).

*dūtá-sya bhāga-h/kárma vā* = *dūtá+yàT* = *dūt-ya-m* ‘role or function of an ambassador’.

#### 4.4.121 <sup>1</sup>rákṣas=<sup>2</sup>yātú-n-ām hán-an-ī

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] rákṣas- ‘demon’ and yātú- ‘sorcerer’ [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (°-yātú-n-ām) to denote ‘destruction, killing’ (hán-an-ī).

*rákṣas-ām hán-an-ī* = *rákṣas+yàT+TāP* = *rakṣas-y-ā* ‘killing demons’. Similarly *yātú-n-ām hán-an-ī* = *yātú+yàT+TāP* = *yātav-y-ā* ‘destruction of sorcerers’.

#### 4.4.122 <sup>1</sup>revátī-<sup>2</sup>jágatī-<sup>3</sup>haviṣyā-bhyaḥ pra-śás-y-e

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] revátī ‘n. of a lunar mansion’, jágatī ‘n. of a metre’ and haviṣyā ‘what is suitable for oblation’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote ‘praise or eulogy’ (pra-śás-y-e).

1. *reváty-āḥ pra-śás-ya-m* = *revátī+yàT* = *revatθ-yà-m* (6.4.143) ‘eulogy of R.’; similarly: *jágat-yà-m* ‘praise of J.’; *haviṣyā+yàT* = *haviṣyθ+yàT* (6.4.148) = *haviṣθ+yà-* (8.4.64) = *haviṣ-y-ā* ‘eulogy of items suitable for oblation’.

#### 4.4.123 áśura-sya svá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] áśura- ‘demon’ [ending in 1.1.76] the sixth sUP triplet (áśura-sya) to denote ‘property of’ (svá-m).

*áśura-sya svá-m* = *áśura+yàT* = *ásur-yà-m* ‘property of an A.’

#### 4.4.124 māyá-y-ām áN

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 áśura- ‘demon’ 123, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 123] to denote ‘his illusion’ (māyá-y-ām).

*áśura-sya māyá* = *áśura+áN+ÑIP* (1.15) = *ásurθ+áN+ÑIP* = *ásur-θ+í* ‘illusion created by an Asura’.

#### 4.4.125 tád-vān ā-sām upa-dhā-n-o mántra=iti iṣṭakā-su luK ca matO-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] matUP (tád-vān) and [terminating in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet denoting a sacred formula (upa-dhāno mántra-ḥ) to designate the bricks (iṣṭakā-su) and luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the affix] matUP (luK ca matO-ḥ).

*vārcas-vān upa-dhā-n-o mántra-ḥ ā-sām iṣṭakā-n-ām* = *vārcas-vat+yàT* = *vārcas-θ<sup>1</sup>+yàT+TāP+Jas* = *vārcas-y-ā-ḥ* ‘bricks set up with the upadhāna mantra containing the word [vārcas-vat-]’.

#### 4.4.126 *aśví-mān áN*

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *aśví-mat-* ‘containing the word [*aśvín-*] [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 125 denoting an upadhāna mantra for setting up sacrificial bricks to designate those bricks and *luK* replaces the affix *matUP* 125].

*aśví-mān upa-dhān-o māntra-h=ā-sām iṣṭakā-n-ām* = *aśví-mat+áN* = *aśvín+θ<sup>1</sup>+áN+ÑiP+Śas* = *āśvín-ī-h ūpa-dadhā-ti* ‘he lays down the bricks set up with the upadhāna māntra containing the word [*aśvín-*]’.

#### 4.4.127 *vayasyā-su mūrdh-n-ó matUP*

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.2] *matUP* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mūrdhán-* ‘head’ to denote the *vayasyā* bricks.

The upadhāna māntras which contain both the words *vāyas-vat-* and *mūrdhán-vat* may be signified by either of these two words; in the case of [*vayasyā*] rule 125 has operated; by this rule the affix [*matUP*], replaced by 125, is re-introduced.

*mūrdhan+vátUP+ÑiP* = *murdhan-vát-ī+Śas* (6.1.176; 8.2.16) = *mūrdhan-vát-ī-r ūpa-dadhā-ti* ‘he lays down the bricks set up with the upadhāna mantra containing the word [*mūrdhan-vát-*]’.

#### 4.4.128 *matU=arth-e <sup>1</sup>māsa-<sup>2</sup>tanv-óh*

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] with the sense of [affix] *matUP* when designating names of months (*māsa-°*) or the body (*°-tanv-óh*).

*nābhā-n-si víd-ya=ante yá-smin mās-e sá-h* : *nābhas+yàT* = *nabhas-yà-h* ‘a cloudy month’; *ójah a-syām tanv-ām víd-ya-te sá* : *ójas+yàT+TāP* (1.4) = *ojas-y-ā tanú-h* ‘powerful body’.

#### 4 4.129 *mádho-r Ña ca*

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *Ña* is introduced in addition to (*ca*) [*yàT* 75 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *mádhu* ‘honey’ [to denote the sense of affix *matUP* to designate a month or body 128].

*mádhu víd-ya-te a-smín mās-e* = *mádhu+Ña/yàT* = *mádhav-a-h/madhav-yà-h*  
(6.4.146; 1.79) ‘the month of honey (second month of spring)’. By interpretational extension luK (125) also is introduced: *mádhu-h*.

*mádhu víd-ya-te a-syám tanv-ām* = *madhu+Ña/yàT+TāP* = *mádhav-ā/madhav-y-ā/mádhu-h* ‘a body fit to drink Soma’.

#### 4.4.130 ójas-aḥ=áhan-i 'yàT-<sup>2</sup>kh-au

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *yàT* and *kha* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *ójas-* ‘power’ [to denote the sense of affix matUP 128] for designating a day (*áhan-i*).

*ójaḥ a-smín áhan-i várt-a-te* = *ójas+yàT/kha* = *ojas-yà-m/ojas-ína-m áhaḥ* ‘a powerful day’.

#### 4.4.131 'veśás=<sup>2</sup>yásá=āde-r bhág-āt=yaL

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yaL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *bhága-* ‘fortune’, co-occurring with *veśás-°* ‘strength’ and *yásás-* ‘glory’ as prior members (*°-āde-h* in composition) [to denote the sense of affix matUP 128].

*veśo-bhagá-h víd-ya-te yá-sya sá-h* = *veśo-bhagá+yaL* = *veśo-bhág-ya-h* ‘possessing nourishing strength’; so also *yaśo-bhag-ó víd-ya-te yá-sya sá-h* = *yaśo-bhág-ya-h* ‘rich in glory’.

#### 4.4.132 kha ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* also (*ca*) is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *bhága-* co-occurring with *veśás-°* and *yásás-°* as prior members in composition 131 to denote the sense of the affix matUP 128].

*veśo-bhagá-/yaśo-bhagá+kha* = *veśo-bhag-ína-h/yaśo-bhag-ína-h*. A separate rule has been framed in order to block the operation of metarule 1.3.10.

#### 4.4.133 pūrv-aiḥ kṛ-tá-m 'íni-<sup>2</sup>y-áu ca

[In the domain of Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ín* and *yá* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *pūrva-* ‘ancient’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*pūrv-aiḥ*) to denote ‘made by’ (*kṛ-tá-m*) in addition to (*ca*) [the affix *kha* 132].

*pūrv-aiḥ kṛ-ta-m* = *pūrva+ín/yá/kha* = *pūrv-ín- /pūrv-yá-/ pūrv-fna-* : 'created by ancestors'.

#### 4.4.134 ad-bhíḥ sām-s-kṛ-ta-m

[In Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *áp-* 'water' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*ad-bhíḥ*) to denote 'sanctified with' (*sām-s-kṛ-ta-m*).

*ad-bhíḥ sām-s-kṛ-ta-m* = *áp+yàT* = *áp-ya-m (háviḥ)* '(oblation) sanctified/purified with water'.

#### 4.4.135 sahásr-ṇa sam-mit-aú gha-h

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *gha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sahásra-* 'a thousand' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*sahásr-ṇa*) to denote 'equal to, comparable, on a par with' (*sām-mit-au*).

*sahásr-ṇa sam-mití-h* = *sahásra+gha* = *sahasrṭṭ-íya-h* 'a thousandfold, on a par with a thousand'.

#### 4.4.136 mat-AU ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 *gha*] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 *sahásra-* '1000' ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet] to denote the meaning of the affix *matUP*.

*sahásra-m a-syá víd-ya-te* = *sahásra+gha sahasrṭṭ-íya-h* 'possessing a thousand'.

#### 4.4.137 sóma-m árh-a-ti yá-h

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yá* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] *sóma-* 'n. of the sacred drink' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*sóma-m*) to denote 'deserves it' (*árh-a-ti*).

*sóma-m árh-a-ti* = *sóma+yá-* = *som-yá-* 'deserving of sóma = fit for participating in a sacrifice'.

#### 4.4.138 máy-e ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yá 137 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1 sóma- 137] also to denote the sense of the affix máyaT̥.

[máyaT̥] is introduced by the following rules: 4.3.82,143ff., 148ff.; 5.2.47; 4.21ff. with different sUP triplets of the stems. The same will apply in the case of this stem.

*sóma-m pra-kṛ-tá-m = soma-maya-m = soma+yá = somθ-yá-m* (5.4.21) 'consisting of soma'.

#### 4.4.139 mádho-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT̥ 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] mádhu- 'mead, honey' [to denote the sense of the affix máyaT̥ 138].

*mádhu pra-kṛ-tá-m a-smín = mádhu+yàT̥ = madhav-yà- = madhu-máya-* 'consisting wholly of honey'.

#### 4.4.140 váso-ḥ sam-ūh-é ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT̥ is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] vásu- 'excellent, good, riches' to denote 'a collection' (sam-ūh-é) as well as (ca) [the sense of affix máyaT̥ 139].

*vásu+yàT̥ = vasav-yà-* 'a collection of riches/consisting wholly of excellence' (5.4.21).

#### 4.4.141 nákṣatr-āt=gha-ḥ

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] gha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 1.1] nákṣatra- 'asterism' in (a pleonastic) sense.

*nákṣatra+gha = nakṣatrθ-fya-* 'asterism'.

#### 4.4.142 sárva-dev-āt tātīL

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1] tātīL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] sárva- 'all' and devá- 'divinity' (in a pleonastic sense).

*sárva+tātīL = sarvá-tāti - 'all'; so also devá-tāti- 'god, divinity'.*



#### 4.4.143 <sup>1</sup>śívá-<sup>2</sup>śám=<sup>3</sup>ářiṣṭa-sya kar-é

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tātīL 142 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1] śívá- ‘favorable’, śám ‘auspicious’ and ářiṣṭa- ‘freedom from injury’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote ‘performance, doing’ (kar-é).

*śívá-sya kará-h* = *śívá-m kar-ó-ti* = *śívá-tāti-h* ‘making auspicious, favorable’;  
similarly *śám-tāti-h*; *ářiṣṭá-tāti-h* ‘making free from injury’.

#### 4.4.144 bhāv-é ca

[In the Chándas 110 the taddhitá 1.76 affix 3.1.1 tātīL is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 1.1 śívá- ‘favourable’, śám- ‘auspicious’ and ářiṣṭa- ‘freedom from injury’ 143 ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet] to denote ‘the state or condition of’ (bhāv-é).

*śívá-sya bhāv-á-h* = *śívá-tāti-h* ‘the state of blissfulness’; *śám-tāti-h* ‘the state of blessedness’; *ářiṣṭá-tāti-h* ‘the state of being free from injury’.

### 5.1.1 prāk=krīt-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 9.1.1] in this section beginning here and extending up to and including 36 below [prāk krīt-āt: t-éna krī-tá-m 37] to denote the senses indicated therein.

This is a governing rule heading this section, and the affix [cha] as the (utsarga) will recur in the subsequent rules unless otherwise specified.

### 5.1.2 <sup>1</sup>u-<sup>2</sup>gáv=ādi-bhyaḥ=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class [u] and [the class of nominal stems 1.1] beginning with go- ‘cow, bull’ [to denote the meanings listed prior to 37 below 1].

The meanings listed are: [5. tá-smai hi-tá-m; 12. tad-arthá-m vi-kṛ-te-h pra-kṛ-t-au; 16. tād a-syá tād a-smín syát].

1. °-u: *śāṅkú+yàT* = *śāṅko+yàT* (6.4.146) = *śāṅkav-yà-* (6.1.79) ‘suitable for a stake’.
2. *gó+yàT* = *gáv-ya-* ‘suitable or proper for a cow/bull’.

### 5.1.3 kambál-āt=ca samjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 2 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kambála- ‘blanket, rug’ to designate a name (samjñā-y-ām).

*kambála+yàT* = *kambalḥ-yà-m* ‘a measure of wool equal to 100 [pala-s]’; in other senses *kambála+cha* = *kambal-ḥya* (1).

### 5.1.4 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>hávīṣ=<sup>2</sup>apūpá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 2] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] hávīṣ- ‘sacrificial offering’ and the class of words beginning with apūpá- ‘cake’ [in the meanings listed prior to 37 below 1].

1. *hávīṣ+yàT* = *haviṣ-yà-* ‘suitable for an oblation’; this word stands for itself as well as its synonyms (by interpretation, and by its inclusion in the [gó]-class, 2 above) yàT is necessarily introduced, but the option holds good for its synonyms: *āmikṣa+yàT/cha* = *ā-mikṣḥ+yà-m/ā-mikṣ-ḥya-m* (*dádhi*) ‘suitable for making (curds)’.

2. *apūpā+yàT/cha* = *apūp-yà-/apūp-īya-* ‘suitable for making cakes’.

### 5.1.5 tá-smai hi-tám

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 listed prior to 37 below are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (tá-smai) to denote ‘good or beneficial for it (tá-smai hitám).

*vatsé-bhyaḥ hi-tá-ḥ go-dhúk* = *vatsá+cha* (1) = *vats-īya-ḥ* ‘suitable for the calves (such as cow’s milk)’. So also *haviṣ-e hi-tá-m* = *haviṣ-yà-m*; *apūpā-ya hi-tá-m* = *apūp-īya-m*.

### 5.1.6 śarīra=avayav=āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting members of the body (sarīra=avayav-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to signify ‘good/beneficial for it’ 5].

Exception to [cha 1]. *dānte-bhyaḥ hi-tá-m* = *dānta+yàT* = *dānt-ya-m* ‘beneficial to the teeth’; similarly *kāñṭh-ya-m/ōṣṭh-ya-m/nābh-ya-m/nās-ya-m* ‘good for the throat/lips/navel/nose’.

### 5.1.7 <sup>1</sup>khāla-<sup>2</sup>yáva-<sup>3</sup>māṣa-<sup>4</sup>tilá-<sup>5</sup>vṛṣa-<sup>6</sup>brāhmāṇ-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 6] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] khāla- ‘threshing floor’, yáva- ‘barley’, māṣa- ‘a kind of lentil, Phaseolus Radiatus’, tilá- ‘sesamum’, vṛṣa- ‘bull’ and brahmāṇ- ‘n. of an officiating priest’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet denote ‘good/beneficial for it’ 5].

*khāla-ya hi-tá-m* = *khāla+yàT* = *khāl-ya-m* ‘good for the threshing floor’; so also: *yávu-ya-m/mēṣ-ya-m/tīl-ya-m/vṛṣ-ya-m/brāhmaṇ-yà-m*.

### 5.1.8 <sup>1</sup>ajā=<sup>2</sup>āvi-bhyaṁ thyaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thyaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ajá ‘goat’ and āvi- ‘sheep’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘good/beneficial for it’ 5].

*ajā-ya hi-tá* = *ajā-thyaN+TāP* (4.1.4) = *ajā-thy-ā* ‘yellow jasmine (which is good for the goat)’. Similarly *āvi-thy-ā* ‘n. of a plant (supposed to be beneficial to sheep)’.

### 5.1.9 <sup>1</sup>ātmán=<sup>2</sup>viśva-janá-<sup>3</sup>bhóga=uttara-pad-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] ātmán- ‘one’s self’. viśva-janá- ‘all men, mankind’ and expressions co-occurring with °-bhóga- as a final member (°uttara-pad-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘good or beneficial for that’ 5].

1. *ātmán-e hi-tá-m* = *ātmán+kha* = *ātman-īna-m* (6.4.167) ‘beneficial to one’s self’;
2. *viśva-jané-bhyo hi-tá-m* = *viśva-janṭh-īna-m* ‘good/fit for all mankind’;
3. *mātr-bhogā-ya hi-ta-ḥ* = *mātr-bhogṭh-īna-ḥ* ‘good for the enjoyment of the mother’.

### 5.1.10 <sup>1</sup>sarvá-<sup>2</sup>púruṣā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>Ṇá-<sup>2</sup>ḍhaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] Ṇá and ḍhaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarvá- ‘all’ and púruṣa- ‘person’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘good/beneficial for that’ 5].

*sárva-smai hi-tá-m* = *sarvá+Ṇá* = *sārv-d-m* ‘beneficial to all’, *púruṣā-ya hi-tá-m* = *púruṣa+ḍhaÑ* = *paúruṣṭh-eya-m* ‘beneficial/proper to a person’.

### 5.1.11 <sup>1</sup>māṇavá-<sup>2</sup>cáراكā-bhyām khaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] māṇava- ‘pupil’ and cáراكa- ‘wandering student’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘good/beneficial for that’ 5].

*māṇavā-ya hi-tá-m* = *māṇavá+khaÑ* = *māṇavṭh-īna-m* ‘beneficial for a pupil’; similarly *cáراكṭh-īna-m* ‘proper for a wandering student’.

### 5.1.12 tad-arthá-m vi-kṛ-te-ḥ pra-kṛ-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced prior to 37 below are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] signifying a by-product (vi-kṛ-te-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5] to denote the source (pra-kṛ-t-au).

*ángāre-bhyaḥ hi-tá-n-i kāṣṭhá-n-i* = *ángāra+cha(1)+Śi* = *angārṭh-īyā-n-i* ‘wood serviceable for turning into charcoal’; similarly *prākārā-ya hi-tá-ḥ* = *prākārṭh-īyā-ḥ=īṣṭakā-ḥ* ‘bricks suitable for building a wall’; *śānkú+yàT* = *śānkavṭhyà-m* (2) *dāru* ‘wood suitable for turning into a stake’.

### 5.1.13 <sup>1</sup>chadís=<sup>2</sup>upa-dhí-<sup>3</sup>balé-ḥ=dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] chadís- ‘roof’, upa-dhí- ‘part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference, spokes’ and balí- ‘sacrificial offering’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5 and denoting a by-product to denote the source 12].

*chadís-e hi-tá-ni tṣṇā-n-i* = *chadís+dhaÑ* = *chádiṣ-eyā-ni* ‘grass suitable for thatching a roof’; similarly *upadhí+dhaÑ* = *aúpadhṭ-eya-m dāru* ‘wood suitable for connecting the nave to the circumference as spokes’; *balí+dhaÑ* = *balṭ-eyā-ḥ (taṇḍulā-ḥ)* ‘(grains of rice) suitable as a sacrificial offering’.

### 5.1.14 <sup>1</sup>ṛṣabhá-<sup>2</sup>upānāḥ-or Ñya-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ṛṣabha- ‘bull’ and upānāḥ- ‘sandal’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5, signifying a by-product to denote the source 12].

*ṛṣabha+Ñya* = *árṣabhṭ-ya-ḥ vatsā-ḥ* ‘a calf destined to grow into a bull’. Similarly *upānāḥ+Ñya* = *aúpānah-ya-ḥ múnja-ḥ* ‘muñja grass suitable for being made into a sandal’.

### 5.1.15 cármaṇ-aḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] cárman- ‘leather, hide, pelt’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 5 to designate a by-product to denote its source 12].

*vardhr-aí idám* = *vardhrí+aÑ* = *várdhrṭ-a-m cárma* ‘leather suitable for making a strap or thong’; similarly *varatrā-y-ai idám* = *varatrā+aÑ* = *váratrṭ-a-m cárma* ‘ib.’

### 5.1.16 tád a-syá tád a-smín s-yât=iti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 listed prior to 37 below 1 occur after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘may possibly be (s-yât) of it (a-syá) or in it (a-smín).

*prāsādā-ḥ ā-sām íṣṭakā-n-ām s-yât* = *prāsādā+cha(1)+Jas* = *prāsādṭ-íyā-ḥ íṣṭakā-ḥ* ‘bricks of which a mansion may possibly be built’; *parikhā a-syám s-yât* = *parikhā+dhaÑ* = *pārikkṭ-eyī bhūmi-ḥ* ‘earth in which a moat may possibly be built’ (17).

### 5.1.17 parikhā-y-āḥ=ḍhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] parikhā 'moat, ditch' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'it may possibly of or in it' 16].

Example cited above under 16.

### 5.1.18 prāk=váte-s=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 an appropriate sUP triplet to denote the senses] indicated in this section beginning here and extending up to 115 below [t-éna túlya-m kriyā cet vāti-ḥ].

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) within another governing rule (1) but extending beyond it. The affix [ṭhaÑ] will recur in each of the subsequent rules unless otherwise specified.

### 5.1.19 á=árh-āt=a<sup>1</sup>go-pucchá-<sup>2</sup>saṁkhyá-<sup>3</sup>pari-māṇ-āt=ṭhák

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding go-pucchá- 'cow's tail', number-words (saṁ-khyá) and names of measures (pari-māṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplet to denote the senses indicated in the section] beginning here and extending up to 63 below [tád árh-a-ti].

This is also a governing rule within another governing rule (18) forming a sub-section of the preceding (18), and affix [ṭhák] will normally recur in the subsequent rule unless otherwise specified, up to 63 below. The exclusion of the words [go-pucchá-, etc.] will be illustrated at the appropriate places (37 etc.).

Within the governing sphere of affix [ṭhaÑ (18-115)] its exception is introduced in this sub-section 19-63.

### 5.1.20 á-sam-ās-e niṣká=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhák 19 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with niṣká- 'n. of a coin' when not forming a compound (á-sam-ās-e) [ending in 1.1.72 the appropriate sUP triplets to denote the senses introduced in the section (19-63) 19].

niṣká-éṇa krī-tá-m = niṣká+ṭhák = naiṣk<sup>0</sup>-iká-m 'purchased with the niṣká'; here the affix [ṭhák] blocks out the more general affix [ṭhaÑ 19], but in composition (samās-e) affix [ṭhaÑ] operates: ut-tama-niṣká-éṇa krī-tá-m =

*ut-tama-niṣka+ṭhaÑ* = *út-tama-naṣk-ika-m* (7.3.17). The difference between these two affixes is in accentuation only. The exclusion of compounds in this section does not debar them from the normal affix in the earlier section: e.g., *go/su-go+yàT* = *gáv-ya-/su-gav-yà-/ati-su-gav-yà-* etc.

### 5.1.21 śat-āt=ca ṭhaN-<sup>2</sup>yàT-au=á-śat-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭhaN and yàT are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śatá- ‘hundred’ [to denote the senses listed in this section 19-63] also (ca) [when not forming a compound 20] and not denoting the number 100 (á-śat-e).

*śat-éna krī-tá-m* = *śatá+ṭhaN/yàT* = *śatṭh-ika-m/śatṭh-ya-m* ‘bought for a hundred pieces’ but *śatá-m prá-māṇ-a-m a-syá* = *śatá+kaN* (22) = *śata-ka-m* ‘measuring a hundred’.

*dvaú ca śatá-m ca* = *dvīṭh-śata-m*, *t-éna krī-tá-m* = *dvī-śataṭh+kaN* (22) = *dvī-śata-ka-m* ‘bought for 200’. But *śatá-m pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *śata+kaN* = *śata-ka-m* (22,57-8).

### 5.1.22 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=á-<sup>1</sup>ti-<sup>2</sup>śat=antā-y-āḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] designating number words (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) excluding those [ending in 1.1.72] °-ti and °-śat [to denote meanings listed in the section 19-63].

Exception to [ṭhaÑ 18]. *pāñca-bhiḥ krī-tá-h* = *pāñcan+kaN* = *pāñcaṭh-ka-h* (8.1.7) ‘bought with 5 pieces’, but *saptaty-á krī-tá-h* = *saptatī+ṭhaÑ* (18) = *śāptatṭh-ika-h* ‘bought with 70’ and *catvāriṁśat+ṭhaÑ* = *cātvarīṁśat-ka-* ‘bought with 40’.

### 5.1.23 vatO-r iṭ=ṽā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 22] with optional (ṽā) initial increment i(ṭ) inserted at its head (1.1.46) is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 designating numerals 22 ending in 1.1.72 the affix] °-vatU [to denote the meanings listed in the section 19-63].

*tá-vat-ā krī-tá-m* = *távat+kaN/iṭ-kaN* = *tā-vat-ka-m/tā-vat-i-ka-m* ‘bought for so much’.

### 5.1.24 <sup>1</sup>viṁśatī-<sup>2</sup>triṁśāt=bhyām DvuN á-samjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] DvuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] viṁśatī- ‘20’ and triṁśāt- ‘30’ [to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section] when not forming a name (á-samjñā-y-ām).

*viṁśaty-ā krī-tā-ḥ* = *viṁśatī+DvuN* = *viṁśaṭṭh+aka-* (6.4.142) = *viṁś-aka-ḥ*  
‘bought for 20’; similarly *triṁś-aka-ḥ* ‘bought for 30’.

### 5.1.25 kaṁś-āt=ṬiṭhaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬiṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kaṁśa- ‘n. of a particular measure equal to two āḍhaka-s’ [to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

*kaṁś-ēna krī-tā-ḥ* = *kaṁśa + ṬiṭhaN* = *kaṁśaṭṭh-ika-ḥ* m./ °-krī (f. 4.1.15) ‘bought with the price of a kaṁśa’.

### 5.1.26 śúrpa-ād aÑ anyā-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is optionally (anyā-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śúrpa- ‘winnowing basket’ [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63].

*śúrpa-ēna krī-tā-m* = *śúrpa+aÑ* = *śaúrpaṭṭh-a-m/śúrpa+ṭhaÑ* = *śaúrpaṭṭh-ika-m*  
‘purchased by the winnowing basket’ (18).

### 5.1.27 <sup>1</sup>śatā-māna-<sup>2</sup>viṁśatika-<sup>3</sup>sahásra-<sup>4</sup>vásana-āt=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śatāmāna- ‘n. of a weight’, viṁśatika-, sahásra- ‘names of monetary units’ and vásana- ‘cloth’ [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63].

*śatāmān-ēna krī-tā-m* = *śatāmāna+áN* = *śātāmānṭh-a-m* ‘bought with the ś. weight’; similarly: *vaiṁśatikṭh-a-m/sāhasrṭh-ā-m* ‘bought with 20/1000 pieces (of money)’ and *vāsanṭh-ā-m* ‘purchased with cloth’.



### 5.1.28 <sup>1</sup>ádhi=ardha-pūrva-<sup>2</sup>dvigó-r luK á-samjñā-y-ām

luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° ‘one and a half’ as a prior member (°-pūrva- in composition) and a Dvigú compound [to denote the meanings listed in this section 19-63] when not forming a name (samjñā-y-am).

*adhy-ardha-kāṁśa-éna kri-tá-m = adhy-ardha-kāṁśa+TīthaN̄ (25) =*  
*adhy-ardha-kāṁśa+TīthaN̄→luk = adhy-ardha-kāṁśa-m* ‘bought with 1 1/2 kāṁśas’.

*dvā-bhyāṁ kāṁśā-bhyāṁ kri-tá-m = dviθ-kāṁśa+θ<sup>1</sup> = dvi-kāṁśa-m* ‘bought with 2 kāṁśas’. Cf. 6.2.122 for accent.

When a name is formed: *pāñca lōhiny-aḥ parimāṇam a-syá = pāñca+lōhita+N̄TP*  
(4.1.39)+*thaN̄* (57) = *pāñca-lohitθ+θ+thaN̄* (1.2.49) *pāñca-lohit-ika-* ‘n.pr. of a measure equal to five lohint-s’.

### 5.1.29 vibhāsā kārṣāpaṇa-sahásrā-bhyām

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>)] optionally (vibhāsā) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kārṣāpaṇa- ‘n. of a coin’ and sahásra- ‘1000’ [co-occurring with ádhy-ardha- ° as a prior member in composition or a Dvigú compound 28 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

*adhy-ardha-kārṣapaṇ-éna kri-tá-m = adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇa+(TīthaN̄→θ<sup>1</sup>)/TīthaN̄*  
*= adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇā-m/adhy-ardha-kārṣāpaṇθ-ika-m* ‘bought with 1 1/2 k.’  
Similarly *dvi-kārṣāpaṇā-m/dvi-kārṣāpaṇθ-ika-m*.

*ádhy-ardha-sahasr-eṇa kri-tá-m = adhy-ardha-sahasrá-m/adhy-ardha-sāhasrθ-á-m;*  
*dvi-sahasrá-m/dvi-sāhasrθ-á-m* (27; 7.3.17).

### 5.1.30 <sup>1</sup>dvi-<sup>2</sup>tri-pūrv-āt niṣk-āt

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>)] optionally 29 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] niṣká- ‘n. of a coin’ co-occurring with dví- ° or trí- ° as a preceding member (°-pūrv-āt in composition) in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section.

*dvā-bhyāṁ niṣkā-bhyāṁ kri-tá-ḥ = dviθ+niṣka+thaN̄/thaN̄→luK =*  
*dvi-naiskθ-ika-ḥ* (18)/*dvi-niṣká-ḥ* ‘purchased with 2 n.’; similarly  
*trī-naisk-ika-ḥ/tri-niṣká-ḥ*.

### 5.1.31 bist-āt=ca

[luK 28 optionally replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *bista-* ‘n. of a coin’ [co-occurring with *dví-*° or *trí-*° as preceding members in a Dvigú compound 30 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

*dvi-bistá+thaN/thaN→luK* = *dvf-baist-ika-/dvi-bistá-* ‘purchased with 2 b.’;  
similarly: *trf-baist-ika-/tri-bistá-*.

### 5.1.32 vímśatik-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *vímśatika-* ‘n. of a coin’ [co-occurring with *ádhy-ardha-*° as a preceding member in composition or final member of a Dvigú compound 28 to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

*adhy-ardha-vímśatik-éna krí-tá-m* = *adhy-ardha-vímśatiká+kha* =  
*adhy-ardha-vímśatikḥ-fna-m*; similarly *dvi-vímśatik-fna-m*.

### 5.1.33 khāry-āḥ=īkaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *īkaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *khārí* ‘n. of measure’ [co-occurring with *ádhy-ardha-*° as a preceding member in composition and as final member in a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

*ádhy-ardha-khāry-ā krí-tá-m* = *ádhy-ardha-khārī+īkaN* = *ádhy-ardha-khārḥ-īka-m*  
‘bought by 1 1/2 kh.’ Similarly *trf-khār-īka-m*.

### 5.1.34 <sup>1</sup>pañá-<sup>2</sup>pādá-<sup>3</sup>māśa-<sup>4</sup>śat-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *pañá-*, *pādá-*, *māśa-* and *śatá-* ‘names of measures’ [co-occurring with *ádhy-ardha-*° as preceding member in composition or at the end of a Dvigú compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 in this section].

*adhy-ardha-pañá+yàT* = *adhy-ardha-pañḥ-yà-m/dvi-pañ-yà-m*; *adhy-ardha-pād-yà-m/dvi-pād-yà-m*; *adhy-ardha-māś-yà-m/dvi-māś-yà-m*; *adhy-ardha-śat-yà-m/dvi-śat-yà-m*.

### 5.1.35 *sāṇ-āt=vā*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 34] is optionally (*vā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sāṇa-* ‘n. of a coin’ [co-occurring with *adhy-ardha-* ° as final member in composition or as final member in a *Dvigú* compound 28 to denote the meanings listed in 19-63 of this section].

*adhy-ardha-sāṇ-éna krī-tá-m* = *adhy-ardha-sāṇá+yàT/ṭhaÑ* (18)→*luK* (28)  
*adhy-ardha-sāṇṭh-yà-m/adhy-ardha-sāṇá-m; dvi-sāṇ-yà-m/dvi-sāṇá-m.*

### 5.1.36 <sup>1</sup>*dvi-<sup>2</sup>tri-pūrv-āt=áÑ ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áÑ*, in addition to (*ca*) [*yàT* 35 and *ṭhaÑ* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *sāṇa-* 35] co-occurring with *dví-* ° ‘2’ and *trí-* ° ‘3’ as preceding members ( °-*pūrv-āt* in composition) to denote meanings listed in 19-63 of this section.

*dvá-bhyāṁ sāṇá-bhyāṁ krī-tá-m* = *dviṭ+sāṇá+áÑ/yàT/ṭhaÑ* →*luK* (28) =  
*dvai-sāṇṭh-á-m/dvi-sāṇ-yà-m/dvi-sāṇá-m; similarly trai-sāṇ-ám/tri-sāṇ-yà-m/*  
*tri-sāṇá-m.*

### 5.1.37 *t-éna krī-tá-m*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaÑ* 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third *sUP* triplet (*t-éna*) to denote ‘bought/purchased with’ (*krī-tá-m*).

Thirteen affixes are involved here: 1. *ṭhaÑ* (18), 2. *ṭháK* (19), 3. *ṭhaN* (21), 4. *kaN* (22); 5. *yàT* (21, 34, 39); 6. *iṬ+kaN* (23); 7. *DvuN* (24); 8. *ṬiṭhaN* (25); 9. *aÑ* (26); 10. *áÑ* (27); 11. *luK* (28-31); 12. *kha* (32); and 13. *ikaN* (33).

The illustrations are given under the particular *sūtra*-s introducing these affixes.

### 5.1.38 *tá-sya nimitta-m* <sup>1</sup>*saṁ-yogá=*<sup>2</sup>*ut-pāt-aú*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaÑ* 8 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth *sUP* triplet (*tá-sya*) to denote ‘the reason (*nimitta-m*) in the form of either a connection (*saṁ-yogá-* °) or a portent( ° *ut-pāt-aú*)’.

1. *śatá-sya nimitta-m dhana-patī-nā saṁ-yogá-ḥ* = *śatá+yàT/ṭhaN* (21) = *śátṭh-ya-ḥ/śátṭh-ika-ḥ* ‘an understanding with a rich person for the loan of a hundred pieces (such as a pledge or promissory note)’.
2. *śatá-sya nimitta-m ut-pātá-ḥ dakṣiṇākṣi-spánda-ana-m* = *śát-ya-m/śát-ika-m* ‘the twitching of the right eye as an omen for gaining a hundred pieces’.

### 5.1.39 go-dvy-áC-aḥ=a<sup>1</sup>saṁkhyā<sup>2</sup>pari-māṇa=ásva=ade-r yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gó- 'cow, bull', and dissyllabic words (dvy-C-aḥ) excluding the class of words denoting numbers (saṁkhyā) or measures (°parimāṇa-°) or those beginning with ásva- 'horse' [to denote 'the reason in the form of either a connection or a portent' 38].

1. gó+yàT = gáv-ya- 'cause or portent for gaining a cow'.
2. dvy-áC: yásas+yàT = yaśas-yà- 'reason or portent for acquiring fame or renown'.
3. Exceptions: [saṁkhyā]: pañcā-nām nimittam saṁ-yogá-h/utpātá-h = pāñca+kaN (22) = pāñca-ka-h; similarly [parimāṇa]: prasthá+ṭhaN̄ (57) = prástṭh-ika-h and [ásva= ādi]: áśva+ṭhāK = áśvṭh-iká-h.

### 5.1.40 putr-āt=cha=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT 39 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] putrá- 'son' [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote the reason/cause in the form of either a connection or a portent 38].

putrá-sya nimitta-m saṁ-yogá-h/utpātá-h = putrá+cha/yàT = putrṭh-īya-h/  
pútrṭh-ya-h.

### 5.1.41 <sup>1</sup>sarva-bhūmí-<sup>2</sup>pr̥thiví bhyām <sup>1</sup>áN<sup>2</sup>aN̄-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áN̄ and aN̄ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarva-bhūmí- 'whole earth' and pr̥thiví 'earth' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'the reason/cause in the form of connection or portent 38].

sarva-bhūmé-r nimittam saṁ-yogá-h/utpātá-h = sarva-bhūmí+áN̄ =  
sārva-bhaumṭh-á-h (7.3.20); pr̥thiví+aN̄ = pāṛthivṭh-a-h.

### 5.1.42 tá-sya=īś-vará-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] áN̄ and aN̄ 41 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 sarva-bhūmí- and pr̥thiví 41 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'its lord or ruler' (īś-vará-h)

The repetition of [tá-sya] in this rule when it was already recurring from 38 above is to block out the meanings indicated in that rule.

*sarva-bhūmē-ḥ/pṛthivī-āḥ* *īś-varā-ḥ* = *sārva-bhaum-ā-ḥ/pārthiv-a-ḥ* (41) 'king, sovereign, emperor'.

#### 5.1.43 tá-tra vid-i-tá iti ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 áÑ and aÑ 41 are respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 *sarva-bhūmī-* and *pṛthivī* 41 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote 'known as' (vid-i-tá iti).

*sarva-bhūm-aú/pṛthivī-ām* *vid-i-tá-ḥ* = *sārva-bhaumā-ḥ/pārthiv-a-ḥ* 'world-renowned'.

#### 5.1.44 <sup>1</sup>loká-<sup>2</sup>sarva-lok-āt=ṭhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *loká-* 'world' and *sarva-loká-* 'entire world' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote 'known therein as' 43].

*lok-é/sarva-lok-é* *vid-i-tá-ḥ* = *loká/sarva-loká+ṭhaÑ* = *laukṇ-ika-/sārva-lauk-ika-* (7.3.20) 'known in the (whole) world'.

#### 5.1.45 tá-sya vāp-á-ḥ

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote 'its field' (vāp-á-ḥ).

*prasthá-sya vāp-á-ḥ* (*kṣétra-m*) = *prasthá+ṭhaÑ* (18) = *prástṇ-ika-m* '(a field) sown with a quantity of seed measuring a *prasthá*'; similarly *drauṇ-ika-m* *kṣétra-m*.

#### 5.1.46 pátr-āt=ṢṭhaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṢṭhaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pátra-* 'a measure of capacity' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote 'its field' 45].

*pátra-sya vāp-á-ḥ* *kṣétra-m* = *pátra+ṢṭhaN* = *pátrṇ-ika-m* '(a field) sown with a quantity of seed measuring a p.' *pátr-ik-ī* (ÑiṢ 4.1.41) *kṣetra-bhak-tí-ḥ* 'part of a field so sown'.

### 5.1.47 *tád a-smín* <sup>1</sup>*vṛd-dhi*=<sup>2</sup>*āyá*-<sup>3</sup>*lābhá*-<sup>4</sup>*sulká*=<sup>5</sup>*upa-dā* *dī-yá-te*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote 'an interest (*vṛddhi*-°), rent (°=*āyá*-°), profit (°-*lābhá*-°), tax (°-*sulká*-°) or bribe (° *upa-dā*) is given (*dī-yá-te*) in it (*a-smín*)'.

*pāñca a-smín vṛd-dhi-h/āyá-h/lābh-á-h/sulká-h/upa-dā dī-yá-te* = *pāñca+kaN*  
(22) = *pāñca-ka-h* 'five pieces given in it'; so also *śatá-m a-smín dī-ya-te* =  
*śatá+thaN/yaT* (21) = *śatá-ika-/śat-ya-*.

### 5.1.48 <sup>1</sup>*pūraṇa*=<sup>2</sup>*ardh-āt*=*ṭhaN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] signifying ordinals (*pūraṇa*-°) and the expression *ardhá*- 'half' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given in it 47].

Exception to [ṭhák 19] and [ṬiṭhaN 25]. *dvi-tīya-h vṛddhi-r ādi-r a-smín dī-yá-te* =  
*dvi-tīya+ṭhaN* = *dvi-tīyā-ika*- 'an operation or transaction in which interest etc.  
is doubled'; Similarly *ārdhā-ika*- 'a deal in which interest etc. is halved'.

### 5.1.49 *bhāg-āt*=*yàT*=*ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT*, in addition to (*ca*) [*ṭhaN* 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *bhāgá*- 'share' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given in it 47].

*bhāg-á-h vṛddhi=ādi-r a-smín dī-yá-te* = *bhāgá+yàT/ṭhaN* = *bhāgā-ya-/bhāgā-ika*-  
'an operation in which interest etc. is halved or divided'.

In 48-9 the words [*ardhá*-], [*bhāgá*-] denote half [*rūpaka*-] according to Kāśikā.

### 5.1.50 *tád*=*hár-a-ti-váh-a-ti*=*ā-vah-a-ti* *bhār-āt*=*vañśa*=*ādi-bhyaḥ*

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaN* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *bhārā*- 'load', co-occurring with the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1].beginning with *vañśá*- 'bamboo' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote 'carries' (*hár-a-ti*), 'conveys' (*váh-a-ti*) or 'brings it' (*ā-vah-a-ti*).

*vaṁśa-bhārā-ñ hār-a-ti/vāh-a-ti/āvah-a-ti = vaṁśa-bhārā+ṭhāK* (19)  
*vāṁśa-bhārṭh-ikā-* ‘who carries/conveys/brings a load of bamboos’.

This rule is also interpreted as: “introduced after the class of nominal stems beginning with *vaṁśa-*, denoting weight [bhār-āt] etc.”, which gives the string: *bhāra-bhūtā-n vaṁśā-n hār-a-ti etc = vaṁśa+ṭhāK = vāṁś-ikā-* yielding the same sense, but a different string.

### 5.1.51 <sup>1</sup>vasnā-<sup>2</sup>dravyā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>ṭhaN-<sup>2</sup>kaN-au

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *ṭhaN* and *kaN* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *vasnā-* ‘salary, wages’ and *dravya-* ‘money’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘carries/conveys, brings it’ 50].

*vasnā-ñ hār-a-ti/vāh-a-ti/āvahati = vasnā+ṭhaN = vāsñṭh-ika-*; *dravya+kaN = dravya-ka-*.

### 5.1.52 <sup>1</sup>sām-bhav-a-ti=<sup>2</sup>áva-har-a-ti-<sup>3</sup>pác-a-ti

[The thirteen taddhitā 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with *ṭhaÑ* 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50] to denote ‘capable of containing’ (*sām-bhav-a-ti*), ‘taking away’ (*áva-har-a-ti*) or ‘cooking’ (*pác-a-ti*).

*prasthá-ñ sām-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti = prasthá+ṭhaÑ* (18) = *prástṭhṭh-ika-* ‘capable of containing/taking/cooking one [prasthá] measure (of grains)’; *prasthá-ñ pác-a-ti brāhmaṇI = prástṭh-ika+ÑIP* (4.1.15) = *prástṭhikṭh-I* ‘a brahmin lady capable of cooking one prasthá (of grains)’.

### 5.1.53 <sup>1</sup>āḍhaka=<sup>2</sup>ácita-<sup>3</sup>pátr-āt kha-ḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitā 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *āḍhaka-*, *ácita-* and *pátra-* ‘names of measures of capacity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50 to denote ‘capable of containing/taking away/cooking’ 52].

*āḍhaka-ñ sām-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti = āḍhaka+ṭhaÑ* (18)/*kha = āḍhak-ika-/ṭhikI f./āḍhakṭh-īna-* (ṭhīnā f. 4.1.4) ‘capable of holding/taking away/cooking one āḍ.’; similarly: *ácit-ika-/ácit-īna-*; *pátr-ika-/pátr-īna-*.

### 5.1.54 dvig6-s=ṢṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]ṢṭhaN in addition to (ca) [kha is optionally 53 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound [ending in 1.1.72 ādhaka-, ācita or pātra- 53, ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘capable of containing/taking away/cooking’ 51].

With reference to the affixes [kha 55, ṢṭhaN 54] operation of [luK] introduced by 28 above is blocked, while it governs the affix [ṭhaÑ 18].

*dvya-ādhakā-m sám-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti* = *dvya-ādhakā+ṢṭhaN/kha/ṭhaÑ→luK* (28) = *dvya-ādhak0-ika-/dvya-ādhak0-īna-/dvya-ādhakā-‘capable of containing/taking away/cooking 2 ādhaka-s’, the corresponding fem. forms being dvya-ādhak-ikf* (4.1.41), *dvya-ādhak-īnā* (4.1.4), *dvya-ādhakI* (4.1.15).

Similarly the feminine forms for the other two derivatives are: *dvya-ācit-ikf*, *dvya-ācit-īnā*, *dvya-ācit-f*; *dvi-pātr-ikf*, *dvi-pātr-īnā*, *dvi-pātr-f*.

### 5.1.55 kulij-āt=<sup>1</sup>luK-<sup>2</sup>kh-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] luK (0<sup>1</sup>) and kha are also (ca) optionally 53 introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kulija- ‘name of a measure’ [occurring at the end of a Dvigú compound 54 and terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 50 to denote ‘capable of holding, taking away or cooking’ 52 in addition to affix 3.1.1 ṢṭhaN 54].

Since the option applies also to luK, 28 above becomes optional with reference to a Dvigú ending in [-kulija-] and consequently four forms result: *dvé kulij-e sám-bhav-a-ti/áva-har-a-ti/pác-a-ti* = *dvi0+kulijá+ṢṭhaN/kha/ṭhaÑ→luK* (18,28)/*ṭhaÑ* (18) = *dvi-kulij0-ik-f/dvi-kulij-īnā-/dvi-kulij-ā/dvaI-kulij-ikI* ‘capable of holding, taking away or cooking 2 kulija-s’.

### 5.1.56 sá-ḥ=a-syá=<sup>1</sup>ámśa-<sup>2</sup>vasná-<sup>3</sup>bhṭay-ah

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-ḥ) to denote his (a-syá) share (ámśa-ḥ), price (vasná-) or salary (bhṭi-).

*pāñca ámśa-ḥ/vasná-m/bhṭi-r a-syá* = *pāñca+kaN* (22) = *pāñca-ka-ḥ* ‘whose share, price or salary is five pieces’.



### 5.1.57 tād a-syá pari-māṇa-m

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with thaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tād) to denote its (a-syá) measure (pari-māṇa-m).

*prasthá-h pari-māṇa-m a-syá = prasthá+thaÑ (18) = prāsthθ-ika-h rāsī-h* 'a heap measuring one prastha'; *khārī pari-māṇa-m a-syá = khārī+ikaN = khārθ-ika-h* (33); *śatá+yaT/thaN (21) = śat-ya-h/śāt-ika-h*.

### 5.1.58 samkhyā-y-āḥ <sup>1</sup>saṃjñā-<sup>2</sup>saṃghá-<sup>3</sup>sūtra-<sup>4</sup>adhy-áy-ane-ṣu

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with thaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a numeral (saṃ-khyā), [designating measures and ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 57] to denote its name (saṃ-jñā), group (saṃghá), aphorism (sūtra) or study (adhy-áy-ana).

1. saṃ-jñā: *pāñca eva = pāñca+kaN (22) = pāñca-kā-h* 'the five' (śakúnay-aḥ birds)'.  
2. saṃ-ghá: *pāñca pari-māṇa-m a-syá = pāñca-kā-h* 'a collection of five'.  
3. sūtra: *aṣṭ-aú adhy-áy-āḥ pari-māṇa-m a-syá sūtra-sya=aṣṭa-ka-m* 'another name for Pāṇini's sūtra-s'.  
4. adhy-áy-ana: *aṣṭa-ka-h adhi-tá-h* 'studied eight times'.

### 5.1.59 <sup>1</sup>pañktí-<sup>2</sup>vimśátí-<sup>3</sup>triṃśát-<sup>4</sup>catvāriṃśát-<sup>5</sup>pañcāśát-<sup>6</sup>ṣaṣṭí-<sup>7</sup>saptatí=<sup>8</sup>aṣṭí-<sup>9</sup>navatí-<sup>10</sup>śatá-m

The expressions pañk-tí- 'n. of a metre', vimśá-ti- '20', triṃśát- '30', catvāriṃśát- '40', pañcāśít- '50', ṣaṣṭí- '60', saptatí- '70', aṣṭí- '80', nava-tí- '90' and śatá- '100' are introduced [as derived with various affixes [ti, śat and ta] to denote 'its measure' 58].

*pāñca pari-māṇa-m a-syá = pañcan+ti = pañcθθ+ti = pañk-tí-; dv-aú daśát=au pari-māṇa-m a-syá = vin+śátí = vim-śati-; similarly for other forms which are introduced as finished expressions by a process called [nipātana] since framing individual rules will increase the number of statements.*

### 5.1.60 <sup>1</sup>pañcat=<sup>2</sup>daśát-au varg-e vā

The expressions pañcát- ‘consisting of 5’ and daśát ‘consisting of 10’ are optionally (vā) introduced [to denote ‘its measure’ 57] to designate a class (varg-e).

*pañcan+Dāti = pañcθθ-át/pānca-ka-h vārga-h* ‘a class of 5’; similarly  
*daś-át/dáśa-ka-h vārga-h*.

### 5.1.61 saptán-aḥ=aÑ chāndas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced, in the domain of Chāndas, [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] saptán- ‘7’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘its measure’ 57 to designate a class 60].

*saptá pari-māna-m e-śám vārgā-n-ām = śapta+aÑ = śáptθ-a-* in *saptá śáptā-n-i=a-erj-a-t* ‘he created seven classes each consisting of seven’.

### 5.1.62 <sup>1</sup>triṁśát=<sup>2</sup>catvāriṁśat-or brāhmaṇ-é saṁjñā-y-ām DáN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] DáN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] triṁśát- ‘thirty’ and catvāriṁśát- ‘forty’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘its measure’ 57] when designating a Brāhmaṇá (text).

The locative [brāhmaṇ-é] in this rule is not indicative of domain (viśaya-saptamī) but of sense only (abhi-dheya-saptamī) and therefore signifies both the Brāhmaṇá and secular texts.

*triṁśát adhy-āy-āḥ pari-māna-m e-śám brāhmaṇā-n-ām = triṁśat+DáN+Śi=*  
*traiṁśθθ-ā-n-i brāhmaṇā-n-i* ‘a Br. text consisting of 30 chapters’; similarly  
*cātvāriṁś-ā-n-i brāhmaṇā-n-i*.

### 5.1.63 tád árh-a-ti

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with thaÑ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘deserves it’ (árh-a-ti).

*śveta-cchatrá-m árh-a-ti = śveta-cchatrá+tháK (19) = śvaṭṭa-cchatrθ-iká=h* ‘who deserves a white umbrella’; *śatá-m árh-a-ti = śata+thaN/yaT (21) śátθ-ika-h/*  
*śátθ-ya-h* ‘deserving a hundred pieces’.

### 5.1.64 chéda=ādi-bhyaḥ nītyam

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhaÑ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with chéda- ‘cutting off’ and [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 83] necessarily (nītya-m) [‘deserves it’ 63].

*chéda-m nīty-am árḥ-a-ti = chéda+ṭháK = haidṭ=iká-h* ‘who necessarily deserves mutilation’.

### 5.1.65 śīrṣa-cched-āt=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT, in addition to (ca) [ṭháK 19 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śīrṣa-cchedá- ‘decapitation’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 63 to denote ‘necessarily deserves it’ 63].

*śīrṣa-cchedá-m nītya-m árḥ-a-ti = śīrṣa-cchedá+yàT/ṭháK = śīrṣa-cchedṭ-yà-h/śairṣa-cchedṭ-iká-h* ‘necessarily deserving decapitation’.

### 5.1.66 daṇḍá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 65 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with daṇḍá- ‘punishment’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘deserves it’ 63].

The reading of this sūtra is according to Kāśikā and Siddhānta-kaumudī; Boehtlingk and Renou have [daṇḍādibhyo yaḥ] instead, but the accentuation of certain accented words thus formed denote affix [yàT] instead, and it is also confirmed by Patañjali on 3.1.92 (2) where he confirms the introduction of [yàT] after [han-] with optional replacement of the verbal stem by [vadhá-], which is included in this class. Besides this, the three other words in this class are: *śbh-ya-*, *gúh-ya-*, *médh-ya-*.

*daṇḍá-m árḥ-a-ti = daṇḍa+yàT = dāṇḍṭ-ya-h* ‘who deserves punishment’; *vadhá-m árḥ-a-ti = vādh-ya-h* ‘deserves death’.

Note: there is the reading [yàT] in the place of [yá] recorded by Boehtlingk and Renou; the repetition of this word here when it is already available from the preceding sūtra is to block out the recurrence of [nītya-m] from 69.

### 5.1.67 chāndas-i ca

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 65 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘deserves it’ 63].

Exception to the remaining twelve affixes beginning with  $\text{ṭhaN}$  18.

$\text{udaká-m árh-anti} = \text{udaká+yàT+Jas} = \text{udakθ-y-āh}$ ;  $\text{yápa-m árh-a-ti} = \text{yápθ-ya-h}$   
 $\text{palāśá-h}$  ‘p. which deserves to be used as a sacrificial post’.

### 5.1.68 $\text{pātr-āt=ghaN=ca}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $\text{ghaN}$  is introduced, in addition to (ca) [yàT 65 after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $\text{pātra-}$  ‘vessel’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘deserves it’ 63].

$\text{pātra-m árh-a-ti} = \text{pātra+ghaN/yàT} = \text{pātrθ-ya-h/pātrθ-ya-h}$  ‘worthy or fit to partake of a meal’.

### 5.1.69 $\text{kadañkará-dákṣiṇ-āt=cha ca}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $\text{cha}$  as well as (ca) [yàT 65 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.4]  $\text{kadañkará-}$  ‘stalks of pulses’ and  $\text{dákṣiṇā}$  ‘fees, gratuity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘deserves it’ 63].

$\text{kadañkará-m árh-a-ti} = \text{kadañkará+cha/yàT} = \text{kadañkarθ-śya-h} / \text{kadañkarθ-yà-h}$   
 $\text{gau-h}$  ‘a bull worthy of being fed with straw’ and similarly  $\text{dákṣiṇā-m árh-a-ti} =$   
 $\text{dákṣiṇā+cha/yàT}$   $\text{dákṣiṇθ-śya-h/dákṣiṇθ-yà-h}$  ‘deserving gratuity’.

### 5.1.70 $\text{sthālī-bil-āt}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1  $\text{cha}$  69 and yàT 65 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $\text{sthālī-bilá-}$  ‘interior or hollow of a cooking vessel’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘deserves it’ 63].

$\text{sthālī-bilá-m árh-a-ti} = \text{sthālī-bilá+cha/yàT} = \text{sthālī-bilθ-śya-/sthālī-bilθ-ya-}$  ‘(a dish) worthy of being cooked within the cooking vessel’.

### 5.1.71 ${}^1\text{yajñá=}{}^2\text{ṛtv-śg-bhyām} {}^1\text{gha-}{}^2\text{khaN-au}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1]  $\text{gha}$  and  $\text{khaN}$  are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $\text{yajñá-}$  ‘sacrifice’ and  $\text{ṛtv-śj-}$  ‘n. of an officiating priest’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘deserves it’ 63].

$\text{yajñá-m árh-a-ti} = \text{yajñá+gha} = \text{yajñθ-śya-h}$  ‘worthy of performing a sacrifice’;  
 $\text{ṛtv-śj-am árh-a-ti} = \text{ṛtv-śj+khaN} = \text{ártviśj-ma-}$  ‘worthy of officiating as a  $\text{ṛtv-śj}$ ’.

### 5.1.72 pāṛāyaṇa-turāyaṇa-cāndrāyaṇā-m̐ vart-áy-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pāṛāyaṇa- ‘reading through’, turāyaṇa- ‘n. of a sacrifice’ and cāndrāyaṇā- ‘fast regulated by the phase of the moon’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet] to denote ‘performs’ (vart-áy-a-ti).

*pāṛāyaṇa-m̐/turāyaṇa-m̐/cāndrāyaṇā-m̐ vart-áy-a-ti = pāṛāyaṇθ-ika-h̐/  
taúrāyaṇ-ika-h̐/cāndrāyaṇ-ika-h̐* ‘who reads through a full text/performer of the  
T. sacrifice/observer of the C. fast’.

### 5.1.73 saṁ-śay-ám ā-panna-h̐

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] saṁ-śay-á- ‘doubt’ [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote ‘fallen into’ (ā-pan-na-h̐).

*saṁ-śay-á-m̐ ā-pan-na-h̐ = saṁ-śay-á+ṭhaÑ = sām-śayθ-ika-h̐* ‘doubtful,  
uncertain’.

### 5.1.74 yójana-m̐ gácch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] yójana- ‘n. of a unit of distance’ [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote ‘goes, covers, traverses’ (gácch-a-ti).

*yójana-m̐ gácch-a-ti = yójana+ṭhaÑ = yaújanθ-ika-h̐* ‘who covers a distance of one  
yojana’.

### 5.1.75 path-áh=ŠkaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ŠkaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] páthin- ‘path’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘goes, covers’ 74].

*pánthā-n-am̐ gácch-a-ti = páthin+ŠkaN = páthiθ-ka-h̐ ( ‘-kṛ f. 4.1.41) ‘way-farer’.*

### 5.1.76 pánth-o Ná nṛtya-m̐

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 páthin-, ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 74] to denote

‘necessarily (nītya-m) [goes or covers’ 74] and the substitute pānth-replaces the [whole 1.1.55] stem.

*pānthān-am nītya-m gacch-a-ti* = *pāthin+ñá* = *pānth-á-h* ‘who necessarily travels a road each day, an almsman’.

### 5.1.77 ut-tara-path-éna=ā-hṛ-ta-m ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhañ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *ut-tara-path-á-* ‘northern route’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote ‘brought or conveyed through it’ (*ā-hṛ-ta-m*) in addition to (*ca*) [goes or travels by it 74].

*ut-tara-path-éna ā-hṛ-ta-m* = *ut-tara-pathá+ṭhañ* = *auṭ-tara-path-ika-m* ‘brought via the northern route’; *uttara-path-éna gacch-a-ti* = *auṭ-tara-path-ika-h* ‘a traveler going via the northern route’.

### 5.1.78 kāl-āt

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhañ 18 onwards are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting time (*kāl-āt*) in the section beginning here and extending up to 96 inclusive below.

This is a governing rule (*adhi-kār-á*) and the word [*kāl-āt*] will recur in all the subsequent rules of this section.

### 5.1.79 t-éna nír-vṛt-ta-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhañ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) to denote ‘accomplished within it’ (*nír-vṛt-ta-m*).

*āhn-ā nír-vṛt-ta-m* = *āhan+ṭhañ* = *āhñn-ika-m* (6.4.134) ‘to be completed or accomplished within a day’; similarly *ṣaṇ-mās-ika-m/ārdha-mās-ika-m* ‘accomplished in six months/a fortnight’.

### 5.1.80 tám ādhīṣṭa-h bhṛ-tá-h=bhū-tá-h=bhāvī

[The thirteen taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with ṭhañ 18 are introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tá-m*) to denote the senses of (1)

invited to teach (ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ), hired (bhṛ-tá-ḥ), lasted (bhú-tá-ḥ) or will last (bhāvī).

*māsa-m ádhīṣ-ṭa-ḥ/bhṛ-tá-ḥ/bhú-tá-ḥ/bhāv-f* = *māsa+ṭhaÑ* (18) = *māsθ-ika-ḥ* = *adhy-āp-aka-ḥ/karma-kārd-ḥ/vy-ādh-i-ḥ/ut-sav-ā-ḥ* '(a) invited to teach for a month; (b) hired for a month; (c) lasted for a month; (d) will last for a month'.

### 5.1.81 mās-āt=váyas-i 'yàT-<sup>2</sup>kh-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mās- 'month' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' (bhū-ta-ḥ) 80] to designate age (váyas-i).

Though the meaning conditions of 80 recur in the succeeding rules, here only the third meaning is pertinent.

*māsa-m bhū-tá-ḥ* = *māsa+yàT/kha* = *māsθ-ya-ḥ/mās-īna-ḥ* 'one month old (= born a month back)'.

### 5.1.82 dvigó-r yaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound [ending in 1.1.72 the time-word 78 mās- 'month' 81 and terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' 80 to designate age 81].

*dv-au mās-au bhū-tá-ḥ* = *dviθ+māsá+yaP* = *dvi-māsθ-yá-ḥ* 'aged two months'.

### 5.1.83 ṣaṇ-mās-āt=NyàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] NyàT, in addition to (ca) [yaP 72 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ṣaṇ-māsá- 'six months' [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'born' 80 to designate 'age' 81].

*ṣaṇ-māsa-m bhū-tá-ḥ* = *ṣaṇ-māsá+NyàT/yaP* = *ṣāṇ-māsθ-yá-ḥ* / *ṣaṇ-mās-yá-ḥ* 'aged six months'; with the governing affix [ṭhaÑ 18] which is covered by [ca] also: *ṣāṇ-mās-ika-ḥ*.

### 5.1.84 á-vayas-i ṭhaN=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaN, in addition to (ca) [NyàT 83 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 ṣaṇ-māsá- 'six months' 83 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'lasted' 80] when not designating age (á-vayas-i).

*ṣaṭ=māsā-n bhū-tá-h* = *ṣaṇ-māsá+thaN/NyàT* = *ṣán-māsθ-ika-h* / *ṣāṇ-mās-yā-h*  
(*roga-h*) ‘(a malady) which has lasted six months’.

### 5.1.85 sámā-y-āḥ kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sámā* ‘year’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last’ 80].

*sámā-m ádhīṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-ṭá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-ī* = *sámā+kha* = *samθ-īna-h* ‘invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last for a year’.

### 5.1.86 dvigó-r vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 85] is optionally (*va*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sámā* ‘year’ 85 occurring at the end of 1.1.72] a Dvigú compound [terminating in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last’ 80 and ‘accomplished’ 79].

Beginning here and extending up to 93 below the meaning conditions prescribed in 79 and 80 recur in each sūtra.

The option is with reference to the governing affix [thaN̄].

*dv-é sám-e nír-vṛt-ta-h/ádhiṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-ṭá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-ī* *vā dvi-samā+thaN̄/kha* = *dvaí-samθ-ika-h/dvi-samθ-īna-h* ‘accomplished/invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last two years’.

### 5.1.87 <sup>1</sup>rātri=<sup>2</sup>áha(n)-<sup>3</sup>saṁ-vatsar-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 85 is optionally 86 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *rātri-* ‘night’, *áhan-* ‘day’ and *saṁ-vatsará-* ‘year’ [occurring as final members of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote ‘accomplished 79, invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last’ 80].

The option is with reference to the governing affix [thaN̄ 18].

*dvā-bhyām rātri-bhyām nír-vṛt-ta-h, dv-é rātr-ī ádhīṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-ṭá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-ī* *vā* = *dvi-ratrí+thaN̄/kha* = *dvaí-rātrθ-ika-h/dvi-rātrθ-īna-h* ‘accomplished within, or invited to teach/hired/lasted/will last two nights’.

Similarly: *dvaíy-ahn-ika-h* (7.3.3)/*dv-y-ah-īna-h* (6.4.134); *dvi-sām-vatsar-ika-h* (7.3.15)/*dvi-sām-vatsar-īna-h*.



### 5.1.88 varṣ-āt=luK ca

luK (=Ø<sup>1</sup>) optionally 86 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 or kha 85 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1' varṣá- 'year' [forming the final member of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished within 79 or invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80].

*dvá-bhyām varṣá-bhyām nír-vṛt-ta-h, dv-aú varṣ-aú ádhṛṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-tá-h/  
bhū-ta-h/vā = dvi-varṣá+ṭhaÑ/kha/→luk = dvi-vārṣØ-ika-h (7.3.16)/  
dvi-varṣ-īṇa-h/dvi-varṣá-h* 'accomplished within two years, or invited to  
teach/hired/lasted'

*\*bhāv-I : dvaḥ-varṣ-ika-h [+ṭhaÑ 18] (7.3.16).*

### 5.1.89 citta-vát-i nítya-m

[luk (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 88] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 varṣá- 'year' 88 forming a final member of a Dvigú compound 86 ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last' 80 or in the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished by' 79] to designate an animate item (citta-vát-i).

*dv-aú varṣ-aú ádhṛṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-tá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-I vā, dvá-bhyām varṣá-bhyām  
nír-vṛt-ta-h = dvi-varṣá+Ø<sup>1</sup> = dvi-varṣá-h (dāraka-h).*

### 5.1.90 śaṣṭi-k-āḥ śaṣṭi-rātr-éna pac-y-ánte

The expression śaṣṭi-ka- is introduced to denote the sense of 'ripened in sixty nights' (śaṣṭi-rātr-éna pac-y-ánte).

By interpretation affix kaN is introduced after the Dvigú compound [śaṣṭi-rātr-á] with Ø replacement of [°rātra-]: *śaṣṭi-rātr-éna pac-y-ánte = śaṣṭi-Ø+kaN = śaṣṭi-ka-* 'name of a particular type of rice (ripening in 60 nights)'.

### 5.1.91 vatsará=ant=āt=cha-s=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vatsará- 'year' occurring as a final member (°-ant-āt of a compound) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to denote 'invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last 80 or in the third sUP triplet to denote 'accomplished with' 79].

*id-vatsará-m/idā-vatsará-m ádhīṣ-ṭa-h/bhṛ-tá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-ī, id-vatsar-éna/  
idā-vatsar-éna nīr-vṛt-taḥ = id-vatsará/idā-vatsará+cha = id-vatsarṭh-īya-h/  
idā-vatsarṭh-īya-h.*

The words *id-vatsará-/idā-vatsará-* are defined by Padamañjarī as *pañca-varṣ-é  
yug-é dváy-or varṣáy-oḥ samjñī-e* ‘one of the names given to two single years in a  
period of five years’.

### 5.1.92 <sup>1</sup>sám-<sup>2</sup>pári-pūrv-āt kha ca

[In the domain of Chándas 91 the *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kha* in ad-  
dition to (ca) [*cha* 91 is introduced after 3.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1  
*vatsará-* ‘year’ 91] co-occurring with the preverbs *sám-°* and *pári-°* as  
prior members (*°-pūrv-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet to  
denote ‘invited to teach, hired, lasted or will last’ 80 or the third sUP  
triplet to denote ‘accomplished within’ 79].

*sam-vatsará-/pari-vatsará+kha/cha = samvatsarṭh-īna-h/°-īya-h;  
pari-vatsar-īna-h/°-īya-h; cf. preceding sūtra for sense.*

### 5.1.93 t-éna <sup>1</sup>pari-jáy-ya-<sup>2</sup>lábh-ya-<sup>3</sup>kár-ya-<sup>4</sup>su-kár-am

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a  
nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (*t-éna*) to  
denote ‘to be conquered (*pari-jáy-ya-*), gained (*lábh-ya-*), accomplished  
(*kár-ya-*) or easily achieved (*su-kár-am*)’.

*mās-ena pari-jáy-ya-h/lábh-ya-h/kár-ya-h/su-kár-am = māsa+ṭhaÑ = māsṭh-ika-h  
‘to be conquered, gained, accomplished or easily achieved within a month’.*

### 5.1.94 tád a-syá brahma-cár-ya-m

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ṭhaÑ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a  
nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (*tád*) to  
denote ‘this is the duration of his (*a-syá*) practice of abstinence’  
(*brahma-cárya-m*).

*māsa-m brahma-cárya-m a-syá = māsa+ṭhaÑ = māsṭh-ika-h* ‘who practises con-  
tinence for a period of one month’.

An alternate interpretation is: the affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after a time-word (78)  
ending in the first sUP triplet (*tád*) to denote ‘this is his period of continence’:  
*māsa-h a-syá brahma-cárya-sya = mās-ika-m* ‘the period of his continence is  
one month’.

### 5.1.95 tá-sya ca dákṣiṇā yajñá=ākhye-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1  $\text{ṭha}\tilde{N}$  18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] designating names of sacrifices (yajña=ākhye-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote ‘this is his gratuity or sacrificial fee (dákṣiṇā)’.

*agni-ṣtomá-sya dákṣiṇā = agni-ṣtomá+ṭha\tilde{N} = ágni-ṣtomθ-ik-I* (4.1.15) ‘sacrificial fee for the A. sacrifice’. Similarly *vāja-pey-ikI, rája-sūy-ikI* etc.

### 5.1.96 tá-tra ca dī-yá-te kār-yà-m bhav-a-vát

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 which is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising a time-word 78 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote ‘is given in that’ (dī-yá-te) or ‘is to be done therein (kār-yà-m) is the same as that introduced to denote a state or condition (bhav-a-vát 4.3.53ff.).

*mās-ε dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m = mās+ṭha\tilde{N}* (4.3.11) = *māsθ-ika-m* ‘what is given or to be done in a month’ as in the case of *mās-ε bháv-a-m* (4.3.53).

### 5.1.97 vy-ùṣṭa=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $\acute{a}N$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vy-ùṣṭa- ‘dawn’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘it is given or done in that’ 96].

*vy-ùṣ-ṭ-ε dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m vā = vy-ùṣ-ṭa+áN = vaiy-uṣ-ṭá-m* (7.3.3) ‘what is given or to be done at dawn’.

### 5.1.98 t-éna<sup>1</sup>yathā-kathā-cá-<sup>2</sup>hástā-bhyāṁ <sup>1</sup>Ná-<sup>2</sup>yàT-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1]  $\acute{N}á$  and  $yàT$  are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yathā-kathā-cá ‘in any manner’ and hásta- ‘hand’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) [to denote ‘is given or to be done 96] by it’.

*yathā-kathā-cá dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m vā = yathā-kathā-cá+Ná = yāthā-kathā-cθ-á-m* ‘is given or to be done in any manner or somehow’; *hást-ena dī-yá-te/kār-yà-m vā = hásta+yàT = hástθ-ya-m* ‘is given or to be done by hand’.

### 5.1.99 sam-pād-ín-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1  $\ddot{t}ha\ddot{N}$  18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 98] to denote 'is fit or suitable for' (sam-pād-ín-i).

*kārṇa-veṣṭakā-bhyām sam-pād-i = kārṇa-veṣṭakā+ $\ddot{t}ha\ddot{N}$  = kārṇa-veṣṭakṇ-ika-m* '(a face) fit for earrings'.

### 5.1.100 <sup>1</sup>kārma(n)-<sup>2</sup>vēṣ-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kārman- 'action' and vēṣa- 'costume' [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote 'is fit or suitable for it' 99].

*kārmaṇ-ā sam-pād-i = kārman+yàT = karmaṇ-yà-m (śārīra-m) (6.4.168)* '(body) fit for activity'; *vēṣeṇa sam-pād-i = vēṣa+yàT = vēṣṇ-ya-h (nata-h)* '(an actor) fit for (wearing) costumes'.

### 5.1.101 tá-smai prá-bhav-a-ti sam-tāpá=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1  $\ddot{t}ha\ddot{N}$  18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sam-tāpá- 'penitence' [ending in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (tá-smai) to denote 'is equal to or capable of' (prá-bhav-a-ti).

*sam-tāpá-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = sam-tāpá+ $\ddot{t}ha\ddot{N}$ =sām-tāpṇ-ika-* 'capable of heating or warming up'; similarly *sam-grāmá-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = sām-grām-ika-h* 'capable of fighting'.

### 5.1.102 yóga-āt=yàT=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT, in addition to (ca) [ $\ddot{t}ha\ddot{N}$  18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] yóga- 'union' [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote 'is equal to or capable of' 101].

*yógā-ya prá-bhav-a-ti = yóga+yàT/ $\ddot{t}ha\ddot{N}$  = yógaḥ-ya-/yauḡṇ-ika-* 'capable of attaining union'.

### 5.1.103 kármaṇ-aḥ=ukaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ukaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kárman- ‘action, activity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘is equal to or capable of’ 101].

*kármaṇ-e prá-bhav-a-ti = kárman+ukaÑ = kárm00-uka-m* (6.4 144) ‘n.pr. of a bow (lit. capable of action)’.

### 5.1.104 samayá-s tád a-syá prā-p-ta-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] samayá- ‘opportune moment’ [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘has arrived for it’ (a-syá pr-āp-ta-m).

*samayá-h pr-āp-ta-h a-syá = samayá+thaÑ = sámay00-ika-m (kār-yā-m)* ‘(an action) for which the opportune moment has arrived’.

### 5.1.105 ṛtú-r áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ṛtú- ‘season’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘has arrived for it’ 104].

*ṛtú-h pr-āp-ta-h a-syá = ṛtú+áN = ārtav-ā-m (púspā-m)* ‘seasonal (flower)’.

### 5.1.106 chándas-i ghaS

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ghaS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 ṛtú- ‘season’ 105 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘has arrived for it’ 104].

*ay-ám te yóni-r ṛtv-íya-h* (RV 3.29.10) = *ṛtú-h pr-āpta-h a-syá (ṛtú+ghaS)* ‘seasonal’. The marker [S] of the affix indicates that the stem before it is a padá (1.4.16) and therefore blocks the operation of 6.4.146.

### 5.1.107 kāl-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kālā- ‘time’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘has arrived for it’ 104].

*kālā-h pr-āp-ta-h a-syá = kālā+yàT = kál00-ya-h (tāpīḥ)* ‘(heat) occurring in proper time, seasonal’.

### 5.1.108 pra-kṛṣ-t-é thaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 kálá- 'time'<sup>107</sup> ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104] signifying 'long-standing' (pra-kṛṣ-t-é) [to denote 'its' (a-syá) 104].

*pra-kṛṣ-tá-h = dīrghá-h kálá-h a-syá = kálá+thaÑ = kálθ-ika-m (ṛdā-m) 'long-standing (debt)'*.

### 5.1.109 pra-yój-ana-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] thaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104] to denote [its 104] 'purpose, object, or proper occasion' (pra-yój-ana-m).

*indra-mahá-h pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = indra-mahá+thaÑ = aindra-mahθ-ika-m 'whose object, purpose or proper occasion is the festival in honor of Indra'.*

### 5.1.110 <sup>1</sup>vi-śākhā=<sup>2</sup>aṣādh-āt áN <sup>1</sup>manthá-<sup>2</sup>daṇḍáy-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] víśākhā and a-ṣādh-ā 'names of asterisms' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109 to signify respectively 1.3.10] a churning stick (manthá°) and a staff (°daṇḍáy-oḥ).

*vi-śākhā pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = vi-śākhā+áN = vai-śākhθ-á-h manthá-h 'a churning stick used on the occasion of V.'* Similarly *a-ṣādh-á-h daṇḍa-h 'a staff carried by an ascetic on the occasion of Pūrvāṣādhā'.*

### 5.1.111 anu-pra-vác-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ=cha-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with anu-pra-vác-ana- 'repetition of a Vedic passage' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109].

*anu-pra-vác-ana-m pra-yój-ana-m a-syá = anu-pra-vác-ana+cia = anu-pra-vac-anθ-fya-m 'whose object, purpose or proper occasion is repetition of a Vedic passage'.*

### 5.1.112 sam-āp-an-āt sá-pūrva-pad-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 111 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sam-āp-ana- ‘accomplishment, achievement’ co-occurring with a prior member (in composition: sá-pūrva-pad-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 104 to denote its 104 object, purpose or proper occasion 109].

*chandaḥ-sam-āp-anā-m pra-yóḥ-ana-m a-syá* = *chandaḥ-sam-āp-anā+cha* = *chandaḥ-sam-āp-anḥ-īya-m* ‘whose object, purpose or occasion is the achievement of the study of Chándas’.

### 5.1.113 aīkāgārikaṬ caur-é

The irregular expression aīkāgārika-(Ṭ) is introduced to denote a thief (caur-é) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18].

*ekāgāra-m pra-yóḥ-ana-m a-syá* = *ekāgārā+ṭhaÑ* = *aīkāgāra-ika-* (literally) ‘whose object is an empty house (eka+agāra)’ = a thief. This rule has been contradicted by the Vārttika-kārá and Patañjali since they accept the position that the word has the udātta accent on the first syllable. Others indicate the irregularity in confining the meaning to a thief only, while a third view of interpretation holds that the affix is [ikaṬ] with irregular vṛddhi of the initial syllable \*aikāgar-ika-, and the marker[Ṭ] then provides for the feminine form \*aikāgār-īk-I (4.1.15) while [ṭhaÑ] yields *aīkāgār-ik-I* (4.1.15).

### 5.1.114 ā-kāl-ika-Ṭ=ādy-antā-vac-an-e

The (unusual) expression ākalikaṬ is introduced to denote beginning and end (of an action: an instantaneous action) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 18 by 109 above].

This rule also is contradicted by the Vārttikakārá, but Patañjali tries to justify it by indicating that the expression [samāna-kālā-] is the original stem which is irregularly replaced by [ā-kāla- = ā-vṛtta-kāla-]; the unusualness of the expression is with respect to its meaning only. Some interpreters (including Kās) posit, as in 112, the affix [ikaṬ] and both Vārt. and Bhās. add another affix [ṭhaN].

*samāna-kāl-aú ādy-ant-aú a-syá* = *ākāla+ṭhaÑ/(ṭhaN)* = *ā-kāl-ik-I/(ā-kāl-ik-ā)* = *vi-dyút* ‘(lightning which is) momentary or instantaneous’; *ā-kāl-ika-h* = *stan-ay-ītnu-h* ‘(thunder which is) instantaneous’ (= having the beginning and ending at the same moment). The difference between the two affixes is with reference to feminine forms only. If [ikaṬ] is regarded as the affix in question the form would be: *ā-kāl-īka- (m.)/-ik-I*.

### 5.1.115 t-éna túl-ya-m̐ kriyā́ céd vátī-h̐

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátī is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote only an action similar to that (t-éna túl-ya-m̐ céd).

*brāhmaṇ-éna túl-ya-m̐ vát-a-te = brāhmaṇa-vát 'like a Br.'*

### 5.1.116 tá-tra tá-sya=iva

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátī 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) or in the sixth (tá-sya) to denote the meanings associated with iva 'like, similar'.

1. *mathurā-y-ām iva = mathurā-vát 'as in Mathura'.*
2. *deva-dattá-sya iva = deva-datta-vát 'like Devadatta's'.*

### 5.1.117 tád arh-á-m̐

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátī 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tád) to denote 'deserves it' (tád arh-á-m̐).

*rājān-am̐ árha-ti = rājan+vát = rājaṭ-vát (8.1.7) 'deserving the king'.*

### 5.1.118 upa-sárg-āt=chándas-i dhātv-arth-é

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vátī 115 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising pre-verbs (upa-sárg-āt) to denote the meanings of verbal stems (dhātv-arth-é).

*úd+vátī = ud-vát = úd-gatá- 'height, elevation'; similarly ni-vát = ni-gatá- 'depression, declivity'.*

### 5.1.119 tá-sya bhāv-á-h̐=<sup>1</sup>tvá-<sup>2</sup>taL-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tvá and taL are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote its essential state or condition (tá-sya bhāv-á-h̐)

*ásva-sya bhāv-á-h̐ = ásva+tvá/taL = ásva-tvá-/ásvá-tā 'the state, nature or condition of being a horse, horseness'.*



### 5.1.120 á ca tv-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 tvá and taL 119] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] under conditions listed in the subsequent rules up to 136 below. i.e., the end of the pāda[brahmaṇa-s-tvá-ḥ 136].

This rule provides for the introduction of these two affixes (as governing affixes) in addition to those specifically mentioned in each of the succeeding rules.

### 5.1.121 ná náÑ-pūrv-āt tatpuruṣ-āt=a-<sup>1</sup>cátura-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-gatá-<sup>3</sup>lavaṇá-<sup>4</sup>vaṭa-<sup>5</sup>yudhá-<sup>6</sup>kata-<sup>7</sup>rása-<sup>8</sup>láse-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced hereafter] do not occur [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising tatpuruṣa compounds co-occurring with the privative particle náÑ as a prior member (°-pūrv-āt) excluding [the nominal stems 4.1.1] cátura- ‘able’, saṁ-ga-tá- ‘harmonious’, lavaṇá- ‘salt’, vaṭa ‘bunyan tree’, yudhá- ‘fighter’, kata- ‘name of a Vedic seer’, rása- ‘taste’ and lása- ‘active’.

There is a variant reading [budhá-] for [yudhá-]. accepted by Boehtlingk and Renou meaning ‘wise man’.

By 128 below affix [yáK] is introduced after a compound stem ending in the word [°-pati-] but the compound náÑ+pati = a-pati- has only two forms to denote its state or condition: a-pati+tvá-m/a-patí-tā. Exceptions stated in this rule are: ā-catur-yá-m, ā-saṁ-gat-yá-m, ā-lavaṇ-yá-m, ā-vaṭ-yá-m, ā-yudh-yá-m/ā-budh-yá-m, ā-kat-yá-m, ā-ras-yá-m and ā-las-yá-m (124).

### 5.1.122 prthú=ādi-bhyaḥ=imániC=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] imániC is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with prthú- ‘broad, wide’ and [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential state or condition 119].

prthó-r bhāv-á-ḥ = prthú+imániC /tvá/taL (119)/áÑ (131) = prathθ-imán- (6.4.161)/prthu-tvá-/prthú-tā/pārthav-á- ‘wideness, expanse’.

### 5.1.123 <sup>1</sup>várṇa-<sup>2</sup>dṛḍhá-ādi-bhyaḥ ŚyaÑ ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ŚyaÑ, in addition to (ca) [imániC 122 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of color words (várṇa-°) and the class of words beginning with dṛḍhá- ‘firm’ [ending in

1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their essential condition or state 119].

1. *śuklā-sya bhāv-á-h* = *śuklā+SyaÑ/ímānīC* = *śavúklθ-ya-m/śukl-ímān-*, *śukla-tvá-m/śuklā-tā* 'whiteness'.
2. Similarly *dārdhθ-ya-m/dṛdha-tvá-m/dṛdhā-tā/dṛdh-ímān-* 'firmness'.

#### 5.1.124 <sup>1</sup>guṇa-vác-ana-<sup>2</sup>brāhmaṇá=ādihyaḥ kármaṇ-i ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 SyaÑ 123 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of qualifying words (guṇa-vác-ana-°) and the class of words beginning with brāhmaṇá- 'brahmin' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 119] to denote 'his function or duty' in addition to (ca) [his essential condition or state 119].

Beginning here, up to the end of this pāda both [bhāv-á 119 and kárman-] denote the significance of forms generated by these rules.

1. *jāḍa-sya bhāv-á-h/kárma vā* = *jāḍa+SyaÑ* = *jādθ-ya-m/jāḍa-tvá-m/jādā-tā jāḍimān-* 'stiffness, inertia'.
2. *brāhmaṇá-sya bhāv-á-h/kárma vā* = *brāhmaṇθ-ya-m/brāhmaṇa-tvá-m/brāhmaṇá-tā* 'state or duty of a brahmin'.

#### 5.1.125 sten-āt=yàT=na-lopa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] stená- 'thief' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote his essential condition or state 119 or his function or duty 124] and θ (lopa) replaces the syllable [na] of the stem.

*stená-sya bhāv-á-h/kárma vā* = *stená+yàT* = *steθθ-ya-* = *sté-ya-m* 'the state or function of a thief'.

#### 5.1.126 sákhy-ur yá-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sákhi- 'friend, companion' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

*sákhy-ur bhāv-á-h/kárma vā* = *sákhi+ya* = *sakhθ-yá-m* 'companionship or its duty/function'.

### 5.1.127 <sup>1</sup>kapí-<sup>2</sup>jñāty-ór ḍháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kapí- ‘ape, monkey’ and jñāti- ‘kin’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its duty/function 124].

*kapé-r bhāv-á-h/kárma vā = kapí+ḍháK = kāpθ-eyá-m* ‘the state or duty of an ape or monkey’; similarly *jñātθ-eyá-m* ‘the state or function of kinship’.

### 5.1.128 <sup>1</sup>pāti=anta-<sup>2</sup>puró-hita=ādi-bhyaḥ=yáK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yáK is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] terminating in °-pāti- (in composition: °-anta-) and the class of words beginning with puró-hita- ‘chaplain’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

1. *senā-paté-r bhāv-á-h/kárma vā = senā-patí+yáK = sainā-patθ-yá-m* ‘the state or function of an army general’.
2. *puró-hita-sya bhā-vá-h/kárma vā = puró-hita+yáK = pauro-hitθ-yá-m* ‘the state or duties of chaplainship’.

### 5.1.129 <sup>1</sup>prāṇa-bhṛt=jāti-<sup>2</sup>vayo-vác-ana=<sup>3</sup>ud-gā-tḥ=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing species of animate beings (prāṇa-bhṛt-jāti-), and those expressing age (°vayo-vác-ana-°) and the class of words beginning with ud-gā-tḥ- ‘chanter’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or duty 124].

1. *ásva-sya bhāv-á-h/kárma vā = ásva+aÑ = ásvθ-a-m* ‘state or function of being a horse’. *kaú-mar-á-m* ‘state or duty of k.’
2. *ud-gā-tú-r bhāv-á-h/kárma vā = ud-gā-tḥ+aÑ = aúd-gā-tr-a-m* ‘state or duties of a chanter’.

### 5.1.130 <sup>1</sup>hāyaná=anta-<sup>2</sup>yúva(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-hāyaná- ‘year’ as final member (°-anta-° in composition) and the class of words beginning with yúvan-

'youth' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its function or duty 124].

1. *dvi-hāyanā-sya bhāv-ā-h kārma vā = dvi-hāyanā+āN = dvai-hāyanθ-ā-m* 'state or activity of two years'.
2. *yūn-aḥ bhāv-ā-h kārma vā = yūvan+āN = yauvan-ā-m* 'state or duties of being a youth'.

### 5.1.131 iK=ant-āt=ca laghú-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áN 130 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme comprised by the siglum iK (= i,u,ɿ,ɿ̃) preceded by a light vowel (laghú-pūrv-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition or state 119 or its duty/function 124].

*śúce-r bhāv-ā-h kārma vā = śúci+āN = śaucθ-ā-m* 'the state or function of being pure', but *kaṇḍā-tvā-m* 'the state or function of itchiness'.

### 5.1.132 ya=upadh-āt=gurú=upottam-āt=vuÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] containing phoneme [y] as penultimate (°-upadh-āt) and a heavy penultimate syllable (gurú=upottam-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its essential condition/state 119 or its duty/function 124].

*ram-añña-sya bhāv-ā-h kārma vā = ram-añña+vuÑ = rām-aññθ-aka-m* 'state or function of beauty, loveliness' but *kṣatriya-tvā-m* 'state or function of being a kṣatriya'.

### 5.1.133 <sup>1</sup>dvaṁdvá-<sup>2</sup>mano-jñá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuÑ 132] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising Dvaṁdvá compounds and the word-class beginning with mano-jñá- 'lovely' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its condition/state 119 or duty/function 124].

1. *go-pāl-a-paśu-pāl-ā-n-ām bhāv-ā-h kārma vā = go-pāla-paśu-pālā+vuÑ = gaú-pāla-paśu-pālθ-ik-ā* (TāP 4.1.4; 7.3.44) 'the state/duties of cowherds and herdsmen'.
2. Similarly *mano-jñá+vuÑ = máno-jñθ-aka-m* 'the state or function of loveliness'.

### 5.1.134 <sup>1</sup>go-trá-<sup>2</sup>cáraṇ-āt <sup>1</sup>ślāghā=<sup>2</sup>aty-ā-kārá-<sup>3</sup>tad-ave-té-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuṆ̄ 132 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting patronymics (gotrá- °) or names designating Vedic schools (°-cáraṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its condition or state 119 or its duties/functions 124] when signifying boasting (ślāghā °), contempt (°-aty-ā-kāra- °) or acquired knowledge (°-tad-av-té-ṣu).

*gārgya-tv-éna ślāgh-a-te = gārgya+vuṆ̄ = gārg~~00~~+aka+TāP* (6.4.148,151; 4.1.4) = *gārg-ik~~0~~-ā* (7.3.44): *gārg-ikay-ā ślāgh-a-te/aty-ā-kur-u-te* ‘boasts as belonging to the G. family / shows contempt to others’. Similarly *gārg-ika-m ave-tá-ḥ* ‘acquired the knowledge of the G. family’.

### 5.1.135 hótrā-bhyas=cha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising cognates of hótrā (names of sacrificial priests) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its state/condition 119 or duty/function 124].

*acchā-vāká-sya bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā = acchā-vāká+cha = acchā-vāk~~0~~-íya-m* ‘state or duty of being an A. priest’.

### 5.1.136 bráhmaṇ-as tvá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tvá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bráhmaṇ- ‘officiating priest’ [forming a cognate of hótrā 135, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its state/condition 119 or duty/function 124].

*bráhmaṇ-aḥ bhāv-á-ḥ kárma vā = bráhmaṇ+tvá = brahm~~0~~-tvá-m* ‘the state or duties of the Bráhmaṇ priest’.

### 5.2.1 dhānyā-n-ām bhāv-an-e kṣétr-e khaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting names of grains (dhānyā-n-ām)[ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet to denote the field (kṣétr-e) in which they are grown (bhāv-an-e).

*mudgā-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣétr-a-m = mudgā+khaÑ = maúdgθ-ma-m* ‘a field in which Mung beans are grown’; similarly *kulattha+khaÑ = kaúlatthθ-mam* ‘a field in which K. grain is grown’.

### 5.2.2 <sup>1</sup>vrīhí<sup>2</sup>sāly-or ḍháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḍháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vrīhí- ‘rice’ and sāli- ‘rice’ [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet [to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

*vrīhí-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣétr-a-m = vrīhí+ḍháK = vraihθ-eyá-m/sālθ-eyá-m* ‘rice field’.

### 5.2.3 <sup>1</sup>yáva-<sup>2</sup>yáva-ka-<sup>3</sup>śáṣṭi-k-āt=yàT

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàT is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yáva-, yáva-ka- ‘barley’ and śáṣṭi-ka- ‘a variety of rice’ (1.90) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

*yávā-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣétr-a-m = yáva+yàT = yávθ-ya-m; yáva-ka+yàT : yáva-k-yà-m* ‘barley field’; similarly *śastikθ-yà-m* ‘rice field’.

### 5.2.4 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>tilá-<sup>2</sup>māṣa=<sup>3</sup>úmā-<sup>4</sup>bhaṅgā-<sup>5</sup>āṇu=bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 3] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tilá- ‘sesamum’, māṣa- ‘Phaseolus Radiatus’, úmā ‘flax’, bhaṅgā ‘hemp’ and āṇu- ‘Panicum Miliatus’ [ending in the sixth sUP triplet to denote fields in which they are grown 1].

*tilā-n-ām bhāv-ana-m kṣétr-a-m = tilá+yàT/khaÑ (1) = tilθ-ya-m/tañθ-ma-m*; similarly: *māṣ-ya-m/māṣ-ma-m; úm-ya-m/aúm-ma-m; bhaṅg-ya-m/bhaṅg-ma-m; āṇav-yà-m/āṇav-ma-m*.

### 5.2.5 sarva-carmāṇ-aḥ kṛ-tá-ḥ <sup>1</sup>kha-<sup>2</sup>khaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kha and khaÑ are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sarva-carmán- ‘entire or whole leather’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote ‘wholly made of’ (kṛ-tá-ḥ).

The word [sarvá-°] here is really connected with the verbal derivative[kṛ-tá-] rather than with [cárman-].

*sarva-carmāṇ-ā kṛ-tá-ḥ = sarva-carmán+kha/khaÑ = sarva-carmṇ-īṇa-ḥ/sárva-carm-īṇa-ḥ* ‘wholly made of leather’.

### 5.2.6 yathā-mukhá- saṁ-mukhá-sya dárś-ana-ḥ kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yathā-mukha-m ‘face to face’ and saṁ-mukha- ‘facing’ [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (°-sya) to denote a mirror or reflecting surface (dárś-ana-ḥ).

*yathā-mukhá-m/saṁ-mukhá-sya dárś-ana-ḥ = yathā+mukhá+kha/saṁ-mukhá+kha = yathā-mukhṇ-īṇa-ḥ/saṁ-mukhṇ-īṇa-ḥ* ‘looking straight at (said of a mirror)’.

### 5.2.7 tát sarvá=āde-ḥ <sup>1</sup>pathi(n)=<sup>2</sup>aṅgá-<sup>3</sup>kárma(n)=<sup>4</sup>páttra-<sup>5</sup>pátra-m vy-āp-no-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] páthin- ‘path’, aṅgá- ‘limb’, kárman- ‘action’, páttra- ‘conveyance’ and pátra- ‘vessel’, co-occurring with sarvá-° as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (tad) to denote ‘covers’ (vy-āp-no-ti).

*sárva-m pánthān-am = sarváṇ-path-a-m* (4.74) *vy-āp-no-ti = sarva=pathṇ-īṇa-ḥ* ‘covering or traversing the whole route’; likewise: *sarvāṅg-īṇa-ḥ* (8.4.2) ‘covering all limbs’; *sarva-karm-īṇa-ḥ* ‘performing all acts’; *sarva-pátr-īṇa-ḥ* ‘occupying the whole conveyance’; *sarva=pátr-īṇa-ḥ* ‘covering the entire vessel’.

### 5.2.8 ā-pra-padá-m pr-āp-no-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ā-pra-padá-m ‘up to the forepart of the foot’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote ‘reaches’ (prāp-no-ti).

*ā-pra-pradá-m pr-āp-no-ti* = *ā-prapadá+kha* = *ā-prapadθ-īna-* ‘reaching up to the forepart of the foot (said of a cloth)’.

### 5.2.9 <sup>1</sup>*anu-padá-sarvā-anna*=<sup>3</sup>*aya=an-ay-ám* <sup>1</sup>*baddhā-bhaks-áy-a-ti*-<sup>3</sup>*néye-ṣu*

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *anu-padá-* ‘length of the foot’, *sarvānna-* ‘all nourishment’ and *ayānayá-* ‘right and left moves in chess’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] ‘bound (*baddhā*), eats (*bhaks-áy-a-ti*) and to be led (*né-ye-ṣu*)’.

1. *anu-padá-m bad-dhā* = *anu-padá+kha* = *anu-padθ-īna-* ‘fitting the foot’;
2. *sarvānna-m bhaks-áy-a-ti* = *sarvānn-īna-* ‘who consumes all the food’;
3. *ayānayá-m né-ya-ḥ* = *ayānayθ-īna-* ‘moving from right to left and from left to right (said of chessmen)’.

### 5.2.10 <sup>1</sup>*parovarā-param-pará*-<sup>3</sup>*putra-pautrá-m ánu-bhav-a-ti*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *parovarā-* ‘higher and lower’, *param-pará-* ‘descendent starting with the greatgrandson’ and *putra-pautra-* ‘son and grandson’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote ‘experiences, enjoys’ (*ánu-bhav-a-ti*).

1. *pārā-n=ca ávarā-n=ca ánu-bhav-a-ti* = *parovara+kha* = *paro-varθ-īna-ḥ* ‘experiencing the higher and lower (generations)’;
2. *pārā-n=ca pára-tarā-n=ca ánu-bhav-a-ti* = *param-pará+kha* = *param-parθ-īna-ḥ* ‘enjoying grandsons and greatgrandsons’;
3. *putra-pautrá-n ánu-bhava-ti* = *putra-pautrθ-īna-ḥ* ‘experiencing the sons and grandsons’.

### 5.2.11 <sup>1</sup>*avāra-pārā*=<sup>2</sup>*aty-antá*=<sup>3</sup>*anu-kāmá-m gām-ī*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kha* 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *avāra-pārā-* ‘this and the opposite banks’, *aty-antá-* ‘absolute, perfect’ and *anu-kāmá-* ‘desire, longing’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7] to denote ‘proposes to go’ (*gām-ī*).

1. *avāra-pārā-m gām-ī* = *avāra-pārā+kha* = *avāra-pārθ-īna-ḥ* ‘who proposes to cover both shores’;



2. *aty-antá-m̐ gām-I* = *aty-antθ-īna-h̐* 'who intends going to the very end'; (c) *anu-kāmθ-īna-h̐* 'who is apt to act as he pleases, self-indulgent'.

### 5.2.12 *samā-m̐-samā-m̐ ví-jā-ya-te*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *samā-m̐-samā-m̐* 'year by year, every year' to denote 'gives birth to' (*ví-jā-ya-te*).

*samā-m̐-samā-m̐ ví-jā-ya-te* = *samā-m̐-samā-θ+kha* = *samā-m̐-samθ-īna+TāP* = *samā-m̐-sam-īn θ+ā (gāú-h̐)* '(a cow) bearing a calf every year'.

### 5.2.13 *adya-śv-īn-ā ava-ṣṭab-dh-e*

The (irregular) expression *adya-śv-īn-ā* is introduced to denote one whose delivery is imminent (*áva-ṣṭab-dh-e*).

The affix kha is introduced after the irregular compound *adya+śvās* with *θ* replacement of stem-final [s]: *adya-śvaθ+kha* = *adya-śvθ-īn-ā (gāú-h̐)* 'a cow in parturition, about to give birth'. Some interpreters, however, do not accept the recurrence of [*ví-jā-ya-te*] in this rule, yielding expressions like *adya-śv-īna-m mār-aṇa-m* 'imminent death', and *adya-śv-īna-h̐ vi-yog-ā-h̐* 'imminent separation'.

### 5.2.14 *ā-gav-īna-h̐*

The (irregular) expression *ā-gav-īna-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 6].

*āN+gó+kha* = *ā-gav-īna-h̐* 'a person who serves in return for the loan of a cow until the debt is repaid'.

### 5.2.15 *anu-gú=alaṁ-gām-ī*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha 6 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *anu-gú* 'behind or following the cow' to denote 'competent to look after or guard (*alaṁ-gām-ī*)'.

*anu-gú+kha* = *anu-gav-īna-h̐* '(a cowherd) able to guard the cow he follows'.

### 5.2.16 ádhvan-aḥ=yàT-<sup>2</sup>kh-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] yàT and kha are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ádhvan- ‘road’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7 to denote ‘competent to traverse 15].

*ádhvān-am alaṁ-gām-ī* = *ádhvan+yàT/kha* = *adhvan-yà-h/adhvan-īna-h*  
‘competent to traverse the road, traveler’.

### 5.2.17 abhy-a-mitr-āt=cha ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha, in addition to (ca) [yàT and kha 16, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] abhy-a-mitrá-m ‘against the enemy’ [ending in 1.1.72 the second sUP triplet 7 to denote ‘competent to encounter’ 15].

*abhy-a-mitrá-m alaṁ-gām-ī* = *abhy-a-mitrá+cha/yàT/kha* = *abhy-a-mitrθ-īya=h/*  
*°-mitr-yà-h/°-mitr-īna-h* ‘competent to encounter the enemy’.

### 5.2.18 goṣṭh-āt khaÑ bhū-ta-pūrv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] khaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] goṣṭhá- ‘cow pen’ [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote ‘was formerly’ (bhūta-pūrv-e).

*bhūta-pūrv-á-h goṣṭhá-h* = *goṣṭha+khaÑ* = *gauṣṭhθ-ma-h* ‘a place which was formerly a cow shed’.

### 5.2.19 áśva-sya=eka=aha=gamá-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] áśva- ‘horse’ [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet to denote ‘(distance) covered in one day’ (ekāha-gam-á-h).

*áśva-sya ekāha-gam-á-h* = *aśva+khaÑ* = *āśvθ-īna-h* ‘distance covered by a horse in one day’.

### 5.2.20 <sup>1</sup>sāl-īna-<sup>2</sup>kaúp-īn-e <sup>1</sup>á-dhṛṣ-ṭa-<sup>2</sup>á-kāryay-oh

The expressions sāl-ina- and kaúp-ina- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 khaÑ 18] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] ‘modest’ (á-dhṛṣ-ṭa-°) and ‘indecent attire’ (°-á-kāryay-oh).

*śālā-pra-veś-ana-m árḥ-a-ti* = *śālā+khañ* = *śāl-ma-ḥ* ‘worthy of admission to a hall or assembly’; *kūpa=ava-tár-aṇa-m árḥ-a-ti* = *kūpa+khañ* = *kaúpṭ-ma-m* ‘suitable for going down in a well or hole, cod piece, loin cloth, swim briefs’.

### 5.2.21 vrāt-ena jīv-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *khañ* 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *vrāta-* ‘group of peripatatic laborers’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third SUP triplet to denote ‘lives by’ (*jīv-a-ti*).

*vrāt-ena jīv-a-ti* = *vrāta+khañ* = *vrātṭ-ma-ḥ* ‘living by itinerant labor’.

### 5.2.22 śāpta-pad-īna-m sakh-yá-m

The expression *śāpta-pad-īna-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *khañ* 18] to denote ‘companionship’ (*sakh-yá-m*).

*saptá-bhiḥ pad-añḥ áv-āp-ya-te* = *sapta-padā+khañ* = *śāpta-padṭ-ma-m* ‘amity’,  
*śāpta-pad-ma-ḥ* = *sákhā* ‘companion’.

### 5.2.23 haíyañ-gav-īna-m sañjñá-y-ā

The expression *haíyañ-gav-īna-m* ‘clarified butter; biestings’ is introduced to form a name (*sañjñá-y-ām*).

By interpretation this is derived as follows: *hyas-tana-go-dohá-sya vi-kār-á-ḥ* = *hiyañ-gu+khañ* = *haíyañ-gav-ma-m* (7.3.3) to denote [ghṛ-tá-] ‘clarified butter, ghee’.

### 5.2.24 tá-sya <sup>1</sup>pāká-<sup>2</sup>múl-e <sup>1</sup>pīlú=adi-<sup>2</sup>kárṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>kuṇaP=<sup>2</sup>jāhāC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *kuṇaP* and *jāhāC* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the classes of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *pīlú-* ‘a species of tree’ and *kárṇa-* ‘ear’ to denote [respectively 1.3.10] ‘its season for ripening’ (*pāká-°*) and ‘its roots’ (*°-múl-e*).

*pīlú-n-ām pāká-ḥ* = *pīlú+kuṇaP* = *pīlú-kuṇa-ḥ* ‘season for the ripening of the P. fruit’. *kárṇa-sya mūla-m* = *kárṇa+jāhāC* = *kārṇa-jāhā-m* ‘root of the ear’.

### 5.2.25 pakṣ-āt tī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tī is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pakṣá- ‘lunar fortnight’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its root 24].

*pakṣá-sya mūla-m = pakṣá+tī = pakṣa-tī-ḥ* ‘beginning or first day of the lunar fortnight’.

### 5.2.26 t-éna vit-tá-ḥ <sup>1</sup>cuñcuP-<sup>2</sup>caṇaP-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] cuñcuP and caṇaP are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t-éna) to denote ‘known by it’ (vit-tá-ḥ).

*vidyáy-ā vit-tá-ḥ = vidyá-cuñcu-ḥ/vidyá-caṇa-ḥ* ‘well-known or renowned by knowledge’.

### 5.2.27 <sup>1</sup>ví-<sup>2</sup>nāÑ-bhyām <sup>1</sup>nā-<sup>2</sup>nāÑ-au ná-sahá

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] nā and nāÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pre-verb particle ví- ° and nāÑ- ° to denote the sense of separation (ná-sahá).

*vi-nā* ‘without’; *nāÑ+nāÑ = ná-nā* ‘variously, diversely’.

### 5.2.28 vé-ḥ <sup>1</sup>śālāC-<sup>2</sup>śaṅkaṭáC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] śālāC and śaṅkaṭáC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising the preverb particle ví- ° to denote a pleonastic sense.

*ví+śālāC = ví-śālā-* ‘extended, wide’; similarly *ví-śaṅkaṭá-*.

### 5.2.29 <sup>1</sup>sám-<sup>2</sup>prá=<sup>3</sup>úd-as=ca kaṭáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaṭáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pre-verb particles sám- °, prá- ° and úd- ° as well as (ca) [vi- ° 28 to denote a pleonastic sense 28].

*ví-kaṭá-m/sam-kaṭá-m/prá-kaṭá-m/ut-kaṭá-m* ‘dreadful, large/crowded together, contracted/manifest, evident/immense’.

### 5.2.30 áv-āt kuṭārāC ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kuṭārāC, in addition to (ca) [kaṭāC 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising the preverb particle áva-° [to denote a pleonastic sense 28].

*áva+kuṭārāC/kaṭāC = ava-kuṭārd-m/ava-kaṭā-m* 'deep, profound'.

### 5.2.31 na-t-é nāsikā-y-āḥ samjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>ṭīṭāC-<sup>2</sup>nāṭāC-<sup>3</sup>bhrāṭāC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ṭīṭāC, nāṭāC and bhrāṭāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb particle áva-° 30 to denote a snub nose [na-t-é nāsikā-y-āḥ].

*nāsikā-y-āḥ na-tā-m = ava-ṭīṭā-/ava-naṭā-/ava-bhrāṭā-* 'snub-nosed' m., 'snub nose' n.

### 5.2.32 né-r <sup>1</sup>biḍāC-<sup>2</sup>birīsāC-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] biḍāC and birīsāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb ní-° [to denote a snub nose 31].

*ni-biḍā-m/ni-birīsā-m = nāsikā-y-āḥ na-tā-m* 'snub nose'.

### 5.2.33 <sup>1</sup>ināC-<sup>2</sup>piṭāC-<sup>1</sup>cika-<sup>2</sup>ci ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ināC and piṭāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] represented by the preverb particle ní-° 32 [to denote a snub nose 31] and the substitutes cika- and ci- [respectively 1.3.10] replace it before these affixes.

*ní+ināC = cika+ināC = cikḥ-inā-h; ní+piṭāC = ci+piṭā-h.*

### 5.2.34 <sup>1</sup>úpa=<sup>2</sup>ádhi-bhyām tyakaN <sup>1</sup>ā-san-na=<sup>2</sup>ā-rū-ḍhay-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tyakaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the preverb particles] úpa-° and ádhi-° to denote [respectively 1.3.10] proximity (ā-san-na-°) and elevation (°-ā-rū-ḍhay-oḥ).

*úpa+tyakaN = úpa-tyaka+TāP = úpa-tyakḥ-ā* 'low land, place near a hill or mountain'; similarly *ádhi-tyak-ā* 'highland, plateau, tableland'. Because of the governing word [samjñā-yām 31] operating here, 7.3.34 does not apply.

### 5.2.35 kárman-i ghaṭá-h=aṭháC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aṭháC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kárman- ‘activity’ [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘zealously engaged in’.

*kárman-i ghaṭá-h = kárman+aṭháC = karmṭṭ-aṭhá-h* ‘zealously engaged in activities’.

### 5.2.36 tád a-syá sám-jā-ta-m-tārakā=ādibhyaḥ itáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] itáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with tārakā ‘star’ [ending in 1.1.72] in the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote where they are manifested (a-syá sám-jā-ta-m).

*t<sup>á</sup>arakā-h sám-jā-tā-h a-syá (nābhas-aḥ) = tārakā+itáC = tārakṭ-itá-m (nābha-h)*  
‘the sky, studded with stars’; similarly *púṣpā-ṇ-i sám-jā-tā-n-i a-syá (vṛkṣā-sya)*  
*= puṣpṭ-itá-h (vṛkṣā-h)* ‘(a flowering tree) in full blossom’.

### 5.2.37 pra-māṇ-e <sup>1</sup>dvayasáC-<sup>2</sup>daghnáC-<sup>3</sup>mātráC-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] dvayasáC, daghnáC and mātráC are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote ‘it is the measure of this’ (pra-māṇ-e)].

*ūrú-h pra-māṇa-m a-syá (púruṣa-sya) = ūrú-dvayasá-/°-daghná-/°-mātrá-* ‘as high as the thigh’.

### 5.2.38 <sup>1</sup>púruṣa-hastí-bhyām áN ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN, in addition to (ca) [dvaya-sáC, daghnáC and mātráC 37, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] púruṣa- ‘person’ and hastín- ‘elephant’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote ‘it is the measure of this’ 37].

*púruṣa-h pra-māṇa-m a-syá = puruṣa+áN/dvayasáC/daghnáC/mātráC =*  
*pauruṣṭ-á-/puruṣa-dvayasá-/°-daghná-/°-mātrá-* ‘as high as a person or man’;  
similarly *hastín-á- (6.4.164)/hasti-dvayasá-/°-daghná-/°-mātrá-* ‘as tall as an elephant’.

### 5.2.39 <sup>1</sup>yád=<sup>2</sup>tád=<sup>3</sup>eté-bhyaḥ pari-māṇ-e vatUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vatUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yád- ‘which’, tád- ‘that’ and etád- ‘this’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote its volume (pari-māṇ-e).

*yát pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *yád+vatUP* = *yád-vat-* = *yád-vat* (6.3.91) = *yá-vat-* ‘as large as’; similarly *tá-vat-/etá-vat-* ‘that large/this large’.

### 5.2.40 <sup>1</sup>kím=<sup>2</sup>idám-bhyām v-aḥ gha-ḥ

The element gha (=iy) replaces the phoneme [v] of [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vatUP 39 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *kím* ‘who, what, which’ and *idám* ‘this’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote its volume 39].

*kím pari-māṇa-m a-syá* = *kím+vatUP* = *kím+gh-atUP* = *kí+gh-atUP* (6.3.90) = *kí+iy-a-t* (7.1.2) = *kṡ-íy-at* (6.4.64) ‘how large (in size or volume)’, similarly *idám+vatUP* = *í-iy-at* = *ṡ-íy-at-* ‘this large’.

### 5.2.41 *kím-aḥ saṁkhyā-pari-māṇ-é Dāti ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Dāti, in addition to (ca) [vat-UP 39 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kím-* ‘which’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote numerical dimension (saṁkhyā-pari-māṇ-é).

*ká saṁ-khyā pari-māṇa-m e-śám* = *kím+Dāti* = *kṡṡ+āti* (6.4.143) = *k-āti+(Jas→ṡ<sup>1</sup> 7.1.22)* ‘how many?’: besides *kíyat+Jas* (40) = *kíyant-aḥ*.

### 5.2.42 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=ava-yav-é tayaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tayaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of numerals (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36] to denote ‘this is the number of its parts (ava-yav-é).

*pāñca ava-yav-āḥ a-syá* = *pāñcan+tayaP* = *pāñcaṡ-taya-* ‘consisting of five parts’.

### 5.2.43 <sup>1</sup>dví=<sup>2</sup>trí-bhyām taya-sya=ayáC=vā

The substitute element ayáC optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] taya introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal

stems 4.1.1 consisting of the number words 42] dví- ‘2’ and trí- ‘3’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote ‘this is the number of its parts’ 42].

*dv-aú ava-yav-aú a-syá* = *dví+tayaP* = *dví+ayáC/tayaP* = *dv0-ayá-/dví-taya-* ‘consisting of two’; similarly *tr-ayá-/trí-taya-* ‘consisting of three’.

#### 5.2.44 ubh-át udáttah nitya-m

[The substitute element ayáC 43] necessarily (nitya-m) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tayaP 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ubhá- ‘both’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 36 to denote ‘this is the number of its parts’ 42] and bears the udátta accent (on its first syllable).

*ubh-aú pari-māna-m a-syá* = *ubhá+tayaP* = *ubha+ayaC* = *ubh0+áya* ‘of both kinds’.

#### 5.2.45 tád a-smínn ádhi-ka-m iti dáśa=ant-āt Dá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Dá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ending in °-dáśa-(°-ant-āt in composition) [terminating in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘it is in excess in this’ (a-smín=ádhi-ka-m).

*ekā-daśa ádhi-ka-m a-smínn* = *ekā-daśan+Dá* = *ekā-daś00á-* (6.4.144) = *ekā-daś-á-m śatá-m* ‘111’.

#### 5.2.46 <sup>1</sup>śát=anta=<sup>2</sup>vimsaté-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Dá 45] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42] °śát and vimsatí ‘20’ [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote ‘it is in excess in this 45’.

*trimsát ádhi-ka-m a-smín śat-é* = *trimsát+Dá* = *trimsát+Dá* = *trims00+á-*, (6.4.143) = *trims-á-m śatá-m* ‘130’; similarly *vimsatí+Dá* = *vimsa00+á* (6.4.142) = *vims-á-m śatá-m* ‘120’.



### 5.2.47 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=guṇā-sya ni-mān-e máyaṬ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of number-words (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 45] to denote ‘equivalent value for barter of this’ (guṇā-sya ni-mān-e).

*yāvā-n-ām dv-au bhāg-au ni-māna-m a-syā udaśvit-bhāgā-sya* = ‘a mixture of water and buttermilk is twice as costly as barley’ = *dvi+máyaṬ* = *dvi-máya-m udaśvīt yāvā-n-ām*.

### 5.2.48 tá-sya pūr-aṇ-e ḌáṬ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌáṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 47 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (tá-sya) to denote an ordinal (pūr-aṇ-e).

*ekā-daśā-n-ām pūr-aṇa-h* = *ekā-daśan+ḌáṬ* = *ekā-daśāṇ=ā-* (6.4.143) ‘eleventh’.

### 5.2.49 na=ant-āt=ā-saṁkhyā=āde-r maṬ

The initial increment maṬ is inserted at the head of [1.1.46 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a numeral 47] ending in the phoneme [n] (na=ant=āt), not co-occurring after another numeral (°-ādeḥ) as a prior member in composition [to denote its ordinal 48].

*pañcā-n-ām pūr-aṇa-h* = *pañcan+ḌáṬ* = *pañcāṇ/+m-ā-h* (6.4.143) ‘fifth’; similarly: *sapta-mā-/aṣṭa-mā-/nava-mā-/daśa-mā-* ‘7th/8th/9th/10th’ but *ekā-daś-ā-h* (48) ‘11th’.

In the sūtra-s 49-53 the elements introduced are increments instead of affixes, which is proved by 53 where [tithyK] indicates its true nature as an increment since the derived form has the accent on the final syllable (53).

### 5.2.50 thaṬ ca chāndas-i

The initial increment thaṬ is inserted at the head of [1.1.46 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a numeral 47 ending in the phoneme /n/ and not co-occurring with other numerals as a prior member in composition 49 and terminating in the sixth sUP triplet to denote an ordinal 48] in the domain of Chandas.

*pañcā-n-ām pūr-āṇa-h* = *pañcan+Ḍāṭ* = *pañca0+th-āṭ* = *pañca-th-ā-h* ‘5th’; so also *sapta-th-a-h* ‘7th’. The particle [ca] in the rule denotes that as an alternative [maṭṭ] also functions as an initial increment and the forms cited under 49 occur optionally.

### 5.2.51 <sup>1</sup>ṣāt-<sup>2</sup>kāti-<sup>3</sup>katipayá-<sup>4</sup>catúr-ām **thuK**

The final increment **thuK** (1.1.46) is inserted at the end of [the nominal stems 4.1.1] *ṣāt-* ‘six’, *kāti-* ‘how many?’, *katipayá-* ‘several, some’ and *catúr-* ‘four’ [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Ḍāṭ* 48 introduced after 3.1.2 them, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their ordinals 48].

*saṇ-n-ām pūr-āṇa-h* = *ṣāṣ+Ḍāṭ* = *ṣaṣ+th-ā-h* ‘sixth’; similarly *kati+th-ā-* ‘how-manieth?’, *katipaya+th-ā-* ‘so-manieth’ and *catur+th-ā-* ‘fourth’.

### 5.2.52 <sup>1</sup>bahú-<sup>2</sup>pūga-<sup>3</sup>gaṇá-<sup>4</sup>saṁghá-sya **tithuK**

The final increment **tithuK** is inserted at the end of (1.1.46) [the nominal stems 4.1.1] *bahú-* ‘many’, *pūga-* ‘mass’, *gaṇá-* ‘series’ and *saṁghá-* ‘collection, group’ [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Ḍāṭ* 48 introduced after 3.1.2 them, ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote their ordinals 48].

*bahú-n-ām pūr-āṇa-h* = *bahú+Ḍāṭ* = *bahu+tith-ā-h* ‘manieth’; similarly: *pūga-tith-ā* ‘who completes a pūga’; *gaṇa-tith-ā-/saṁ-gha-tith-ā-* ‘who completes a gaṇá / saṁ-ghá’.

### 5.2.53 **vatOr ithuK**

The final increment **ithuK** is inserted at the end of (1.1.46) [the nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *vatU(P)*, [denoting a numeral 1.1.23, before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *Ḍāṭ* to denote its ordinal 48].

*yā-vat-ām pūr-āṇa-h* = *yā-vat+tith+ā-h* ‘how-manieth’ and *tā-vat+tith-ā-h* ‘that-manieth’.

### 5.2.54 **dvé-s tíya-h**

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *tíya* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the numeral 47] *dví-* ‘two’ [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48].

*dvāy-oh pūr-āṇa-h* = *dvī+tiya-h* = *dvi-tīya-h* 'second'.

### 5.2.55 tré-ḥ sam-pra-sār-āṇa-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tíya 54 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 47] trí- 'three' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48], and sam-pra-sār-āṇa (1.1.45) replaces its semi-vowel before that affix.

*trayā-ṇ-ām pūr-āṇa-h* = *trī+tiya* = *tr-tīya-h* (6.1.108) 'third'.

### 5.2.56 vim-śatī=ādi-bhyaḥ tamaṬ=anya-tará-syām

The initial increment tamaṬ is inserted at the head of (1.1.42) [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 DāṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising numerals 47] consisting of the class of expressions beginning with vimśatī- '20' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinals 48] optionally (anya-tará-syām).

*vimśaté-h pūr-āṇa-h* = *vimśatī+DāṬ* (48)/*vimśati+tamaṬ-DāṬ* = *vimśa00+d* = *vimś-á-h/vimśati+tama+d* = *vimśati-tam-á-h* (6.1.97) '20th'; similarly *trímś-á-h/trímśati-tam-á-h* '30th' etc.

### 5.2.57 nítya-m̐ <sup>1</sup>śatá=ādi-<sup>2</sup>māsa=<sup>3</sup>ardha-māsá-<sup>4</sup>saṁ-vatsar-āt=ca

[The initial increment tamaṬ 56] is necessarily inserted at the head of [1.1.42 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 DāṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising numerals 47] beginning with śatá-'100' and the words māsa- 'month', ardha-māsá 'half-month/fortnight' and saṁvatsará- 'year' [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet denoting ordinals or completing of it' 48].

*śatá-sya pūr-āṇa-h* = *śatá+tamaṬ-DāṬ* = *śata-tama+d* = *śata-tam-á-h* '100th', and similarly *sahasra-tam-á-h* '1000th'; *māsa-tam-á-h* 'completing the month, i.e., last day of the month'; *ardha-māsa-tam-á-h* 'last day of the fortnight'; *saṁ-vatsara-tam-á-h* 'end or last day of the year'.

### 5.2.58 ṣaṣṭī-āde-s=ca=á-saṁkhyā-āde-ḥ

[The initial increment tamaṬ 56 is necessarily 57 inserted at the head of 1.1.42 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌaṬ 48 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the numerals 47] beginning with ṣaṣṭī-‘60’, not co-occurring with a numeral as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet to denote its ordinal 48].

*ṣaṣṭī-n-ām pūr-āṇa-ḥ = ṣaṣṭi-tamaṬ-ḌaṬ = ṣaṣṭi-tam-á-ḥ* ‘60th’; similarly: *saptati-tam-á-ḥ* ‘70th’, but *eka-ṣaṣṭ-á-ḥ/eka-ṣaṣṭi-tam-á-ḥ* (56) ‘61st’.

### 5.2.59 matAU cha-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sūktá-<sup>2</sup>sāmn-oḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] to denote the meanings of (affix) matUP for designating a hymn (sūktá-°) or a melody (°-sāmn-oḥ).

1. sūktá: *acchā-vāka-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = acchā-vāká+cha = acchā-vāk-īya-m sūktá-m* ‘a hymn in which the word (acchā-vaka) occurs’.
2. sāman: *vāra-vanta-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = vāravanta+cha = vāra-vantḥ-īya-m sāma* ‘a sāman chant in which the word [vāra-vant-] occurs’.

### 5.2.60 <sup>1</sup>adhy-āyá-<sup>2</sup>anu-vākáy-or luK

The substitute luK (ḥ<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 59 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of the affix matUP 59] for designating a chapter (adhy-āyá-°) or a passage or section (°-anu-vākáy-oḥ) [of a sacred text].

By interpretation this replacement is made optional.

*gardabhāṇḍa-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = gardabhāṇḍá+cha→luK/cha = gardabhāṇḍá-ḥ/gardabhāṇḍḥ-īya-ḥ adhy-āya-ḥ* ‘a chapter in which the word (gardabhāṇḍá-) occurs’ or *anu-vāko vā*.

### 5.2.61 vi-muk-ta=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ví-muk-ta- ‘a word occurring in a sacred text’ [to denote the meanings of matUP 59 for designating a chapter or section (of a sacred text) 60].

*vi-muk-ta-śabdá-ḥ a-smín ás-ti = ví-muk-ta+áN = vai-muk-tḥ-á-ḥ adhy-āyá-ḥ/anu-vāká-ḥ* ‘a chapter or section (of a sacred text) containing the word [ví-muk-ta-]’.

### 5.2.62 go-ṣád=ādi-bhyaḥ vuN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with go-ṣád- ‘a word cited in a sacred text’ [to denote the senses of affix matUP 59 to designate a chapter or section (of a sacred text) 69].

*go-ṣad=śabdā-h a-smṛti ás-ti = goṣád+vuN = gó-ṣad-aka-h adhy-āyā-h anuvākó vā*  
‘chapter or section containing the word go-ṣád-’.

### 5.2.63 ta-ṭra kúsala-h path-áh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 62 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] páthin- ‘path’ [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (tá-tra) to denote ‘skilled in it’ (tá-tra kúsala-h).

*path-í kúsala-h = páthin+vuN = páth00-aka-h (6.4.144) ‘skilled in roads, guide’.*

### 5.2.64 ā-karṣá=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ā-karṣ-á- ‘magnet’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet to denote ‘skilled in it’ 63].

There is a variant reading [ā-karṣ-á- ‘touchstone’].

*ā-karṣ-é kúsala-h = ā-karṣ-á+kaN = ā-karṣa-ka-h ‘specialist in magnetism’; with*  
*v.l. ā-karṣa-ka-h ‘goldsmith’.*

### 5.2.65 <sup>1</sup>dhána-<sup>2</sup>híraṇy-āt kām-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dhana- ‘riches, wealth’ and hiraṇya- ‘gold’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 83] to denote ‘a desire for’ (kam-e).

*dhán-e kāmá-h = dhána+kaN = dhána-ka-h ‘cupidity, covetousness’. Similarly*  
*híraṇya-ka-h ‘avidity or eagerness for gold’.*

The reason for introducing [kaN] while the preceding [vuN] affix would have yielded the required surface forms is with respect to stems of the [ā-karṣ-a-] class ending in [°u] and [°i] which should not come under the operation respectively of 6.4.146, 148.

### 5.2.66 sva=aṅgé-bhyaḥ prá-si-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing limbs of one's body (sva-aṅgé-bhyaḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 63] to denote 'is attached to or engaged in it' (prá-si-t-e).

*kése-su prá-si-ta-h = kéśa+kaN = kéśa-ka-h* 'bestowing care upon the hair';  
similarly *dántaṣṭhu-ka-h, kéśa-nakha-ka-h*.

### 5.2.67 udár-āt=ṭháK=ā-dyū-n-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] udára- 'stomach' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 63 to denote 'is attached to or engaged in' 66] for designating 'voraciousness' (ā-dyū-n-é).

*udár-e prá-si-ta-h = udára+ṭháK = audarṭ-iká-h* 'glutton'.

### 5.2.68 sasy-éna pári-jā-ta-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sasyá- 'good quality, merit' [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote 'abundantly provided with' (pári-jā-ta-h)

*sasy-éna pári-jā-ta-h = sasyá+kaN = sásya-ka-h* 'richly meritorious'.

### 5.2.69 ámśa-m hār-í

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ámśa- 'share, division' [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote 'necessarily inheriting' (hār-í 3.3.170).

*ámśa-m hārI = ámśa+kaN = ámśa-ka-h* 'legal heir'.

### 5.2.70 tántr-āt=á-cira=apa-hṛ-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tántra- 'loom' [ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet to denote 'just taken off or removed from' (á-cira-apa-hṛ-t-e).

*tántr-āt áciraṇpahṛ-ta-h = tántra+kaN = tántra-ka-h paṭa-h* '(cloth) just removed from the loom, fresh from the loom'.

### 5.2.71 <sup>1</sup>brāhmaṇa-ka=<sup>2</sup>úṣṇi-k-e saṁjñā-y-ām

The expressions brāhmaṇa-ka- ‘n. of a country’ and úṣṇi-kā- ‘rice broth’ are introduced as proper names (saṁjñā-y-ām) [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64].

*ā-yudh-a-jñv-ín-aḥ a-smín déś-e s-ánti* = *brāhmaṇá+kaN* = *brāhmaṇa-kā-ḥ*; *álp-a-m-ánna-m yá-syām sá* = *uṣṇá+kaN+TáP* (4.1.4) = *úṣṇi-kṇ-ā* (7.3.44) = *yavāgú-ḥ*.

### 5.2.72 <sup>1</sup>śítá=<sup>2</sup>uṣṇa-bhyām kārīṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] śítá- ‘cold’ and uṣṇá- ‘hot’ [ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet to denote ‘works thus’ (kārīṇ-i).

*śī-tá-m kar-ó-ti* = *śī-ta+kaN* = *śí-ta-ka-ḥ* ‘slack or negligent workman’; similarly *uṣ-ṇá-m kar-ó-ti* = *úṣ-ṇa-ka-ḥ* ‘fast or competent worker’.

### 5.2.73 ádhi-ka-m

The expression ádhi-ka- ‘excessive’ is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64].

*adhy-á-rū-dha-ḥ* = *adhi+kaN* = *ádhi-ka-* ‘grown beyond, more, in excess’ as in *ádhi-ka-ḥ dróṇa-ḥ khāry-āḥ* ‘the dr. measure is larger than the kh. measure’.

### 5.2.74 <sup>1</sup>ánu-ka=<sup>2</sup>ábhi-ka=<sup>3</sup>ábhi-ka-ḥ kam-i-tā

The expressions ánu-ka-, ábhi-ka and ábhi-ka are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64] to denote a lover (kam-i-tā).

*ánu-/abhi-/ +kaN* = *ánu-ka-/ábhi-ka/ábhi-ka-* = *kam-i-tā*.

### 5.2.75 pārsv-éna=ánv-icch-a-ti

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pārsv-á- ‘fraudulent means’ [ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet to denote ‘desires to seek’ (ánv-icch-a-ti).

*pārsv-éna ánv-icch-a-ti* = *pārsv-á+kaN* = *pārsva-ka-ḥ* ‘seeking by fraudulent means’.

### 5.2.76 <sup>1</sup>ayah-śulá-<sup>2</sup>daṇḍa=ajinā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>tháK-<sup>2</sup>thaÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tháK and thaÑ are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ayah-śulá- ‘iron dart’ and daṇḍa=ajinā- ‘a staff and antelope skin’ [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet to denote ‘desires to seek’ 75].

The word [ayah-śulá-] has a derived meaning of ‘a violent or painful act’.  
*ayah-śul-éna ánv-icch-a-ti* = *ayah-śula+tháK* = *ayah-śulθ-iká-h* ‘who seeks to gain things by violence’; similarly *daṇḍajiná+thaÑ* = *dāṇḍajinθ-ika-h* = *dāmbh-ika-h* ‘hypocrite, cheat, rogue’ since literally it means ‘who seeks to gain things through sham like carrying a staff and deer skin as the marks of an ascetic’.

### 5.2.77 tāva-tithá-m gráh-aṇa-m iti luK=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals (tāva-tith-á-m) [ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 75] to denote ‘acquires after so many efforts’ (tāva-tith-á-m gráh-aṇa-m) and optionally (vā) the substitute luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) replaces the affix generating the ordinal.

*dvi-tīy-ena rūp-éna granthá-m gṛh-ñ-a-ti* = *dvi-tīya+kaN/θ<sup>1</sup>+kaN* = *dvi-θθθθ-ka-m/dvi-tīya-ka-m* ‘successfully masters the book the second time’.

### 5.2.78 sá e-śām grāma-ñí-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (sá-h) to denote ‘he is their chief’ (e-śām grāma-ñí-h).

*deva-dattá-h grāma-ñí-r e-śām te* = *deva-dattá+kaN+Jas* = *déva-datta-k-āh* ‘villagers headed by Deva-dattá’.

### 5.2.79 śṛṅkhala-m a-syá bāndh-ana-m karabh-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śṛṅkhala- ‘shackle or clog’ [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote ‘this is its fetter’ (a-syá bāndh-ana-m) designating a young camel (karabh-é).

*śṛṅkhala-m a-syá bāndh-ana-m* = *śṛṅkhala+kaN* = *śṛṅkhala-ka-h* ‘a young camel which is clogged or shackled or fettered’.



### 5.2.80 út-ka-ḥ ún-manāḥ

The expression út-ka- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64] to denote 'eager, ardently desiring' (un-manāḥ).

*ud-ga-tá-m mánah yá-sya = ut+kaN = út-ka-ḥ.*

### 5.2.81 <sup>1</sup>kālā-<sup>2</sup>pra-yóḥ-an-āt=rog-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a time-word (kālā-°) or signifying a cause (°-pra-yóḥ-an-āt) to designate a disease (róg-e).

*dvi-tīy-e áhn-i bháv-a-ḥ = dvi-tīya+kaN = dví-tīya-ka-ḥ róga-ḥ* '(a fever) which occurs every other day'; similarly *viṣa-puṣp-aír jan-i-tá-ḥ = viṣa-puṣpá+kaN = víṣa-puṣpa-ka-ḥ* 'disease caused by poisonous flowers'.

### 5.2.82 tád a-smínn ánna-m prāy-é saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 64 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing an item of food (ánna-m) [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet [tád] to denote 'is the main dish [prāy-é] on this occasion (a-smín)' to form a name (saṁjñā-y-ām)

*gudāpūp-āḥ prāy-éṇa ánna-m a-syām = gudāpūpa+kaN+TāP (4.1.4) = gúḍāpūpi-k-ā paurṇa-mās-f* 'a full-moon night when the main dish consists of treacle mixed with cakes'.

### 5.2.83 kulmāṣ-āt=aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kulmāṣa- 'sour gruel' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'is the main dish on this (occasion)' 82].

*kulmāṣ-aḥ prāy-éṇa ánna-m a-syām = kulmāṣa+aÑ = kaúlmāṣṭṭ-a+ÑIP (4.1.15) = kaúlmāṣṭṭ-i paurṇa-mās-f* 'the full-moon night on which the main dish is sour gruel'.

### 5.2.84 śrótriyaN=chándah=ádhi-te

The expression śrótriyaN is introduced to denote 'one who studies the Veda [chándah=ádhi-te].

Interpretation of this states that in the string *chándah ádhi-te*, *chándas-* is replaced

by the substitute *śrotra-* before (1.1.66) it: *chāndaḥ=ādhi-te = chāndaś+ghaṇ = śrotra+ghaṇ = śrōtrṭhiya-h*

### 5.2.85 *śrāddhá-m an-éna bhuk-tá-m 'íni-<sup>2</sup>ṭhaN-au*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *íni* and *ṭhaN* are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *śrāddhá-* ‘food offerings to the deceased ancestors’ ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘is eaten by him’ (*bhuk-tám an-éna*).

*śrāddhá-m an-éna bhuk-tá-m = śrāddhá+ín/ṭhaN = śrāddhṭhiN-/śrāddhṭhi-ika-* ‘who has eaten the food offered to the deceased ancestors’.

### 5.2.86 *pūrv-āt=íni-h*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *íni* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pūrvam* (ind.) ‘previously’ [to denote ‘done by him’ 82].

The more general expression ‘done by him’ is derived from the fact that [an-éna] represents the [kartṛ-] by interpretation and extends the meaning from [bhuk-tá-] to other activities. *pūrvam an-éna ga-tá-m/bhuk-tá-m/pī-tá-m vā = pūrv+ín- = pūrvṭhiN-* ‘who has gone/eaten/drank previously’.

### 5.2.87 *sá-pūrv-āt=ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *íni* 86] is also introduced [after 2.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *pūrvam* 86] when co-occurring with another [nominal stem 4.1.1] as a prior member (*sá-pūrv-āt* in composition) to denote ‘done by him previously’ 86.

*kṛ-tá-m pūrvam an-éna = kṛtaṭ-pūrv+ín- = kṛta-pūrvṭhiN-* ‘who has previously made’; similarly *gata-pūrv-ín-, bhukta-pūrv-ín-, pīta-pūrv-ín-*.

### 5.2.88 *iṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyas=ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *íni* 86] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *iṣ-ṭa-* ‘offered in sacrifice’ [to denote ‘by him’ 85].

*iṣ-tá-m an-éna = iṣ-ṭa+ín = iṣ-ṭṭhiN-* ‘who has offered a sacrifice’; similarly *pūr-tá-m an-éna = pūrṭṭhiN-* ‘who has fulfilled’.

### 5.2.89 chāndas-i <sup>1</sup>pari-panth-í(n)=<sup>2</sup>pari-paríṇ-<sub>au</sub> pary-ava-sthā-tár-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expressions pari-panth-ín- and pari-par-ín- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íṇi 86] to denote an ‘antagonist’ (pary-ava-sthā-tár-i).

*mā tvā pari-panth-ín-o vid-an/mā tvā pari-paríṇ-o vid-an* ‘may your adversaries not recognize you’.

### 5.2.90 anu-pad-í=anv-eṣ-ṭā

The expression anu-pad-ín- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íṇi 86] to denote ‘one who goes after or searching or follows’ (anv-eṣ-ṭā).

*padá-sya paścāt = anu-padá-m* (2.1.6; 4.18) *ánv-icch-a-ti = anupada+ín = anu-padṭh-ín-*.

### 5.2.91 sākṣ-āt draṣṭár-i saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íṇi 86 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of the indeclinable sākṣ-āt ‘with or before one’s eyes’ to denote the perceiver’ (draṣ-ṭā) for forming a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

*sākṣ-āt draṣ-ṭā = sākṣa+ín = sākṣṭh-ín-* ‘witness, spectator’.

### 5.2.92 kṣetr-iyáC para-kṣetr-é cikit-s-yà-ḥ

The expression kṣetr-iyáC is introduced to denote ‘curable in another body’ (para-kṣetr-é ci-kit-s-yà-ḥ).

*para-kṣetr-é ci-kit-s-yà-ḥ = ṭh-kṣetra+gháC= kṣetr-iyá-* ‘a person suffering from an incurable disease’.

### 5.2.93 indr-iyá-m=<sup>1</sup>indra-lingá-m=<sup>2</sup>indra-dṛṣ-ṭa-m=<sup>3</sup>indra-sṛṣ-ṭa-m=<sup>4</sup>indra-juṣ-ṭa-m=<sup>5</sup>indra-dat-ta-m iti vā

The expression indr-iyá- is introduced to denote the following senses: (1) means (lingá-m) by which the self is inferred (índra-°); (2) perceived by the Self (índra-dṛṣ-ṭa-m); (3) created by the Self (°-sṛṣ-ṭa-m); (4) nourished by the Self (°-juṣ-ṭa-m), or (5) given by the Self (°-dat-ta-m).

The taddhitá (4.1.76) affix (3.1.1) gháC is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem (4.1.4)indra- in these senses.

### 5.2.94 tád a-syá=ás-ti=a-smín=iti matUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád) to denote ‘belongs to this (a-syá ás-ti) or exists in this (a-smín ás-ti).

*gāu-aḥ a-syá s-ánti* = *gó+matUP* = *gó-mat-* ‘possessing cows or cattle’; similarly *ṽṛkṣ-āḥ a-smín s-ánti* = *ṽṛkṣā+matUP ṽṛkṣa-vát-* ‘abounding in trees’ (accent by 6.1.176).

Interpretation gives the following ranges of meaning associated with this affix: (1) *bhū-man-* ‘richness’ as in *gó-mat-* ‘rich in cattle’; (2) *nindā* ‘censure’ as in *kuṣṭh-in-* ‘leprous’; (3) *pra-śams-ā* ‘praise’ as in *rāpa-vát-I* (6.1.176 for accent) ‘handsome or lovely woman’; (4) *nitya-yogā-* ‘inherence’: *kṣīr-in-aḥ ṽṛkṣ-āḥ* ‘the trees are full of sap’; (5) *ati-śāy-ana-* ‘excessiveness: *udar-in-I kanyā* ‘pregnant damsel’; (6) *saṃ-sarg-ā-* ‘accompaniment, contact’: *daṇḍ-in-* ‘holding a staff’; (7) *asti-vivak-śā* ‘sense of being’: *ásti-mat-* ‘possessed of properties’.

### 5.2.95 rása=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix matUP 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *rása-* ‘taste’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 95].

*rása-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti* = *rása+matUP* = *rása-vat-* (8.2.9) ‘tasty, delicious/full of sap, etc.’; likewise *gandha-vát-/śabda-vat-, sparśa-vát-* ‘possessing smell/sound/touch’ etc. as functions of the sense organs. In other senses other affixes can be introduced as in *rūp-in-I kanyā* ‘beautiful maiden’, *rūp-ika-ḥ dāra-ká-ḥ* (115) ‘handsome boy’. In the present rule, the stems included in this class are restricted in meanings to the functions of the sense organs and to monosyllabics only. In other meaning situations other affixes can operate.

### 5.2.96 prāṇi-sth-āt=āTo láC=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] láC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing something found in an animate being (*prāṇi-sth-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel phoneme [ā] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94].

*cūḍā a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti* = *cūḍā+láC* = *cūḍā-lá-/cūḍā+matUP* = *cūḍā-vat-* ‘having a lock of hair on the crown of the head’. Likewise *karnikā-lá-/kárnikā-vat-* ‘possessing long ears’, but *śikhā-vān pra-dīp-á-ḥ* ‘a lamp having a crested flame’.

### 5.2.97 *sidhmá=ādi-bhyas=ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *lác* 96] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *sidhmá-* ‘leper’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94 optionally 96].

*sidhmá-h a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = sidhmá+lác/matUP = sidhma-lá-/sidhma-vát-* ‘leprous’; *gaḍu-lá-/gaḍu-vat-* ‘hump-backed’.

### 5.2.98 <sup>1</sup>*vatsá=²ámsā-bhyām* <sup>1</sup>*kāmá-²bál-e*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *lác* 96 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *vatsá-* ‘calf’ and *ámsa-* ‘shoulder’ [ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet to denote [respectively 1.3.10] affectionate (*kāmá-°*) and strong (*°-bál-e*).

The governing meanings of *matUP* recur here as in the following *sūtra*-s also but [*lác*] alone is operative in these meanings. *vatsa-lá-* ‘affectionate, but *vatsa-vát-I gaú-h* ‘a cow having a calf’; *ámsa-lá-* ‘strong, powerful’ but *ámsa-vān dúr-bala-h* ‘a person having weak shoulders’.

### 5.2.99 *phén-āt=ilác ca*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ilác* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *phéna-* ‘foam’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94] in addition to (*ca*) [affix *lác* 96].

*phéna+ilác/lác = phenθ-ilá-/phena-lá-* ‘frothy, foamy’.

### 5.2.100 <sup>1</sup>*lóma(n)=ādi-²pāma(n)=ādi-³picchá=ādi-bhyaḥ* <sup>1</sup>*śá-²ná=³ilác-aḥ*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *śá*, *ná* and *ilác* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *lóman-* ‘hair’, *pāman-* ‘n. of a disease’ and *picchá-* ‘tail feather’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94].

*lómān-i a-syá/a-smín vā sánti = loman+śá = lomaθ-śá-* ‘hairy, hirsute’; *pāman+ná = pāmaθ-ná-* ‘suffering from scabies’; *picchá+ilác = picchθ-ilá-* ‘having a tail feather’.

### 5.2.101 <sup>1</sup>pra-jñā-<sup>2</sup>śrad-dhā=<sup>3</sup>arc-ā-<sup>4</sup>vṛtti-bhyaḥ Ná-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ná is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pra-jñā ‘intellect’, śrad-dhā ‘faith’, arcā ‘object of worship’ and vṛt-ti- ‘subsistence’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94].

*pra-jñā a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = prajñā=Ná = prā-jñā-á-* ‘wise, intelligent’; the expression [anya-tará-syām] recurs in all rules subsequent to 96 and consequently the affix matUP also operates under these meaning conditions: *pra-jñā-vat-*. Similarly *śrad-dhā-á-/śrad-dhā-vat-* ‘having faith, true believer’; *ārcā-á-/arcā-vat-* ‘possessing an object of worship’; *vārt-ti-á-/vṛt-ti-mat-* ‘having subsistence’.

### 5.2.102 <sup>1</sup>tápas-<sup>2</sup>sahásrā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>vinī=<sup>2</sup>īni

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] vinī and īni are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tápas- ‘mortification’ and sahásra- ‘1000’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94].

*tápaḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = tapas+vin-* ‘an ascetic’; similarly *sahásra+īni = sahasr-īn-* ‘possessing 1000 pieces’.

### 5.2.103 áN ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tápas- and sahásra- 102, ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘having this or existing in this 94].

*tapas+áN = tāpas-á-* ‘ascetic, anchorite’; *sahásra+áN = sāhasr-á-* ‘having or containing 1000 pieces’.

### 5.2.104 <sup>1</sup>síkatā-<sup>2</sup>śárkara-bhyām=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN 103] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] síkatā ‘sand’ and śárkarā ‘gravel’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belongs to this or exists in this’ 94].

*síkatāḥ a-syá/a-smín vā s-ánti = síkatā+áN = saikat-á-* ‘containing sand’; likewise *śárkarā+áN = śārkar-á-* ‘consisting of gravel or sugar candy’.

### 5.2.105 deś-é 'luP=iláC=au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] luP (=Ø<sup>3</sup>) and iláC, in addition to (ca) [áN 103 and matUP 94 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 síkatā and śárkarā 104, ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'a region having this or existing in this' 94].

luP replacement is of matUP and its allomorphs.

*síkatāḥ a-smín deś-é víd-y-ante* = *síkatā+luP/ilaC/áN/matUP* = *síkatāḥ/síkatθ-ilá-h/saikatθ-á-h/síkatā-vān deśá-h*. Similarly *śárkarāḥ/śarkarθ-ilá-/śárkarθ-á-h/śárkarā-vān*.

### 5.2.106 dānta un-na-tá uráC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] uráC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dānta- 'tooth' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or existing in this' 94] to designate 'prominent' (un-na-t-é).

*dāntāḥ un-na-tāḥ a-syá* = *dānta+uráC* = *dantθ-urá*- 'having prominent teeth'.

### 5.2.107 <sup>1</sup>ūṣa-<sup>2</sup>suṣi-<sup>3</sup>muṣká-<sup>4</sup>mádho-ḥ rá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ūṣa- 'salt marsh', suṣi- 'tube, hole', muṣká- 'testicle' and mádhu- 'sweetness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or being in this' 94].

*ūṣa+rá* = *ūṣa-rá-m kṣétra-m* 'a field full of salt, saline field'; similarly *suṣi-rá*- 'containing holes or tubes'; *muṣka-rá*- 'possessing testicles'; *madhu-rá*- 'sweet'.

### 5.2.108 <sup>1</sup>dyú-<sup>2</sup>drú-bhyām má-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] má is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dyú- 'sky' and drú- 'wood' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to this or being in this' 94].

*dyáu-ḥ a-syá ás-ti* = *dyu+má*- 'bright day(?)'; similarly *dru-má*- 'consisting of wood, a tree'.

### 5.2.109 $kés\bar{a}t=vá\text{-}h=anya\text{-}tará\text{-}syām$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $vá$  is optionally ( $anya\text{-}tará\text{-}syām$ ) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $késa-$  ‘hair’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

The repetition of the word [ $anya\text{-}tará\text{-}syām$ ] here when it was already recurring from 96 above is to provide for introduction of affixes [ $ini$ ],  $\bar{t}haN$  115 below] and [matUP 94] above.

$késā\text{-}h\ a\text{-}syá\ vid\text{-}y\text{-}ante = késā\text{-}vā\text{-}/ini/\bar{t}haN\text{-}/matUP = késā\text{-}vā\text{-}/kēs\bar{θ}\text{-}ín\text{-}/kēs\bar{θ}\text{-}ika\text{-}/késā\text{-}vat\text{-}$  ‘hairy, hirsute’.

### 5.2.110 $^1gāṇḍī=^2ajag\text{-}āt\ samjñā\text{-}y\text{-}ām$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1  $vá$  109 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $gāṇḍī/gāṇḍi$  and  $ajaga-$  [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to form proper names ( $samjñā\text{-}y\text{-}ām$ ).

$gāṇḍī\text{-}vā\text{-}/gāṇḍi\text{-}vā\text{-}$  ‘name of Arjuna’s bow’; similarly  $ajaga\text{-}vā\text{-}$  ‘name of Siva’s bow’.

### 5.2.111 $^1kāṇḍa=^2āṇḍ\text{-}āt\ ^1raN=^2tráC\text{-}au$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1]  $\bar{r}a\bar{N}$  and  $\bar{r}áC$  are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $kāṇḍa-$  ‘a single joint of a stalk’ and  $āṇḍá-$  ‘egg’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

$kāṇḍa\text{-}\bar{r}a\bar{N} = kāṇḍ\bar{θ}\text{-}\bar{r}a\text{-}$  ‘having joints in the stalk’; so also  $āṇḍa\text{-}\bar{r}áC = āṇḍ\bar{θ}\text{-}\bar{r}á\text{-}$  ‘virile/containing eggs’.

### 5.2.112 $^1rájas=^2kṛṣí=^3ā\text{-}sutí\text{-}^4pari\text{-}śád\text{-}aḥ\ valáC$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1]  $valáC$  is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $rájas-$  ‘impurity, menstrual discharge’,  $kṛṣí-$  ‘agriculture’,  $ā\text{-}su\text{-}tí-$  ‘pressing, extraction, distilling’ and  $pari\text{-}śád$  ‘assembly’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

$rájas\text{-}valáC\text{-}\bar{t}āP$  (4.1.4) =  $rajas\text{-}val\text{-}ā$  ‘a menstruating woman’; so also:  $kṛṣí\text{-}valáC = kṛṣí\text{-}valá\text{-}$  (6.3.118) ‘cultivator, agriculturist’;  $ā\text{-}sutí\text{-}valá\text{-}$  ‘distiller, brewer’;  $pari\text{-}śad\text{-}valá\text{-}$  ‘assembly person, counsellor’.



### 5.2.113 <sup>1</sup>dánta-<sup>2</sup>śíkh-āt saṁjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 valáC 112 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dánta- ‘tooth’ and śíkhā ‘tuft, crest of hair on the head’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to form names (saṁjñā-y-ām).

*dánta+valáC* = *dantā-valá-* (6.3.118) ‘an elephant’. Similarly *śíkhā-valá-* ‘a peacock’.

### 5.2.114 <sup>1</sup>jyotsnā-<sup>2</sup>tamisrá-<sup>3</sup>śrng-iná-<sup>4</sup>ūrjas-vín=<sup>5</sup>ūrjas-valá-<sup>6</sup>go-mín-<sup>7</sup>maliná-<sup>8</sup>malīmasā-āḥ

The expressions jyot-snā ‘moon-light’, tamisarā ‘darkness’, śrng-iná- ‘horned’, ūrjas-vín-, ūrjas-valá- ‘vigorous’. go-mín- ‘possessing cattle’, maliná- and malīmasā- ‘soiled, dirty’ are introduced [as derived with appropriate taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 denoting ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*jyótis+ná+TāP* = *jyotṥs-nṥā* = *jyots-nā*; *tāmas+rā+Tāp* = *tamis+rā+ā* = *tamis-r-ā*; *śrngga+ináC* = *śrngṥ-iná-*; *ūrj+asyK+vñi/valáC* = *ūrjas-vñi/°valá-*; *go+mñi* = *go-mín-*. *mala+ináC/īmasāC* = *malṥ-iná-/°-īmasā-*.

### 5.2.115 aT-aḥ=<sup>1</sup>ñi-<sup>2</sup>ṭhaN-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ñi and ṭhaN are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] the phoneme short [a] [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

The governing term [anya-tará-syām 96, 109] recurs in these rules to enable the introduction of the general affix matUP 94. *daṇḍá-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti* = *daṇḍá+ñi-/ṭhaN/matUP* = *daṇḍ-ñn-/daṇḍ-ika-/daṇḍa-vát-* ‘carrying a staff’; *chattr-ñn-/cháttr-ika-/cháttra-vat-* ‘umbrella bearer’, but *khátvā-vat* ‘possessing a bedstead’.

### 5.2.116 vrīhí=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ñi and ṭhaN 115] are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vrīhí- ‘rice’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*vrīháy-aḥ a-syá/a-smín vā s-ánti* = *vrīhí+íni/ṭhaN* = *vrīhṭh-ín-/vrīhṭh-ika-/vrīhi-mát-* ‘consisting of rice’.

This class consists of stems which do not end in phoneme short [a]. [vrīhí-] occurs again in the next class of stems beginning with [tunda-] but there stands for its synonyms only.

### 5.2.117 túnda=ādi-bhyaḥ=iláC ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] iláC is introduced [after 3.1. 2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with túnda- ‘protuberant belly’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94.] in addition to (ca) [the affixes íni, ṭhaN 115 and matUP 94].

*túnda-ḥ a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti* = *túnda+iláC/íni/ṭhaN/matUP* = *tundṭh-ilá-/tund-ín-/túnd-ika-/túnda-vat-* ‘having a protuberant belly’; *udar-ilá-/udar-ín-/údar-ika-/udára-vat-* ‘possessing a large belly’; *śāl-ilá-/śāl-ín-/śāl-ika-/śāli-mat-* ‘containing rice’ as a synonym of [vrīhí-] occurring in this class.

### 5.2.118 <sup>1</sup>éka-<sup>2</sup>gó-pūrv-āt=ṭhaÑ nít-ya-m

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhaÑ is necessarily (nít-ya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with éka-° ‘one’ and gó-° ‘cow/bull’ as prior members (°-pūrv-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*éka-śata-m a-syá/a-smín ás-ti* = *éka-śata+ṭhaÑ* = *aika-śatṭh-ika-* ‘possessing or containing 101 pieces’. Similarly *go-sahará+ṭhaÑ* = *gaú-sahasrṭh-ika-* ‘possessing or containing 1000 cattle’.

### 5.2.119 <sup>1</sup>śata-<sup>2</sup>sahasra=ant-āt=ca niṣk-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhaÑ 118] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ending in °śatá- ‘100’ or saháśra- ‘1000’ as final members in composition (°-ant-āt) [after 3.1.2] niṣká- ‘name of a coin’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*niṣka-śatá-m a-syá a-smín vā ás-ti* = *niṣka+śatá+ṭhaÑ* = *naṣka-sat-ika-* ‘possessing or containing 100 niska-s’. Similarly *naṣka-sahas-rika-* ‘possessing or containing 1000 niska pieces’.

### 5.2.120 rūp-at=<sup>1</sup>ā-ha-ta-<sup>2</sup>pra-śamsáy-oḥ=yaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] rūpa- ‘shape, form’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to designate a punched coin (<sup>1</sup>ā-ha-ta- °) or ‘praise, worth’ (°-pra-śamsáy-oḥ).

*ā-ha-ta-m rūpa-m a-syá/a-smín vā = rūpa+yaP = rūpḥ-ya-* ‘a punch-marked coin’;  
*pra-śas-ta-m rūpa-m a-syá = rūp-ya-* ‘handsome, lovely’.

### 5.2.121 <sup>1</sup>as-<sup>2</sup>māyā-<sup>3</sup>medhā-<sup>4</sup>sráj-aḥ=vínī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vínī is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the element °-as, and the words māyā ‘illusion’, medhā ‘intellect’ and sráj- ‘garland’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

1. °-as: *yás-aḥ a-syá ás-ti = yás-as-vín-* ‘glorious, renowned’; *tap-as-vín-* ‘ascetic’; *pay-as-vín-* ‘full of milk or water’; 2. *māyā-vín-* ‘magician, sorcerer’; 3. *medhā-vín-* ‘intelligent, wise’; 4. *srag-vín-* ‘possessing garlands, containing garlands’.

### 5.2.122 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vínī 121] is variously (bahulá-,) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

1. occurs: *ágne tej-as-vín* ‘O brilliant Agni!’; *mekhalā-vín-* ‘possessing a girdle’; 2. does not occur: *sūrya-ḥ vārcas-vān* ‘the powerful sun’.

### 5.2.123 ūṇā-y-āḥ=yúS

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yúS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ūṇā ‘wool’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*ūṇā a-syá/a-smín vā ás-ti = ūṇā+yúS = ūṇā-yú-* ‘woolly, containing wool’. The marker [S] indicates that before this affix the stem is regarded as a padá (1.4.16), blocking out the operation of 6.4.64 whereby stem-final [°-ā] would have been replaced by Ø.

### 5.2.124 vác-o gmínī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] gmínī is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vác- ‘speech’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*vác a-syá ás-ti = vác+gmín = vāg-gmín- = vāg-mín- ‘eloquent’.*

### 5.2.125 <sup>1</sup>ālāC=<sup>2</sup>ātāC-au bahu-bhāṣ-īṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ālāC and ātāC are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 vác 124 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to signify a garrulous person.

*vác-ālā-/vác-ātā- ‘garrulous person’.*

### 5.2.126 sv-ām-ín=aiśvar-y-e

The expression sv-āmín- is introduced [as derived with the taddhita 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 āmínāC introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 svá-] ‘wealth’ (aiśvar-ye) to designate ‘master of wealth’.

The derivation above is by interpretation: *svá-m a-syá ás-ti = sva+āmínāC = sv-āmín-.*

### 5.2.127 árs-as=ādi-bhyaḥ=ác

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with árs-as ‘hemorrhoids’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*árs-āñs-i a-syá s-ánti = árs-as+ác = arś-as-á ‘one afflicted with hemorrhoids’;  
uras+ác = ur-as-á- ‘possessing a strong chest’.*

### 5.2.128 <sup>1</sup>dvaṁdvá=<sup>2</sup>upa-tāp-á-<sup>3</sup>garh-y-āt prāṇi-sth-āt íñi-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] íñi is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of Dvaṁdvá compounds, and words denoting ‘disease’ (upa-tāp-á-°), ‘contempt’ (garh-yà-°) occurring in animate or living beings (prāṇi-sth-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

1. *kaṭaka-valayá-é a-syá-h s-táḥ* = *kaṭaka-valayá+ín+NIP* (4.1.5) = *kaṭaka-valayá-ín-I* 'lady wearing a bracelet and a girdle'; 2. *kuṣṭha+ín* = *kuṣṭh-ín-*, *kilāś-ín-* 'leper, leprous'. 3. *kakud-ā-vart-ín-* 'a horse having a curl on its hump'; *kāka-tāluk-ín-* 'having the palate of a crow, contemptible', but *puṣpa-phala-vát-* 'possessing flowers and fruit' (said of a tree).

### 5.2.129 <sup>1</sup>vātá=<sup>2</sup>atī-sār-ā-bhyām kuK ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íñi 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *vā-tá-* 'flatulence' and *atī-sār-ā-* 'diarrhea' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this 94] and (ca) final increment kuK is inserted after them (before the affix).

*vā-tá-h a-syá/a-smín ás-ti= vāta+kuK+ín* = *vā-ta-k-ín-* 'flatulent'; similarly *atī-sār-a-k-ín-* 'afflicted with diarrhea'.

### 5.2.130 vāyas-i pūr-aṇ-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íñi 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals (*pūr-aṇ-āt*) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94] indicating age (*vāyas-i*).

*pañca-má-h mās-a-h a-syá* = *pañca-ma+íni* = *panca-m-ín-* 'aged 5 months'.

### 5.2.131 sukhá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íñi 128 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *sukhá-* 'happiness' [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

*sukh-ám a-syá ás-ti* = *sukhá+íni* = *sukh-ín-* 'happy'; *duḥ-kha+íni* = *duḥ-kh-ín-* 'miserable, sad, unhappy'.

### 5.2.132 <sup>1</sup>dhárma-<sup>2</sup>śīla-<sup>3</sup>várṇa=ant-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 íñi 128] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-dhárma- 'law', °-śīla- 'behavior' and °-várṇa- 'caste' as final members (°-ant-āt in composition) [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote 'belonging to or being in this' 94].

*brāhmaṇā-n-ām dhārma-ḥ a-syá ás-ti* = *brāhmaṇa-dharmá+íni* = *brāhmaṇa-dharmṭh-ín-* ‘who follows the laws prescribed for brahmins’; similarly: *brāhmaṇa-śilṭh-ín-/varṇṭh-ín-* ‘behaving like a br./belonging to the br. caste’.

### 5.2.133 hást-āt=jāt-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *íni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *hásta-* ‘hand’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to designate a species (*jā-t-au*).

*hásta-ḥ a-syá ás-ti* = *hastṭh-ín-* ‘elephant’.

### 5.2.134 várṇ-āt=brahma-cār-ín-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *íni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *várṇa-* ‘caste’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to designate a student of the Veda (*brah-ma-cār-ín-i*).

*várṇa-ḥ a-syá ás-ti* = *varṇṭh-ín-* ‘a student of the Vedá (belonging to the first three *várṇa*-s or castes), but in other meanings: *várṇa+matUP* (94) = *várṇa-vat-*.

### 5.2.135 púṣkara=ādi=bhyaḥ=deś-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *íni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *púṣkara-* ‘lotus’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] to designate a locality (*deś-é*).

*púṣkarā-n-i a-syām ś-anti* = *puṣkarṭh-ín+NIP* (4.1.5) = *puṣkar-ín-I* ‘a locality abounding in lotuses’. In other senses: *púṣkara+matUP*.

### 5.2.136 bála=ādi-bhyaḥ matUP=anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *matUP* is optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *bála-* ‘strength’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94, in addition to the affix *íni* 128].

*bála-m a-syá ás-ti* = *bála+matUP/íni* = *bála-vat-/balṭh-ín-* ‘powerful, mighty’.

### 5.2.137 saṁjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>man-<sup>2</sup>mā-bhyām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *īni* 128 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 terminating in 1.1.72] °-mán- and °ma- and [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94] when forming a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

1. °-mán: *prathimá a-syá ás-ti* = *prathi-mán+īni* = *prathim00+ín-* (6.4.144) = *prathim-ín+NīP* (4.1.5) = *prathim-ín-I* ‘the earth (possessing wideness or extent)’.
2. °-ma: *hó-ma-h a-syá ás-ti* = *hom-ín* ‘sacrificer’.

### 5.2.138 <sup>1</sup>kám=<sup>2</sup>sám=bhyām <sup>1</sup>bá-<sup>2</sup>bhá-<sup>3</sup>yúS=<sup>4</sup>tí-<sup>5</sup>tú-<sup>6</sup>tá-<sup>7</sup>yáS-ah

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] bá, bhá, yúS, tí, tú, tá and yáS are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kám- ‘water’ and sám- ‘prosperity’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94]

*kám a-syá ás-ti* = *kam-bá-/kam-bhá-/kaṁ-yú-/kan-tí-/kan-tú-/kan-tá-/kaṁ-yá-* ‘a cloud’; similarly: *sám-bá-/sám-bhá-/sám-yú-/śan-tí-/śan-tú-/śan-tá-/śaṁ-yá-* ‘happy, fortunate’. The marker [S] in the affixes indicates that the stems are regarded as *padá-s* and 8.4.58 as well as 8.3.23 operate.

### 5.2.139 <sup>1</sup>tundi-<sup>2</sup>vali-<sup>3</sup>vaṭe-r bhá-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] bhá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] tundi- ‘prominent navel’, vali- ‘wrinkle, pleat’ and vaṭi- ‘a species of ant’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

1. *tundi-r a-syá ás-ti* = *tundi-bhá-* ‘having a prominent navel’; 2. *vali-bhá-* ‘wrinkled, pleated’; 3. *vaṭi-bhá-* ‘having or containing a variety of ants’.

### 5.2.140 <sup>1</sup>ahám=<sup>2</sup>súbhám-or yúS

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yúS is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ahám ‘I’ and súbhám ‘good fortune, auspiciousness’ [ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet to denote ‘belonging to or being in this’ 94].

*ahám a-syá ás-ti* = *aham+yúS* = *aham-yú-* ‘proud, haughty, possessing a strong ego’; similarly *súbhām+yúS* = *súbhām-yú-* ‘fortunate, lucky, auspicious’.

### 5.3.1 prāk=diś-aḥ=vi-bhak-tí-ḥ

The technical term (t.t.) vi-bhak-tí- denotes the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced here-after, prior to (prāk) 27 below: [dik=śabdé-bhyaḥ sapta-m-ī=pañca-m-ī=prathamā-bhyaḥ díg-deśá-kālē-ṣu=ástāti-ḥ]

This governing rule heads the section 1-26 of this pāda, and the t.t. [vibhaktí-] will recur in each of them.

### 5.3.2 <sup>1</sup>kím=<sup>2</sup>sarvá-nāma(n)=<sup>3</sup>bahú-bhyaḥ á-dvi=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in this section occur after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of kím- ‘who, which, what’, all pronominal stems ( ° -sarvá-nāma- ° ) and bahú- ‘many’, excluding the sub-class (of pronominal stems) beginning with dví- ‘2’.

Since [kím] is normally included in the sub-class of pronominal stems headed by [dví-], its separate mention at the beginning of this rule is to block out the exclusion applying to this sub-class. *kú-tas*(iL 7), *kú-tra*(L 10) but *dvā-bhyām*, *dváy-os*. This excluded sub-class consists of *dví-*, *yusmád-*, *asmád*, *bhāvatU* and (*kím*).

### 5.3.3 idám-aḥ=iŚ

The element iŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] idám- ‘this [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes listed in the section 1-26 below 1].

*idám+há* (11) = *i-há* ‘in this, here’.

### 5.3.4 <sup>1</sup>etá=<sup>2</sup>it-au <sup>1</sup>ra-<sup>2</sup>th-oḥ

The substitute elements (= allomorphs) etá- and /it/ [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 idám 3 before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] phonemes [r] and [th].

*idám+rhiL* = *etá+rhiL* = *etá-rhi* (16) ‘at this time’; *idam+thámṡ* = *it+thám* (24) ‘thus’.

### 5.3.5 etád-aḥ=an

The substitute element /an/ [replaces the whole of 1.1.55] etád- ‘this’ [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 listed hereafter until 26 below 1].



Interpretation divides this rule into two parts by the usual procedure of yoga-vi-bhāg-a-: [etád-ah]: "the substitute element etád- and it- replace the whole of etád- before vibhaktí affixes beginning with [r, th] respectively" *etád+rhiL* = *etád-rhi*; *etád+thámu* = *it-thám*.

Then [an] which replaces the whole of etád- before vibhaktí affixes: *etad+traL* (10) = *án+tra* = *aθ-trá* (8.2.7) 'here'.

The reading [aś] is a variant found in Kāśikā which serves the same purpose; the present reading is according to Patañjali.

### 5.3.6 sárva-sya sá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām d-i

The substitute element sá- [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal stem 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' optionally (anya-tará-syām) before vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme [d]

*sarvá+da* = *sa-dá* 'always, at all times' (15) but not in *sárva-m da-dā-ti* = *sarva+dā+Ka+Tāp* (3.2.3; 4.1.4) = *sarva-dθ-á+ā* = *sarva-d-θ-ā* = *sarva-d-ā brāhmaṇí* 'a brahmin lady who gives up everything'.

### 5.3.7 pañcamy-ās=taśiL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *taśiL* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú- excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) [optionally 6].

*kím+NasI/bhyām/bhyas* = *kím+θ+taśiL* (2.4.71) = *kú-tas* (7.1.104) 'whence?'; similarly *sarvá-tas* 'from all sides'; *bahú-tas* 'from many sides'.

### 5.3.8 táse-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 *taśiL* 7] also replaces (ca) [the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *tási* (4.44-45) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, pronominal stems and bahú-, excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2].

*kím+tási* = *kím+taśiL* = *kú-tas* 'whence?' and similarly *sarvá-tas*, *bahú-tas*. The difference between [tási] and [taśiL] is in accentuation only.

### 5.3.9 <sup>1</sup>pári=<sup>2</sup>abhí-bhyām=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 *taṣi*L 7] is also introduced (ca) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of the preverbs pári- ‘around’ and abhí- ‘on both sides’

*pári+taṣi*L = *parí-tas* ‘on all sides’; *abhí+taṣi*L = *abhí-tas* ‘on both sides’.

### 5.3.10 saptamy-ās=traL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *tra*L is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of *kím*-, pronominal stems and *bahú*-, excluding the sub-class beginning with *dví*- 2, ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*sapta*-*m*-*y-āḥ*).

*kím+Ñi/os/suP* = *kím+∅+tra*L = *kú-tra* (7.2.104) ‘where?’; *sarvā-tra* ‘everywhere’, *bahú-tra* ‘in many places’, but *dváy-os*.

### 5.3.11 idám-aḥ=há-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *há* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *idám*- ‘this’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

*idam+Ñi/os/suP* = *idam+∅+há* = *iŚ+há* (3) = *i-há* ‘here, in this place’.

### 5.3.12 kím-aḥ=àT

[The taddhitá 1.4.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *àT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 3.1.2] *kím*- ‘which, what, who’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

*kím+Ñi/os/suP* = *kím+∅<sup>1</sup>+àT* = *kva+à* (7.2.105) = *kv-à* (6.1.97) ‘where?’.

### 5.3.13 vā há ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.72 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] *há* is also (ca) optionally (*vā*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *kím*- 12 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10].

*kím+Ñi/os/suP* = *kím+∅<sup>1</sup>+há* = *ku-há/kú-tra* (10).

### 5.3.14 itarā-bhyaḥ=āpi drś-y-ānte

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with tasiL 7] are also seen (drś-y-ante) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 sUP triplets 7] other than (itarābhyah) [the fifth 7 or the seventh 10]

By interpretation this is restricted to co-occurrence with words bhavatU 'your honour', dīrghāyus- 'long-living', āyus-mat- 'enjoying long life' and devā-n-ām-priyā- 'beloved of the gods': *sá bhávān/tá-tra bhávān/tá-to bhávān; tá-m bhávant-am/tá-tra bhávant-am/tá-to bhav- ant-am* etc.,

### 5.3.15 <sup>1</sup>sarvá=<sup>2</sup>éka=<sup>3</sup>anyá=<sup>4</sup>kím=<sup>5</sup>yád=<sup>6</sup>tád-aḥ kāl-é dā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all', éka- 'one' anyá- 'another', kím- 'what, who, which', yád 'which' (relative), tád- 'that', [ending in the seventh sUP triplet 10] to denote time (kāl-é).

*sárva-smín kāl-é = sarva-dā/sa-dā (6) 'always, at all times'; eka-dā 'once'; anya-dā 'another time'; ka-dā 'when' and ta-dā 'then, at that time'.*

### 5.3.16 idám-aḥ=rhiL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] rhiL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idám- 'this' [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote the time 15].

*a-smín kāl-é = idám+rhiL = eta+<sup>1</sup>rhiL (4) = etá-rhi 'at this time, now'.*

### 5.3.17 adhúnā

The irregular expression adhúnā is introduced as replacement for [the nominal stem 4.1.1 idám- 16 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

*a-smín kāl-é = adhúnā 'now'. According to Patañjali [idám] is replaced by [aś] before affix [dhúnā] giving the surface form a-dhúnā or [idám] is replaced by  $\emptyset$  before affix [ádhunā] yielding ádhunā.*

### 5.3.18 dānīm ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dānīm is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 idám- ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

$a-smín\ kāl-é = idám + Ni/os/suP = idám + \emptyset^1 + dānīm = i\acute{S} + dānīm = i-dānīm$  ‘at this time, now’.

The present rule confirms the position of [ádhuná 17] as a taddhitá vibhaktí affix rather than an irregularly formed expression. In view of the Vedic form *adhuná* one would have to associate marker [C] with that affix.

### 5.3.19 tád-aḥ=dā ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] dā in addition to (ca) [dānīm 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tád- ‘that’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

$ta-smín\ kāl-é = tad + \emptyset^1 + dā = taa + dā = ta-dā$  (7.2.102; 6.1.97) ‘then, at that time’/  
 $ta-dānīm$  (18).

### 5.3.20 táyor <sup>1</sup>dā-<sup>2</sup>rhiL-au ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affixes 3.1.1] dā and rhiL are also (ca) respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 those two (táy-oḥ) [nominal stems 4.1.1 idám- 16 and tád- 19, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10 to denote time 15].

$a-smín\ kāl-é = idám + \emptyset + dā = i\acute{S} + dā = i-dā/i-dānīm$  (18).

$tá-smín\ kāl-é = tad + \emptyset^1 + rhiL = taa + rhiL = tá-rhi/ta-dānīm$ .

### 5.3.21 án-adya-tan-e rhiL anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] rhiL is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising kím- ‘what, who, which’, pronominal stems and bahú- ‘many’, excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2, [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh sUP triplet 10] when referring to a period of time not belonging to the current day (án-adya-tan-e).

$kím + rhiL/dā = ká-rhi/ka-dā$  (7.2.103) ‘when? (in the future not belonging to the current day)’. Similarly  $yá-rhi/ya-dā$ ,  $tá-rhi/ta-dā$ .

**5.3.22** <sup>1</sup>sadyás=<sup>2</sup>parút-<sup>3</sup>parāri-<sup>4</sup>aiśámas=<sup>5</sup>paré-dyav-i=<sup>6</sup>adyá=<sup>7</sup>pūrv-e-dyús=<sup>8</sup>anye-dyús=<sup>9</sup>anya-tar-e-dyús=<sup>10</sup>itar-e-dyús=<sup>11</sup>apar-e-dyús=<sup>12</sup>adhar-e-dyús=<sup>13</sup>ubhay-e-dyús=<sup>14</sup>uttar-e-dyúḥ

The indeclinable expressions sadyás ‘on the same day’, parút ‘last year’, parāri ‘the year before last’, aiśámas ‘in the current year’, paré-dyav-i ‘tomorrow’, adyá ‘today’, pūrv-e-dyús ‘on the day before’, anye-dyús ‘on another day’, anya-tar-e-dyús ‘on either of two days’, itar-e-dyús ‘on a different day’, apar-e-dyús ‘on the day after’, adhar-e-dyús ‘on the day before yesterday’, ubhay-e-dyús ‘on both days’ and uttar-e-dyús ‘on a subsequent day’ are introduced [to denote time 15].

Interpretation attempts to analyze these surface forms as consisting of nominal stems ending in the seventh sUP triplet to indicate the period of time with replacement elements and a variety of vibhaktí affixes which cannot be generalized. The method of nipātana in these cases is the briefest and avoids proliferation of rules.

### 5.3.23 pra-kār-a-vác-an-e thāL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] thāL is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising kím- ‘what, which, who’ and pronominal stems and bahú- ‘many’, excluding the sub-class beginning with dví- 2] to denote mode or manner (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

*k-éna pra-kār-éna* = *kím*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*thāL*=*ka*+*thámṡ* (25) = *ka-thám* (7.2.103) ‘in what manner, by what means?’; similarly *yá-thā tá-thā*, *sarvá-thā* etc.

### 5.3.24 idám-as thámṡ-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] thámṡ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] idám- ‘this’ [to denote mode or manner 23].

*an-éna pra-kār-éna* = *idám*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*thámṡ* = *it-thám* (4) ‘this, in this manner’.

### 5.3.25 kím-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1 thámṡ 24] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kím- ‘what, which, who’ [to denote mode or manner 23].

*k-éna pra-kār-éna* = *kím*+ $\emptyset^1$ +*thámṡ* = *ka-thám* (7.2.103) ‘how, in what manner?’.

### 5.3.26 thá het-aú ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 vibhaktí 1 affix 3.1.1] thá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 kím- ‘what, who, which?’ 25] to denote the cause (het-aú) in addition to (ca) [mode or manner 23].

*kím+thá = ka-thá (7.2.103): (a) k-éna hetú-nā = ka-thá ná pṛech-á-si ‘for what reason are you not asking?’ (b) k-éna pra-kār-éna = ka-thá devá áś-an ‘in what shape or manner were the gods?’.*

### 5.3.27 dik=śabdé-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>sapta-mí-<sup>2</sup>pañca-mí-<sup>3</sup>prathamā-bhyaḥ=<sup>1</sup>dís-<sup>2</sup>deśá-<sup>3</sup>kālé-ṣu=ástāti-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ástāti is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of direction-words (dís-°) [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh (saptamí-°), fifth (°-pañcamí-°) or first (°-prathamā-bhyaḥ) sUP triplets to denote a direction (dís-°) or locality (°-deśá-°) or time (°-kālé-ṣu).

By interpretation the operation of 1.3.10 is not applicable in this rule. *pūrva-smin vás-a-ti/pūrva-smāt ā-ga-tá-h/pūrva-m ram-añya-m = pūrva+ástāti = pur-ástāt (40) vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-añya-m.*

### 5.3.28 <sup>1</sup>dákṣiṇa=<sup>2</sup>úttarā-bhyām atásuC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] atásuC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dákṣiṇa- ‘south’ and út-tara- ‘north’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

*dakṣiṇa-smin/dakṣiṇa-smāt/dakṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+<sup>0</sup>1+atásuC = dakṣiṇ<sup>0</sup>-atás= vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-añya-m; similarly uttar-atás.*

### 5.3.29 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>pára=<sup>2</sup>ávarā-bhyā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 atásuC 28] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.2] pára- ‘the one on the other side’ and ávara- ‘the one on this side’ [comprising direction words 27, ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

*pára-smin/pára-smāt/pára-m = pára+atásuC/ástāti = par<sup>0</sup>-atás/par<sup>0</sup>-ástāt*

*vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-añfya-m*; Similarly *avar-atás/avar-ástāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-añfya-m*.

### 5.3.30 añce-r luK

luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ástātī 27 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-añc- [comprising direction words ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

*prācy-ām diś-ī vás-a-ti = prācI+ $\emptyset^1$ +ástātī→luK = prāk vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-añfya-m*.

### 5.3.31 upári=upariṣṭāt

The expressions upá-ri and upá-riṣṭāt are introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

Interpretation analyzes these forms from the string *ardhvá+riL/riṣṭātiL = upá+ri/upá-riṣṭāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-añfya-m*.

### 5.3.32 paścāt

The expression paścāt is introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

Interpretation again analyzes this form from the string *ápara-smīn/ápara-smāt/ápara-m = apara+ātī = paśca+āt = paśc $\emptyset$ -āt* where the stem [ápara- 'west'] is replaced by the morpheme [paśca-].

### 5.3.33 <sup>1</sup>paśca-<sup>2</sup>paścā ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expressions paścā and paścā are introduced [to denote the sense of direction, locality or time' 27].

The function of interpretation is to attempt to give the underlying structure of such formations given as nipātana-s in the sūtra-s. Here it indicates that affixes [á], [ā] are introduced after [ápara- 'west'] which is then replaced by the substitute morpheme [paśca-] as in the previous sūtra: *ápara+ā/ā = pasca+ā/ā = pasc $\emptyset$ -ā/pasc $\emptyset$ -ā* 'western, behind'.

### 5.3.34 <sup>1</sup>úttara=<sup>2</sup>ádharma=<sup>3</sup>dákṣiṇ-āt=āti-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áti is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] úttara- ‘north’, ádhara- ‘below’ and dákṣiṇa- ‘south’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27].

*úttara-smin/úttara-smāt/úttara-m = úttara+āti = uttarθ-āt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-aṇfya-m; similarly: adharθ-āt; dakṣiṇθ-āt vās-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-aṇfya-m.*

### 5.3.35 enaP=anya-tará-syām á-dūre=á-pañcamy-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] enaP is introduced optionally (anya-tará-syām) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27 úttara- ‘north’, ádhara- ‘below’ and dákṣiṇa- ‘south’ 34 ending in the seventh and first sUP triplets 27] excluding the fifth (á-pañcamy-āḥ) to indicate ‘vicinity’ (á-dūr-e).

*úttara-smin/úttaram = úttara+enaP / áti (34) = úttarθ-ena / uttarθ-āt vās-a-ti/ram-aṇfya-m; ádhar-ena/adhar=āt; dakṣiṇ-ena / dakṣiṇ-āt etc.*

### 5.3.36 dákṣiṇ-āt áC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] dákṣiṇa ‘south’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh or first sUP triplet 27 excluding the fifth 35 to denote direction, locality or time 27].

*dákṣiṇa-smin/dákṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+áC = dákṣiṇθ-á vās-a-ti/ramaṇfya-m, but dákṣiṇa-táh ā-ga-tá-h.*

### 5.3.37 áhi ca dūr-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áhi, in addition to (ca) [áC 36, is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27 dákṣiṇa- ‘south’ 36 ending in the seventh or first sUP triplet 27, excluding the fifth 35 to denote direction, locality or time 27] which is distant (dūr-é).

*dákṣiṇa-syām/dákṣiṇa-m = dákṣiṇa+áhi/áC = dákṣiṇθ-áhi/’-á vās-a-ti/ram-aṇfya-m.*



### 5.3.38 úttar-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 áC 36 and áhi 37] are also (ca) [introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] úttara- ‘north’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh and first sUP triplets 27 excluding the fifth 35 to denote a direction, locality or time 27 which is distant 37].

*úttara-syām/úttara-m = uttarθ-āhi/uttarθ-ā vás-a-ti/ram-añfya-m.*

### 5.3.39 <sup>1</sup>pūrva=<sup>2</sup>ádharma=<sup>3</sup>ávarā-n-ām ási <sup>1</sup>pur=<sup>2</sup>adh=<sup>3</sup>av-as=ca=e-śām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ási is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27] pūrva- ‘east’, ádhara- ‘below’ and ávara- ‘inferior’ [ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 27] and the substitute elements pur-, adh- and av- [respectively 1.3.10] replace these stems (e-śām).

*pūrva-syām/’-smin, pūrva-syāh/’-smāt, pūrv-ā/pūrva-m = pūrva+ási = pur-ás  
vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-añfya-m.*

Similarly: *adhara+ási = adh-ás; avara+ási = av-ás.*

### 5.3.40 ástāt-i ca

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ástāti introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of direction words 27 pūrva- ‘east’, ádhara- ‘below’ and ávara- ‘inferior’ 39 ending in 1.1.72 the seventh, fifth or first sUP triplets to denote direction, locality or time 37, the substitute morphemes pur-, adh- and av- (respectively 1.3.10) replace these stems 39].

*pūrva+ástāti = pur-ástāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tā-h/ram-añfya-m; likewise: adhara+ástāt  
= adh-ástāt; avara+ástāt = av-ástāt. In both 39 and 40 since the substitute mor-  
phemes consist of more than single phonemes they replace the whole of the sub-  
stituends by 1.1.55.*

### 5.3.41 vibhāṣā=āvara-sya

[The substitute morpheme av- 39] optionally replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the direction word 27] āvara- 'inferior, below' [before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ástāti 40].

*avara+ástāti = av-ástāt/avar-ástāt vás-a-ti/ā-ga-tá-h/ram-aṇīya-m.*

### 5.3.42 saṁkhyā-y-āḥ=-vidhā=arth-é dhā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhā is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising a numeral (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) to denote mode or manner (vidhā=arth-é).

*eka-dhā* 'once'; *dvi-dhā* 'twice'; *tri-dhā* 'thrice' etc.

### 5.3.43 adhi-kar-aṇa-vi-cāl-é ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā 42] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42 to denote a modification of a substance (adhi-kar-aṇa-vi-cāl-é).

*dvi-dhā ku-rú / sapta-dhā ku-rú* 'divide (something) into two/seven parts'.

### 5.3.44 ék-āt=dh-áḥ=dhyamuñ=anya-tará-syām

The substitute morpheme dhyamuñ optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix dhā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of the numeral 42] éka- 'one' to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43.

*eka+dhyamuñ/dhā = aśka-dhyam/eka-dhā bhuk-té/ku-rú* 'eats once only/make into a single entry (what was a collection of objects before)'.

### 5.3.45 <sup>1</sup>dvi-<sup>2</sup>try-os=ca dhamuñ

The substitute morpheme dhamuñ [optionally 44 replaces the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42] dví- '2' and trí- '3' [to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43].

The particle [ca] in the rule implies recurrence of [anya-tará-syām] from the preceding rule: *dví+dhamuñ/dhā = dvāf-dham/dvī-dhā; trāf-dham/trī-dhā.*

### 5.3.46 edhāC ca

The substitute morpheme edhāC also [optionally 44 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 dhā 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of numerals 42 dví- '2' and trí- '3' 45 to denote mode or manner 42 or modification of a substance 43].

$$dví+edhāC/dhamu\tilde{N}/dhā = dv\emptyset-edhā/dvaí-dham/dvi-dhā \quad tr-edhā/traí-dham/tri-dhā.$$

### 5.3.47 yāp-y-è pāśaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] pāśaP is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 pleonastically to denote (something) as insignificant or unimportant (yāp-y-è).

$$vaiy-ā-kar-aṇá+pāśaP = vaiyākaraṇá-pāśa-h = kute-i-tá-h vaiyākaraṇá-h \text{ 'an insignificant grammarian'}$$

### 5.3.48 pūraṇāt=bhāg-é tīy-āt=aN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of an ordinal (pūraṇ-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] °-tīya- (2.54-55) to denote a fraction (bhāg-é).

$$dvi-tīya+aN = dví=tīy\emptyset-a- \text{ 'one half'}; \text{ similarly } tṛ-tīya+aN = tṛ-tīy\emptyset-a- \text{ 'one third'}$$

### 5.3.49 prāk=ékā-daśá-bhyaḥ=á-cchandas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 aN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of ordinals 48] preceding [prāk] eleventh (ékā-daśa-) [to denote a fraction 48] excluding the domain of Chāndas (á-cchandas-i).

$$\begin{aligned} pañca-má+aN &= pánca-m\emptyset-a \text{ 'one-fifth'}; sapta-má+aN = sápta-m-a- \text{ 'one-seventh'}; \\ nava-má/daśa-má+aN &= náva-m-a/dáśa-m-a- \text{ 'one-ninth/one-tenth'}, \text{ but} \\ ekā-daśa+DāT (2.48) &= ekā-daś\emptyset-á- \text{ 'one-eleventh'}. \end{aligned}$$

### 5.3.50 <sup>1</sup>ṣaṣṭhá=<sup>2</sup>aṣṭa-mā-bhyām Ña ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ña, in addition to (ca) [aN 48 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of ordinals 48]

ṣaṣṭhá 'sixth' and aṣṭa-má 'eighth' [to denote a fraction, excluding the domain of Chándas 49].

$\dot{\text{ṣaṣṭha}} + \tilde{\text{Na}}/\text{aN} = \dot{\text{ṣaṣṭh}}\emptyset\text{-a}/\dot{\text{ṣaṣṭh}}\emptyset\text{-a}$  'one-sixth'; similarly  $\text{aṣṭa-má} + \tilde{\text{Na}}/\text{aN} = \text{áṣṭa-m}\emptyset\text{-a}/\text{áṣṭa-m}\emptyset\text{-a}$  'one-eighth'.

### 5.3.51 ${}^1\text{māna-}{}^2\text{paśu=āṅge-bhyaḥ} {}^1\text{kaN-}{}^2\text{luK-au ca}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN and luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replacement [of aN 48 or  $\tilde{\text{Na}}$  50] as well as (ca) [aN 48 or  $\tilde{\text{Na}}$  50 are introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of the ordinals 48 ṣaṣṭhá- '6th' and aṣṭa-má- '8th' 50 to denote fractions 48] relating to a measure (māná-) or limbs of an animal (°-paśu-āṅge-bhyaḥ) [respectively 1.3.10].

By meta-rule 1.3.10 [kaN] is introduced after [ṣaṣṭhá-] and luK after [aṣṭa-má-] while aN and  $\tilde{\text{Na}}$  are valid for both:  $\dot{\text{ṣaṣṭhá}} + \text{kaN} = \dot{\text{ṣaṣṭha-ka-}}$  'one-sixth of a measure'; elsewhere:  $\dot{\text{ṣaṣṭhá}} + \text{aN}/\tilde{\text{Na}} = \dot{\text{ṣaṣṭh}}\emptyset\text{-a}/\dot{\text{ṣaṣṭh}}\emptyset\text{-a}$ .

$\text{aṣṭa-má} + (\text{aN}/\tilde{\text{Na}} \rightarrow \text{luK}) = \text{aṣṭamá-}$  'one-eighth of an animal limb'; elsewhere:  $\text{aṣṭa-má} + \text{aN}/\tilde{\text{Na}} = \text{áṣṭa-m}\emptyset\text{-a}/\text{áṣṭa-m}\emptyset\text{-a}$ .

### 5.3.52 $\text{ék-āt=ākínīC ca=á-sahāy-e}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ākínīC is introduced in addition to (ca) [kaN and luK replacement 51 (of kaN or ākínīC) after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] éka- 'one' to denote 'alone, not accompanied by any other' (á-sahāy-e).

$\text{éka} + \text{ākínīC}/\text{kaN}/(\text{kaN}/\text{ākínīC} \rightarrow \text{luK}) = \text{ek}\emptyset\text{-ākin-}/\text{éka-ka-}/\text{éka-}$  'alone, solo, sole'.

### 5.3.53 $\text{bhū-ta-pūrv-é cáraṬ}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cáraṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] signifying 'was so before' (bhū-ta-pūrv-é).

$\text{āḍhyá-h} \text{ bhū-ta-pūrvá-h} = \text{āḍhyá} + \text{cáraṬ} = \text{āḍhya-cára-}$  (m.)/ °cár-ī (f. 4.1.15) 'who was formerly rich'.

### 5.3.54 $\text{ṣaṣṭhy-á rūpya ca}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpya, in addition to (ca) [cáraṬ 53 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-áh) [to denote 'belonging to him previously or formerly' 53].

*deva-dattá-sya bhūta-pūrvá-h gaú-h* = *devadatta+rūpya-/cāraT* = *devadatta=rūpya-h/° cāra-h gaú-h* ‘a bull formerly belonging to Devadatta’.

### 5.3.55 *ati-sāy-an-e* <sup>1</sup>*tamaP*=<sup>2</sup>*iṣṭhaN-au*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *tamaP* and *iṣṭhaN* are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote ‘superlative excellence’ (*ati-sāy-an-e*).

*ādhyá+tamaP* = *ādhyá-tama-* ‘richest, most prosperous’; *paṭu+iṣṭhaN* = *pátṭh-iṣṭha-* ‘most skilled, ablest’.

### 5.3.56 *tiñ-as=ca*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 *tamaP* and *iṣṭhaN* 55] are also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2] verbal stems [ending in 1.1.72] the personal *l*-substitutes *tiñ* [to denote superlative excellence 55]

*pác-a-ti+tamaP* = *pác-a-t-tama+ām* (4.11) = *pác-a-ti-tam-ām* ‘cooks the best’. The affix [*iṣṭhaN*], however, is not illustrated as it can occur only after qualifying words [*guṇa-vácana-*], cf. 58 below.

### 5.3.57 <sup>1</sup>*dvi-vac-aná-°vi-bhaj-ya=upa-pad-é* <sup>1</sup>*taraP*=<sup>2</sup>*īyasuN-au*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *taraP* and *īyasuN* are introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 and verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 personal *l*-substitutes *tiñ* 56] to express a comparison between two co-occurring objects (*dvi-vacaná-°*) or that from which something is to be distinguished’ (*°vi-bhaj-ya=upa-pad-é*).

*ādhyá+taraP* = *ādhyá-tara-* ‘richer or more opulent of two’; *pác-a-ti-tar-ām* ‘cooks the better of two’; *paṭu+īyasuN* = *pátṭh-īyas-* ‘cleverer or abler of two’.

### 5.3.58 *áC=ād-ī guṇa-vác-an-āt=evá*

[The *taddhitá* 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel phoneme (*aC=ādī*) [= *iṣṭhaN* 55, *īyasuN* 57 are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] which are qualifying words (*guṇa-vác-an-āt*) only (*evá*).

*paṭu+iṣṭhaN/īyasuN* = *pátṭh-iṣṭha-/īyas-* or alternately *paṭu-tama-/tara-* ‘most competent/more competent’ but *pác-aka-tama/°-tara-* ‘best/better of cooks’.

### 5.3.59 tu-s=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme (iṣṭhaN 55, ṛyasuN 57) 58 are introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in the affixes 3.1.1] °-tṛ- (= tṛN 3.2.135, tṛC 3.3.169).

*kár-tṛ+iṣṭhaN* = *kárθθ-iṣṭha-* (6.4.154): *ā-su-tī-m kár-iṣṭha-h* ‘best distiller of all’; similarly *duh+tṛN/tṛC+ÑIP* = *dóh+tṛ+ÑIP+ṛyasuN* = *dóh+tṛ+θ+ṛyasuN* (by vārt. 11 on 6.3.35) = *dóh+θθ-ṛyas+ÑIP* (6.4.154) *dóh-ṛyas-I dhe-nú-h* ‘the better of two milk-cows’.

### 5.3.60 pra-śás-ya-sya śra-h

The substitute morpheme śra replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] pra-śás-ya- ‘praiseworthy’ [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel (iṣṭhaN 55 and ṛyasuN 57) 58].

*pra-śás-ya+iṣṭhaN/ṛyasuN* = *śra+iṣṭha/ṛyas* = *śréṣṭha-/śréyas-* ‘most/more praiseworthy, best/better’.

### 5.3.61 jya ca

The substitute morpheme jya also replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 praśásya- ‘praiseworthy’ 60 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṛyasuN 57).

*pra-śás-ya+iṣṭhaN/ṛyasuN* = *jya+iṣṭhaN/ṛyasuN* = *jyéṣṭha-/jyáyas-* (6.4.160).

### 5.3.62 vṛddhá-sya ca

[The substitute morpheme jya 61] also replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] vṛddhá- ‘old, aged’ [before 1.4.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṛyasuN 57)].

*vṛddhá+iṣṭhaN/ṛyasuN* = *jya+iṣṭha/ā-yas* (6.4.160) = *jyéṣṭha-/jyáyas-* ‘eldest, oldest/elder, older’.

### 5.3.63 <sup>1</sup>antiká-<sup>2</sup>bāḍhay-or <sup>1</sup>neda-<sup>2</sup>sādh-au

The substitute morphemes neda- and sādha- respectively 1.3.10 replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stems 4.1.1] antiká- ‘near’ and bāḍha- ‘good’ [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.1 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṭyasuN 57)].

*antiká+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *neda+iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* = *nédṭṭ-iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* ‘nearest/nearer’;  
*bāḍhá+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *sādh+iṣṭha-/ṭyas-*; *sādhṭṭ-iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* ‘best/better’.

### 5.3.64 <sup>1</sup>yúva(n)=<sup>2</sup>álpay-oh kaN anya-tará-syām

The substitute morpheme kaN optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stems 4.1.1] yúvan- ‘youth’ and álpa- ‘small’ [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṭyasuN 57)].

*yúvan+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *kán-iṣṭha-/kán-ṭyas-* ‘youngest/younger’; alternately:  
*yu-ṭṭṭ+iṣṭha/iyas* (6.4.156) = *yo+iṣṭha/ṭyas* (6.4.146) = *yáv-iṣṭha-/yáv-ṭyas-*;  
similarly *álpa+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *kán-iṣṭha-/kán-ṭyas-*, *álpṭṭ-iṣṭha-/álp-ṭyas*  
‘smallest/smaller’.

### 5.3.65 <sup>1</sup>vin-<sup>2</sup>matOr luK

luK (ṭ<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] °-vin- (2.21) and matUP (2.94) introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes beginning with a vowel phoneme 58 (= iṣṭhaN 55 and ṭyasuN 57).

1. °-vín-: *srag-vín+iṣṭhaN/ṭyasuN* = *sráj-ṭ<sup>1</sup>+iṣṭha/ṭyas* ‘most/more covered with garlands’.
2. °-matUP-: *tvác+matUP+iṣṭha/ṭyasuN* = *tvác+ṭ<sup>1</sup>-iṣṭha-/ṭyas-* ‘possessing the best/better skin’.

### 5.3.66 pra-śaṁs-ā-y-ām rūpaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rūpaP is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote praise (pra-śaṁs-ā-y-ām).

*prá-śas-ta-ḥ vaiyā-kar-aṇ-á-ḥ* = *vaiyākarāṇa-rūpa-ḥ* ‘an excellent grammarian’.

### 5.3.67 ṭṣad-a-sam-āp-t-áú <sup>1</sup>kalpaP-<sup>2</sup>désya-<sup>3</sup>deśíyaR-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] kalpaP, désya- and deśíyaR are introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote ‘not quite fully’ (ṭṣad-a-sam-āp-t-áú).

*ṭṣad-a-sam-āp-tá-ḥ pátu-ḥ* = *patú-kalpa-ḥ* / *‘désya-ḥ/deśíya-ḥ* ‘not quite fully accomplished’. Applicable also in the case of verbal stems ending in personal l-substitutes tiÑ (56): *pác-a-ti-kalpam* ‘not quite fully cooks’.

### 5.3.68 vibhāṣā sUP-aḥ=bahúC pur-ástāt tu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] bahúC is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced before (pur-ástāt tu) [a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a sUP triplet [to denote ‘not quite fully’ 67].

*ṭṣad-a-sam-āp-tá-ḥ pátu-ḥ* = *bahú-pātu-ḥ* ‘not quite so fully sharp’. Alternate forms can be generated with the affixes listed in 67 above.

### 5.3.69 pra-kār-a-vác-an-e jāťíyaR

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] jāťíyaR is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote a specific characteristic (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

*mṛdu-pra-kār-á-ḥ* = *mṛdu-jāťíya-ḥ* ‘belonging to the class of soft objects’.

The affix [thāL] which is also introduced (22 above) to denote a mode or manner differs from this which signifies an object possessing that mode or manner.

### 5.3.70 prāk=iv-āt ká-ḥ

In the section beginning here and extending prior to 96 below [iv-e prati-kṛ-t-au 96, the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ká- is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 the denote the senses listed in this section].

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) and the affix [ká-] will recur in each subsequent rule prior to 96 below, unless otherwise specified.

### 5.3.71 <sup>1</sup>ávyaya-<sup>2</sup>sarva-nāmn-ām ákaC prāk ṭE-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ákaC is introduced before the syllable beginning with the last vowel [prāk ṭE-ḥ, cf. 1.1.64] of [nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of indeclinables (á-vy-aya-°) and pronominal bases



(°-sarva-nāmn-ām) [and verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 personal l-substitutes 56 to denote the senses listed in this section 70-95].

Exception to [ká-]. 1. ávy-ay-a: *uccais+ákāC* = *ucc-ák- ais* 'with a high pitch'; 2. sarva-nāmán: *sarva+Jas+ákāC* = *sarva+Śī+ákāC* (7.1.17) = *sarv+ákāC+a+I* = *sarv-ák-e* 'all'; 3. tiÑ: *pac-a-ti+ákāC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks'.

Since this affix is inserted after the simplex or declined nominal stem sometimes it occurs after the simple stem or sometimes after the declined stem: (a) simple nominal stem: *yusmā-bhis+ákāC* = *yusm-ák-ā-bhis* 'by you (pl.)'; (b) declined nominal stem: *tvay-ā+ákāC* = *tvay-ák-ā* 'by thee'.

### 5.3.72 ka-sya ca da-ḥ

The phoneme [d] replaces [the final 1.1.72] phoneme [k] of [an indeclinable 71 nominal stem 4.1.1 in the presence of the affix *ákāC* 71].

*dhik+ákāC* = *dh-ak-ik* = *dh-ák-id* = *dh-ák-it* (8.4.56); *prthak+ákāC* = *prth-ák-ak* = *prth-ak-ad* = *prth-ák-at* 'separately'.

### 5.3.73 á-jñā-t-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ká* 70 or *ákāC* 71] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 56] to denote 'unknown' (á-jñā-t-e).

*ásva+ká-* = *ásva-ká-* 'a certain horse whose ownership is unknown'; *pac-a-ti+ákāC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'does he cook?'.

### 5.3.74 kuts-i-t-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ká* 70 or *ákāC* 71] is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 56] pejoratively (*kuts-i-t-é*).

*kuts-i-tá-ḥ áśva-ḥ* = *ásva-ká-ḥ* 'a nag'; *pac-a-ti+ákāC* = *pac-a-t-ák-i* 'cooks badly'.

### 5.3.75 saṁjñā-y-ām kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.1 affix 3.1.1] *kaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [pejoratively 74].

*kuts-i-tá-ḥ śūdrá-ḥ* = *śūdrá+kaN* = *śūdra-ka-ḥ* 'Name of a person (= contemptible śūdrá)'.

### 5.3.76 anu-kamp-ā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC71 is respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 56] to denote compassion' (anu-kamp-ā-y-ām).

*putrá+ká-* = *putra-ká-* 'poor son/child'; similarly *vatsa-ká-* 'poor or dear calf'.  
*svap-i-t-ák-i* 'sleeps poorly'.

### 5.3.77 ní-t-au ca tád-yuk-t-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 or ákaC 71 is respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 56] to denote an act of relief (ní-t-au) associated with that (compassion 76: tád-yuk-t-āt).

*hánta te dhāna-ká-ḥ* (*dhāna+ká+Jas*) 'See! here are barley grains for you';  
*e-hi+ákqC* = *e-h-ák-i* 'please come'.

### 5.3.78 bahv-ác-aḥ manuṣya-nāmn=aḥ ṭhác=vā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭhác is optionally (vā) introduced [after 3.1.2] a polysyllabic (bahv-ác-aḥ) [nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a personal name (manuṣya-nāmn-aḥ) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

The option is with reference to affix [ká-]. *devadattá+ṭhácC/ká-* = *devṭh-iká-* (83) / *devadatta-ká-* 'poor Devadatta!'.  
*devadattá+ghaN/ilác/ṭhác/ká-* = *devṭh-iyā-/devṭh-ilá-/devṭh-iká-* (83)/*devadatta-ká-*.

### 5.3.79 <sup>1</sup>ghaN-<sup>2</sup>ilác-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] ghaN and ilác, in addition to (ca) [ṭhác 78 and ká 70 are introduced after 3.1.2 a polysyllabic 78 nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78 to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

*devadattá+ghaN/ilác/ṭhác/ká-* = *devṭh-iyā-/devṭh-ilá-/devṭh-iká-* (83)/*devadatta-ká-*.

### 5.3.80 prác-ām úpa=āde-r <sup>1</sup>aḍác=<sup>2</sup>vuC-au ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] aḍác and vuC, in addition to (ca) [ghaN, ilác 78, ṭhác 78 and ká 70 are introduced after 3.1.2 a polysyl-

labic 78 nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78] co-occurring with úpa-° as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ in composition) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief connected with it 77] according to Eastern Grammarians (prāc-ām).

*upendra-datta+adāC/vuC/ghaN/ilāC/ṭhāC/kā = upṭṭ-adā-/úp-aka-/úp-īya-/up-ild-/up-ikā-/upendra-datta-kā- (83).*

### 5.3.81 jāti-nāmn-aḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affx 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 76] expressing a species (jāti-nāmn-aḥ) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77].

*vyāghrá+kaN = vyāghra-ka- 'poor Vy.'; similarly śínha-ka-, śárabha-ka- etc.*

### 5.3.82 ajína=anta-sya=uttara-pada-lopás=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 81 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a personal name 78] co-occurring with °-ajína- 'skin' as final member (°-anta-sya in composition) [to denote compassion 76 or an act of relief associated with it 77] and (ca) lopa (=∅) replaces the final member (uttara-pada-lopá-ḥ).

*ānu-kamp-i-ta-ḥ vyāghrájina-ḥ = vyāghrájina+kaN = vyāghrá-∅+kan = vyāghra-ka-ḥ.*

### 5.3.83 ṭha=²áC=ād-au=ūrdhvá-m̐ dvi-tíy-āt=aC-aḥ

[Lopa (∅) replacement 82 of syllables] takes place following the second one (dvi-tíy-āt=aC-aḥ) [occurring in this section 70-95 before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes ṭhāC 78 and those beginning with a vowel (aC=ād-au = ghaN, ilāC 79, ṭhāC 78, adāC, vuC 80)].

*ānu-kamp-i-ta-ḥ deva-dattá-ḥ = deva-∅+ṭhāC/ghaN/ilāC = dev-ikā-/dév-īya-/dev-ild-; upendra-dattá+ṭhāC/ghan/ilāC/adāC/vuC = upa+ikā = upṭṭ-ikā-/úp-īya-/up-ild-/up-adā-/up-akā-.*

### 5.3.84 <sup>1</sup>śévala-<sup>2</sup>suparí-<sup>3</sup>viśālā-<sup>4</sup>vāruṇa-<sup>5</sup>aryamán=ādī-n-ām tṛ-tīy-āt

[Lopa (Ø) replacement 82 of syllables] takes place following the third (tṛ-tīy-āt) [of nominal stems 4.1.1 occurring in this section 70-95 before the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes ṭhāC and those beginning with a vowel 83 (= ghaN, ilāC, 79) introduced after nominal stems 4.1.1] co-occurring with śévala-°, suparí-°, viśālā-°, vāruṇa-° and aryamán-° as prior members (° ādī-n-ām in composition).

*anu-kamp-i-tá-h śévala-dattá-h = śévala-dattá+ṭhāC/ghaN/ilāC =  
śevalθ-iká-h/śéval-iya-h/śeval-ilá-h; on the same pattern:  
supar-iká-/súpar-iya-/supar-ilá-; viśāl-ika-/viśāl-iya-/viśāl-ilá-; varuṇ-iká-/  
vāruṇ-iya-/varuṇ-ilá-; aryam-iká-/áryam-iya-/aryam-ilá- (6.4.144).*

### 5.3.85 álp-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 ka 70 and ákaC71 are respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 or a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 56] to denote ‘small’ (álp-e).

*álpa-m tailá-m = taila+ká = taila-ká-m ‘a small quantity of oil’; pác-a-ti+ákaC =  
pac-a-t-ák-i ‘cooks a little’.*

### 5.3.86 hrasv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ká 70 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote ‘short’ (hrasv-é).

*hrasvá-h vṛkṣá-h = vṛkṣa+ká- = vṛkṣa-ká-h ‘a short or stunted tree’; daṇḍá+ká =  
daṇḍa-ká- ‘a short staff’.*

### 5.3.87 saṁjñā-y-ām kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote ‘shortness’ 86] for deriving a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

*hrasvá-h vaṁśá-h = vaṁśá+kaN = vāṁśa-ka-h ‘n.pr.’ and similarly  
vénu-ka-h/dāṇḍa-ka-h etc.*

### 5.3.88 <sup>1</sup>kuṭī-<sup>2</sup>sāmī-<sup>3</sup>śuṇḍā-bhyaḥ rá-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] rá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kuṭī ‘hut’, sāmī ‘a species of tree’ and śuṇḍā ‘trunk of an elephant’ [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

*hrasvá kuṭī/sāmī/śuṇḍā* = *kuṭī-rá-/sāmī-rá-/śuṇḍā-rá* ‘low hut / short or stunted S. tree / short trunk of an elephant.’

### 5.3.89 kutv-āḥ ḌupáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌupáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kutū ‘a leather oil bottle’ [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

*hrasvá kutū* = *kutū+ḌupáC* = *kutṡ+upá-* (6.4.143) ‘a diminutive leather oil bottle’.

### 5.3.90 <sup>1</sup>kāsū-<sup>2</sup>goṇī-bhyām Ṣṭarác

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ṣṭarác is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kāsū ‘lance’ and goṇī ‘sack’ [to denote shortness or diminution 86].

*hrasvá kāsū/goṇī* = *kāsū/goṇī+Ṣṭarác+NIS* (4.1.41) = *kāsū-tarī/goṇī-tarī* ‘diminutive lance/sack’.

### 5.3.91 <sup>1</sup>vatsá=<sup>2</sup>ukṣá(n)=<sup>3</sup>ásva-<sup>4</sup>ṛṣabhé-bhyaḥ tanu-tv-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ṣṭarác 90 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vatsá- ‘calf’, ukṣán- ‘bull’, ásva- ‘horse’ and ṛṣabhá- ‘bull’ to denote ‘tenderness’ (tanu-tv-é).

*vatsa-tará-* m. ( ‘-tarī f.) ‘weaned calf, not yet adult’; so also *ukṣa-tará-* ( ‘rī f.)/*ásva-tará-* ( ‘rī f.)/*ṛṣabha-tará-* ( ‘rī f.) ‘young bull/mule/young bull’.

### 5.3.92 <sup>1</sup>kím=<sup>2</sup>yád-<sup>3</sup>tád-aḥ nir-dhār-aṇ-e dváy-or éka-sya Datarác

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Datarác is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] comprising the pronominal bases kím- ‘what, which, who’, yád- ‘who, which (relative)’ and tád- ‘that’ (correlative) for determining (nir-dhār-aṇ-e) one among two (dváy-or éka-sya).

*kím+ḌataráC* = *kṡ-atará-* ‘which of (any) two?’ and similarly *y-atará-/t-atará-* ‘which of two’/‘that of two’.

### 5.3.93 *vā bahū-n-ām jāti-pari-praśn-é ḌatamáC*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ḌatamáC* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the pronominal bases *kím-* ‘who’, *yád-* ‘who’ and *tád-* ‘that’ to determine one 92] among many (*bahū-n-ām*) optionally (*vā*) in a question involving genus or caste [*jāti-pari-praśné*].

*kím+ḌatamáC* = *kṡ-atamá-ḥ bhávat-ām kaṭhá-ḥ?* ‘which of many among you is a follower of the K. school?’. Similarly *y-atamá-/t-atamá-*.

The option is with reference to [ákāC 71]. *ya-ká-ḥ bhávat-ām kaṭhá-ḥ?* When a question involving genus or caste is not pertinent, no affix is required: *yá-ḥ bhávat-ām kaṭhá-ḥ sá á-gacch-a-tu* ‘the one who is a follower of K. school among you may come’.

### 5.3.94 *ék-āt=ca prāc-ām*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *ḌataráC* 92 or *ḌatamáC* 93 is] also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *éka-* ‘one’ [to determine respectively one among two 92 or among many 93] according to Eastern Grammarians (*prāc-ām*).

*eka+ḌataráC/ḌatamáC* = *eka-tará/’-tamá-* ‘one of two/many’.

### 5.3.95 *ava-kṣép-aṇ-e kaN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *kaN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote derision (*ava-kṣép-aṇ-e*).

*vy-ā-kár-aṇa- + kaN* = *vyá-karaṇa-ka-* ‘bad grammar, a little knowledge of grammar’ as in: *vy-ā-kar-aṇa-k-éna tvám garu-i-tá-ḥ* ‘you, boasting of your little knowledge of grammar’.

### 5.3.96 *iv-e prati-kṛ-t-au*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *kaN* 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to denote the sense of ‘like, similar to’ (*iv-e*) for signifying an image or likeness or model (*prati-kṛ-t-au*).

*aśvá-ḥ iva ay-ám* = *aśvá-kaN* = *áśva-ka-ḥ* ‘a model, image or imitation of a horse’.

The expression [iv-e] recurs in the following rules up to 112 below.

### 5.3.97 saṃjñā-y-ām ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of ‘like, similar to’ 96] for deriving a name (saṃjñā-y-ām).

*ásvā+kaN = ásva-ka-h* ‘n. of an object, similar to a horse’.

### 5.3.98 lup=manuṣy-è

luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 to denote the sense of ‘like, similar to’ 96] when deriving the name of a person (manuṣy-è).

*cañcā iva manuṣyà-h = cañcā+(kaN→luP) = cañcā+ $\emptyset^3$*  ‘straw-man, scarecrow’.  
Replacement by  $\emptyset^3$  luP retains the gender and number of the original underived form (1.2.52).

### 5.3.99 jīvikā=arth-é ca-á-paṇ-y-e

[luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) 98] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem to denote the sense of ‘like, similar to’ 96] when it is made a means of livelihood [jīvikā= arth-é] and is not for sale (á-paṇ-y-e).

*vāsudeva-prati-kṛ-tī-h = vāsudevā+(kaN→luP) = vāsudevā-h* ‘an image of Vasudeva used as a means of livelihood’ but *ásva-kā-n vī-kṛ-ī-ñā-ti* ‘sells images of horses’.

### 5.3.100 deva-pathá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[luP ( $\emptyset^3$ ) 98] also (ca) replaces [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.2 kaN 95 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with deva-pathá- ‘heaven, the path of gods’ [to denote ‘like, similar to’ for signifying an image or likeness 96 or to derive a name 97].

*deva=patha-prati-kṛ-tī-h = deva-pathá+(kaN→luP) = deva-pathá-h* ‘n.pr. of a place’.

### 5.3.101 vasté-r dhaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhaÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vastí- ‘bladder’ [to denote ‘like, similar to’ 96].

From here the affixes introduced are both for or other than for [prati-kṛ-t-au] or

general likeness. *vastī-r iva* = *vastī+ḍhaN̄* = *vāstḥ+eya-* = *vāst-eya-* ‘resembling a bladder, bladder-like’.

### 5.3.102 *śilā-y-āḥ ḍha-h*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ḍha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *śilā* ‘rock’ [to denote ‘like, similar to’ 96].

*śilā iva* = *śilā+ḍha* = *silḥ-eya-* ‘resembling a rock, rock-like’. According to some interpreters this rule is divided into two by the process of [yoga-vi-bhāg-a] yielding two affixes [ḍhaN̄ 101], [ḍha 102] yielding an alternate form *śilā+ḍhaN̄* = *śail-eya-*.

### 5.3.103 *śākhā=ādi-bhyaḥ yàT*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yàT* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *śākhā* ‘branch’ [to denote ‘like, similar to’ 96].

*śākhā iva* = *śākhā+yàT* = *śākhḥ-ya-* ‘resembling a branch, branch-like’; similarly *mūkha-m iva* = *mūkha+yàT* = *mūkh-ya-* ‘resembling a face’.

### 5.3.104 *drāv-ya-m ca bhāv-y-e*

The expression *drāv-ya-* is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *yàT* 103] to denote ‘good, proper, suitable’ (*bhāv-y-e*).

*drú-r iva* = *drú+yàT* = *dro+yaT* (6.4.146) = *drāv-ya-*, (6.1.79) the irregularity being in the meaning of the expression.

### 5.3.105 *kuśa=agr-āt=cha-h*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *kuśāgrā-* ‘tip of the kuśa grass’ [to denote ‘like, similar to’ 96].

*kuśāgra-m iva* = *kuśāgra+cha* = *kuśāgrḥ-īya-* ‘sharp like the tip of the kuśa grass’.

### 5.3.106 *sam=ās=āt=ca tād-vi-ṣay-āt*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 *cha* 105] is also (*ca*) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound (*sam-ās-āt*) to denote ‘like, resembling’ (96: *tād-vi-ṣay-āt*).



*kāka-tāla iva* = *kāka-tāla+cha* = *kāka-tālθ-fya* ‘accidental’ (like the alighting of a crow and breaking of a branch simultaneously).

### 5.3.107 *śárkarā=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *śárkarā* ‘gravel’ [to denote ‘like, resembling’ 96].

*śárkarā iva* = *śárkarā+áN* = *śārkarθ-á* ‘resembling gravel’.

### 5.3.108 *aṅgúli=ādi-bhyas=ṭháK*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭháK* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *aṅgúli* ‘finger’ [to denote ‘like, resembling’ 96].

*aṅgúli-r iva* = *aṅgúli+ṭháK* = *āṅguli-ká* ‘finger-like’.

### 5.3.109 *eka-sālā-yā-s=ṭháC=anya-tará-syām*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *ṭháC* is optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *eka-sālā* ‘single hall or room’ [to denote ‘resembling, like’ 96].

*eka-sālā iva* = *eka-sālā+ṭháC/ṭháK* = *eka-sālθ-iká-/aika-sāl-iká* ‘resembling a single hall or room’.

### 5.3.110 <sup>1</sup>*karká*-<sup>2</sup>*lóhit-āt=īkáK*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *īkáK* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *karká* ‘white horse’ and *lóhita* ‘red’ [to denote ‘like, resembling’ 96].

*karká iva* = *karká+īkáK* = *kārkhθ-iká* ‘like or resembling a white horse’; similarly *lauhit-īká* ‘ruddy, reddish’.

### 5.3.111 <sup>1</sup>*pratná*-<sup>2</sup>*pūrva*-<sup>3</sup>*vísva*-<sup>4</sup>*im-āt thāL chándas-i*

In the domain of *Chándas* [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *thāL* is introduced [after the nominal stems 4.1.1] *pratná* ‘ancient’, *pūrva* ‘anterior’, *vísva* ‘universal’ and *imá* ‘this’ [to denote ‘like, resembling’ 96].

*pratná iva* = *pratná-thā* ‘formerly’; similarly: *pūrvā-thā* ‘previously’; *viśvā-thā* ‘universally’; *imā-thā* ‘thus, in this way’.

### 5.3.112 pūg-āt=Ñya-ḥ=á-grāmaṇī-pūrv-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] signifying a peripatetic group of workers [pūg-āt] except when it is derived from the leader of the group (á-grāmaṇī-pūrv-āt).

*lōhita-dhvaja+Ñya* = *lauhita-dhvaj-ya*- ‘peripatetic group carrying a red flag’, but  
*deva-dattá-ḥ grāma-ṇī-r e-śām* = *deva-datta+kaN+Jas* = *dēva-datta-kā-ḥ*.

### 5.3.113 <sup>1</sup>vrāta-<sup>2</sup>CphaÑ-r á-striy-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Ñya 112 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] representing wild tribes [vrāta- °] or those [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] CphaÑ (4.1.98) pleonastically, but not in the feminine gender (á-striy-ām).

*kapota-pāk-āḥ iva* = *kapota-pāk-a+Ñya* = *kāpota-pāk-ya*- ‘n.pr.of a wild tribe eating doves’. *kuñja+CphaÑ* (4.1.98) = *kauñj-āyaná+Ñya* = *kaúñj-āyan-ya-ḥ/kaúñj-āyan-y-au/kaunj-āyan-āḥ* (2.4.62). But in the feminine gender: *kapota-pāk-á+NíS* (4.1.63) = *kapota-pāk-í*.

### 5.3.114 ā-yudh-a=jīv-i-saṁ-gh-āt-ÑyaṬ=vāhīke-ṣu á-<sup>1</sup>brāhmaṇa-<sup>2</sup>rājan-y-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ÑyaṬ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] designating a mercenary group (ā-yudh-a-jīv-i-saṁ-gh-āt) pleonastically, residing in the Vāhika country, excluding the names of brahmins and warriors (°-rājany-āt).

*kṣáudraka+ÑyaṬ* = *kṣáudrak-ya-ḥ*, *kṣáudrak-y-au/kṣáudrak-āḥ* (2.4.62). (f. *kṣáudrak-ya+NíP* 4.1.15 = *kṣáudrak-ṭṭ-I* 6.4.150.)

But 1. brahmins: *gó-pāl-a-k-āḥ* ‘N. of a mercenary family of brahmins’; 2. warriors: *śālank-āyanā-ḥ* ‘N. of a mercenary family of warriors residing in Vāhika region’.

### 5.3.115 vḥk-āt=ṬényaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṬényaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vḥka- [designating a mercenary group 114] pleonastically.

*vṛka+TényaN* = *vārkθ-én̄ya-h/vār-/én̄y-au/vṛkā-h* (2.4.62).

### 5.3.116 <sup>1</sup>dāmani=ādi-<sup>2</sup>trí-garta-ṣaṣṭh-āt=cha-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *cha* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *dāmani-* ‘n. of a mercenary group’ and those denoting the six Trígarta groups, pleonastically.

1. *dāmani+cha* = *dāmanθ-íya-h/dāman-íy-au/dāmanay-aḥ* (2.4.62).
2. The six Trígarta groups are constituted by: *Kauṇḍopa-ratha-*, *Dāṇḍaki-*, *Krauṣṭaki-*, *Jālamāni-*, *Brāhma-gupta-* and *Jānaki-*. *kaunḍop-ratha+cha* = *kaunḍop-rathθ-íya-h/°-rathíy-au / kaunḍop-rathā-h*.

### 5.3.117 <sup>1</sup>pársu=ādi-<sup>2</sup>yau dhéya=ādi-bhyām <sup>1</sup>áN=<sup>2</sup>aÑ-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] *áN* and *aÑ* are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *pársu-* and with *yau dhéya-* [names of mercenary groups 114] pleonastically.

1. *pársu+áN* = *parśo+áN* = *pārsav-á-h/pārsav-au/pārsav-aḥ*.
2. *yau dhéya+aÑ* = *yaúdheyθ-a-h/yaúdhey-au/yau dhéyā-h*.

### 5.3.118 <sup>1</sup>abhi-jít=<sup>2</sup>vida-bhṛt-<sup>3</sup>śālā-vat=<sup>4</sup>śikhā-vat=<sup>5</sup>sāmī-vat=<sup>6</sup>úrṇā-vat=<sup>7</sup>śrú-mat=áN-aḥ yaÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *yaÑ* is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *abhi-jít-*, *vida-bhṛt-*, *śālā-vat-*, *śikhā-vat-*, *sāmī-vat-*, *úrṇā-vat-* and *śrú-mat-* ‘proper names’ [ending in 1.1.72 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *áN* pleonastically.

*abhi-jít+áN+yaÑ* = *ābhi-jít-á+yaÑ* = *ābhi-jítθ-ya-h/°-jity-au / ābhijit-ā-h* (2.4.62); on the same pattern: *vaída-bhṛt-ya-h/°-bhṛty-au / vaida-bhṛtā-h*; *śālā-vat-ya-h/°-vaty-au / śālā-vatā-h*; *śaikhā-vat-ya-h/°-vaty-au / śaikhā-vatā-h*; *sāmī-vat-ya-h/°-vat-y-au / sāmī-vatā-h*; *aúrṇā-vat-ya-h/°-vat-y-au / aurnā-vatā-h*; *śraú-mat-ya-h/°-mat-y-au / śrau-matā-h*.

### 5.3.119 Ñya-āday-as tad-rājā-h

The technical term *tad-rāja* denotes [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with *Ñya* (112).

These affixes are: [Ñya 112, ÑyaT 114, TényaN 115, *cha* 116, *áN*, *aÑ* 117, *yaÑ*

118]. By 2.4.62 these are replaced by  $\emptyset^1$  in the plural except after feminine stems.

#### 5.4.1 pādā-śatā-sya saṁkhyā=āde-r vīpsā-y-ām vuN lopa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] vuN is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-pādā- or °-śatā co-occurring with a numeral as a preceding member (in composition: saṁkhyā-āde-ḥ) to denote a distribution (vīpsā-y-ām) with lopa (Ø) replacement of the [stem-final 1.1.52].

*dvaú dvaú pād-áú dá-dā-ti* = *dvi-pādØ+vuN* = *dvi-pad+vuN+TāP* (6.4.130; 4.1.4) = *dví-pad-aka+TāP* = *dví-pad-ikØ-ā-m* (7.3.44) *dá-dā-ti* 'he gives two quarters to each'. Similarly *dv-é dv-é śat-é dá-dā-ti* = *dvī-śat-ikā-m dá-dā-ti* 'distributes 200 pieces to each'. Stems ending in the affix [vuN] are generally realized as feminine in gender.

#### 5.4.2 <sup>1</sup>daṇḍā-<sup>2</sup>vy-ava-sarg-áy-os=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 vuN 1] is also (ca) introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-pādā- 'quarter' or °-śatā- 'hundred' co-occurring with numerals as preceding members in composition 1 to denote a fine (daṇḍā-) or a gift (°-vy-ava-sarg-áy-oḥ) [with Ø replacement of the stem-final phoneme 1].

*dv-aú dv-aú pād-áú daṇḍ-i-tā-ḥ/vy-áva-srj-a-ti* = *dví-pad-ikā-m daṇḍ-i-tā-ḥ/vy-áva-srj-a-ti* 'he is fined/donates two quarters'. Similarly *dví-śat-ikā-m daṇḍitā-ḥ/vyávāsṛjati* 'fined/donates 200 pieces'.

#### 5.4.3 sthūla=ādi-bhyaḥ pra-kār-a-vác-an-e kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sthūla- 'gross' to denote mode or manner (pra-kār-a-vác-an-e).

*sthūla-pra-kār-á-ḥ* = *sthūla+kaN* = *sthūla-ka-* 'possessing grossness'; similarly *ānu-ka-* 'possessing lightness'

#### 5.4.4 án-aty-anta-ga-t-au Kt-át

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktá to denote an action not yet completed (án-aty-anta-ga-t-au).

*bhid+Ktá+kaN* = *bhin-ná+kaN* (8.2.42) = *bhín-na-ka-* 'not yet fully broken'; similarly *chid+Ktá+kaN* = *chín-na-ka-* 'not yet fully split'.

#### 5.4.5 ná sāmi-vác-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 4] when co-occurring with sāmi 'half' as an úpapada (3.1.92).

*sāmi+kr+Ktá* = *sāmi-kr-tá-m* 'half-done or half-finished'; *sāmi-bhuk-tá-m* 'half-eaten'. The expression [°-vác-ana-m] implies synonyms of [sāmi-]: *ardha-bhuk-tá-m/nemi-bhuk-tá-m* etc.

#### 5.4.6 bṛhaty-ā ā-cchād-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 3] is pleonastically introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bṛhatī 'lofty, high' to denote 'a coverlet' (ācchādane).

*bṛh-at-ī+kaN* = *bṛh-at-i-k-ā* (7.4.13).

#### 5.4.7 <sup>1</sup>a-ṣaḍ-aks-á=<sup>2</sup>ās-i-tá-m-gu=<sup>3</sup>ālaṁ-karman=<sup>4</sup>ālam-puruṣa=<sup>5</sup>ādhy-uttara-pad-āt kha-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kha is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-á- 'not containing six eyes', āśītaṁ-gú- 'where cows are fed', ālaṁ-karman- 'fit for action', ālaṁ-puruṣa- 'enough for a man' and expressions [ending in 4.1.72] the indeclinable °-ādhi 'concerning' as a posterior member (in composition).

1. *a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-á+kha* = *a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-Ø+īna-* = *a-ṣaḍ-akṣ-īna-* 'secret (= not known to six eyes or three persons)'.

Similarly: 2. *ās-i-ta-m-gú+kha* = *āśītaṁ-gav-īna-* 'a place where cows are fed'. 3. *alaṁ-karm-īna-* 'fit for any work'; *alaṁ-puruṣ-īna-* 'sufficient for a man'; 4. *īs-var-e ādhi īśvarādhi+kha* = *īs-var-ādh-īna-* 'subservient or dependent on God'.

#### 5.4.8 vibhāṣā=añce-r á-dik-striy-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kha 7] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °añc- which is not a direction word in the feminine gender (á-dik-striyām).

*prác+kha* = *prac-īnam/prák* 'eastern'; similarly *arvác-īna-m/arvák* 'recent', but *prác-I dik, prác-īn-ā brāhmaṇ-ī* 'aged brahmin lady'.

#### 5.4.9 jāti=ant-āt=cha bāndhu-n-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] cha is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-jāti- ‘genus, caste’ as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) to denote a connection or appropriateness (bāndhu-n-i).

The word [bāndhu-] here denotes a sign or item which is appropriate or associated with a specific caste or genus. *brāhmaṇa-jāti+cha* = *brāhmaṇa-jātiḥ-īya-* ‘proper or associated with a brahmin, belonging to a brahmin’.

#### 5.4.10 sthāna=ant-āt=vibhāṣā sā-sthān-ena=iti cét

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 cha 9] is pleonastically introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-sthāna- ‘place’ as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) to denote something which is made to take its place (sā-sthān-ena=iti cét) optionally.

*pitú-r iva sthāna-m a-syá* = *pitr-á túl-ya-h* = *pitṛ-sthāna+cha* = *pitṛ-sthānḥ-īya-/pitṛ-sthāna-* ‘who takes the place of the father or stands in the place of the father’.

#### 5.4.11 <sup>1</sup>kím=<sup>2</sup>eT=<sup>3</sup>tiÑ=<sup>4</sup>ávyaya=GH-AT=ám̐=á-dravya-pra-karṣ-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ám̐ is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] kím- ‘who, what, which’, expressions [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme [eT], verbal stems [ending in 1.1.72] l-substitute tiÑ, indeclinables (ávyaya-), co-occurring with the affix [3.1.1] GHA (1.1.22 = taraP, tamaP) except when (the comparative or superlative degree) refers to the object itself (á-drav-ya-pra-karṣ-e).

1. *kím+taraP/tamaP* = *kím-tara-/°-tama+ám̐* = *kím-tarḥ-ám̐/°-tam-ám̐* ‘which of two/many?’.
2. *purvāhṇe+taraP/tamaP* = *purvāhṇe=tar-ám̐/°-tam-ám̐* ‘more/most in the morning’.
3. *pac-a-ti-tar-ám̐/°-tam-ám̐* ‘cooks better/best’.
4. *uccais-tar-ám̐/°-tam-ám̐* ‘higher/highest’ but *uccais-tara-h párvata-h* ‘the mountain is higher’.

#### 5.4.12 ámu ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chandas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ámu in addition to (ca) [ámu 11 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 consisting of kím-, expressions ending in phoneme /eT/, verbal stems ending in l-substitute tiñ and indeclinables, co-occurring with the affixes denoted by GHA except when referring to the object itself 11].

*prá+tara<sup>P</sup> = pra-tara-ám/ām = pra-tarθ-ám/pra-tar-ām náy-ā-maḥ* ‘we are leading further’.

#### 5.4.13 anu-gād-ín-as=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] anu-gād-ín- ‘echoing other’s words’.

*anu-gād-ín+ṭháK = ānu-gādθθ-iká-* ‘repeating another’s words’.

#### 5.4.14 NáC-as striy-ām aÑ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aÑ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the kṛt affix 3.3.43] NáC in the feminine gender (striy-ām).

*paras-pará-m vy-áva-kroś-anti = vy-áva-kroś+NáC+aÑ+NIP* (4.1.15) =  
*vy-áva-kroś-á+aÑ+I = vyáva-kroś-θ-I vārt-a-te* ‘mutual abuse takes place’.  
Similarly *vy-áva-hāś-I* ‘mutual laughter’.

#### 5.4.15 áN ínuN-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ínuN (3.3.44).

*sám+kūt+ínuN+áN = sām-kūt-ín+áN = sām-kūt-in-á-m* ‘conflagration’;  
*sām-rāv-in-á-m* ‘general uproar’.

#### 5.4.16 vi-sār-ín-aḥ mátsy-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN 15 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vi-sār-ín ‘which slips’ to denote a fish (mátsy-e).

*vi-sār-ín+áN = vai-sār-in-á-* ‘fish’.



#### 5.4.17 saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ kriyā=abhy-ā-vṛt-ti-gāṇ-an-e kṛtvāsūC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kṛtvāsūC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] comprising numerals (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) to denote the counting of the repetition of an action (kriyā+abhy-ā-vṛt-ti-gāṇ-an-e).

*pāñcan+kṛtvāsūC* = *pañca*∅=kṛtvās ‘five times’ (8.2.7); so also *sapta-kṛtvās* ‘seven times’.

#### 5.4.18 <sup>1</sup>dví-<sup>2</sup>trí-<sup>3</sup>catúr-bhyām sūC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] sūC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 comprising the numerals 17] dví- ‘two’, trí- ‘three’ and catúr- ‘four’ [to denote the counting of the repetition of an action 17].

*dví+sūC* = *dví-h* ‘twice’; *trí-sūC* = *trí-h* ‘thrice’ and *catúr+sūC* = *catúr-s* = *catur*-∅ (8.2.24) = *catúh* (8.3.15) ‘four times’.

#### 5.4.19 éka-sya sakṛt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 sūC 18 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 17] éka- ‘one’ [to denote the counting of an action 17] and the substitute morpheme sakṛt- replaces [the whole (1.1.55)] stem.

*éka+sūC* = *sa-kṛ-t*+sūC = *sa-kṛ-t*∅ (6.1.68) ‘once’

#### 5.4.20 vibhāṣā bahó-r dhā=a-vi-pra-kṛṣ-ṭa-kāl-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] dhā is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 comprising the numeral 17] bahú- ‘many, numerous’ [to denote the counting of the repetition of an action 17] in the not too distant time (a-vi-pra-kṛṣ-ṭa-kāl-e).

*bahú+dhā/kṛtvāsūC* = *bahu-dhā*/’-kṛtvās ‘many times’ in: *bahu-dhā divasā-sya bhun̄k-té* ‘eats several times a day’ but *bahu-kṛtvāḥ māsā-sya bhun̄k-té* ‘eats numerous times in a month’.

#### 5.4.21 tát pra-kṛ-ta-vac-an-é máyaṭ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] máyaṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the first sUP triplet (tád-°) pleonastically to denote ‘made thereof, consisting thereof’ (pra-kṛ-ta-vac-an-é).

*ánna-m prá-kṛ-ta-m = anna+máyaṭ = anna-máya-m* ‘consisting of food’.

#### 5.4.22 sam-ūha-vát=ca bahú-ṣu

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] introduced after a collection (sam-ūhá-° 4.2.37) are also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the first sUP triplet 21] and in the plural (bahú-su) in addition to (ca) [affix 3.1.1 máyaṭ to denote ‘consisting thereof’ 27].

*módakā-h prá-kṛ-tā-h = módaka+tháK (4.2.47)/máyaṭ = maudakṭh-iká-m/  
modaka-máya-m* ‘abounding in or consisting of modaka-s’.

#### 5.4.23 <sup>1</sup>án-anta=<sup>2</sup>ā-vas-athá=<sup>3</sup>itiha=<sup>4</sup>bheṣaj-át=Ñyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] án-anta- ‘endless’, ā-vas-athá- ‘residence’, iti-ha- ‘so indeed (it was)’ and bheṣajá- ‘remedy’ pleonastically.

*án-anta eva = ánanta+Ñya = án-antṭh-ya-* ‘endless, infinite’; similarly *ā-vasath-ya-/  
āti-h-ya-/bhaiṣaj-ya-* ‘habitation, residence/tradition, history/remedy, medicine’.

#### 5.4.24 deváta=ant-āt tát-arth-y-e yàṭ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] yàṭ is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with °-devatā ‘divinity’ as a final member (°-ant-āt in composition) and ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet (tád-arthy-e 2.1.36) to denote ‘meant for it’.

*agni-devatā-yai idám = agni-devatā+yàṭ = agni-devatṭh-yà-m* ‘meant for or consecrated to the divinity Agni’.

#### 5.4.25 <sup>1</sup>pāda=<sup>2</sup>arghā-bhyām ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 yàT 24] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pādā- ‘foot’ and arghā- ‘homage, worship’ [ending in the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘meant for or consecrated to it 24].

*pādā-ya idám = pādā+yàT = pādθ-ya-m* ‘water meant for washing the feet as an act of worship’; similarly *arghārtha-m udaka-m = árgh-ya-m* ‘water offered at the respectful reception of a guest’.

#### 5.4.26 átithe-r Ñya-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Ñya is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] átithi- ‘honored guest’ [ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet to denote ‘meant for him’ 24].

*átithay-e idám = átithi+Ñya = átithθ-ya-m* ‘hospitality’.

#### 5.4.27 dev-ât taL

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] taL is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] devá- ‘divinity, god’.

*devá evá = devá+taL+TāP (4.1.4) = devá-tā.*

#### 5.4.28 áve-h ká-h

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ká is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ávi- ‘sheep’.

*ávi-r evá = ávi+ká = avi-ká-h* ‘sheep’.

#### 5.4.29 yāvá=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] kaN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with yāvá- ‘a kind of food made from barley’.

*yāvá evá = yāvá+kaN = yāva-ka-h.*

#### 5.4.30 lóhit-āt=maṇ-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] lóhita- ‘red’ when designating a gem (maṇ-aú).

*lóhita-h evá = lóhita+kaN = lóhita-ka-h* ‘a red gem’.

#### 5.4.31 várṇ-e ca=á-nity-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 19 is pleonastically introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 lohítá- ‘red’ 30] to denote a non-permanent color (á-nity-e várṇ-e).

*lohítá+kaN = lóhita-ka-h* ‘blushing red (through anger, pressure, etc.) but *lohítá-h gaú-h* ‘red bull’.

#### 5.4.32 rak-t-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 lóhita- ‘red’ 30] for denoting (something) dyed red (rak-t-é).

*lóhit-ena rak-tá-h = lóhita+kaN = lóhita-ka-h* ‘(cloth) dyed red’.

#### 5.4.33 kāl-át=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 kaN 29] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kālá- ‘black’ [to denote a non-permanent color 31 or (something) dyed with it 32].

*kāl-éna rak-tá-h = kālá+kaN = kála-ka-h paṭá-h* ‘cloth dyed black’; *kála-ka-m múkha-m vai-lakṣaṇ-y-ena* ‘a face turned black through embarrassment’.

#### 5.4.34 vi-nay-á=ādi-bhyas=ṭháK

[The taddhitá 4.1.7& affix 3.1.1] ṭháK is introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vi-nay-á- ‘good or moral conduct, humility’ pleonastically.

*vi-nay-á evá = vi-nay-á+ṭháK = vai-nayṭh-ika* ‘good behavior, true modesty/humility’. *samaya eva = sāmaya-ika* ‘proper time’.

#### 5.4.35 vāc-áh vy-ā-hṛ-ta=arthā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ṭhák 34 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] vāc- ‘speech’ to denote conveyance of an oral message (vy-ā-hṛ-ta=arthā-y-ām).

*vāc+ṭhák* = *vāc-iká-* ‘an oral communication’.

#### 5.4.36 tád-yuk-t-āt kármaṇ-aḥ=áN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] aN is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] kár-man- ‘occupation’ when it is associated with it (tád-yuk-t-āt) [= the conveyance of an oral message 35].

*kár-ma evá* = *kár-man+áN* = *kármaṇ-á-* (6.4.167) ‘an action in consonance with a verbal message’.

#### 5.4.37 óṣadhe-r á-jā-t-au

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN 36 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] óṣadhi- ‘herb’ when it is not designated as a genus (á-jā-t-au).

*óṣadhi+áN* = *auṣadhṭ-á-m dá-dā-ti/pib-anti* ‘gives/drink a herbal remedy’, but *óṣadhay-aḥ* ‘herbs’.

#### 5.4.38 pra-jñá=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áN] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with pra-jña ‘intelligent, wise’, pleonastically.

*pra-jña-h evá* = *pra-jñá+áN* = *prājñṭ-á-h* ‘wise man’; so also *vaníg evá* = *vaníj+áN* = *vānīj-á-h* ‘merchant’.

#### 5.4.39 mṛd-as tikaN

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] tikaN is introduced pleonastically [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mṛd- ‘earth, dust, soil, mud’.

*mṛd+tikaN+ṬāP* (4.1.4) = *mṛt-tikṭ-ā-*.

#### 5.4.40 <sup>1</sup>sá-<sup>2</sup>sn-aú pra-sāms-ā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] sá and sná are introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mṛd- ‘earth, dust, soil, mud’ 39 to denote excellence (pra-sāms-ā-y-ām).

*mṛd+sá/sná+TāP* = *mṛt-s-ā/mṛt-sn-ā* ‘excellent or good quality earth’. Exception to [rūpaP 5.3.66].

#### 5.4.41 <sup>1</sup>vṛka-<sup>2</sup>jyēṣṭhā-bhyām <sup>1</sup>tiL-<sup>2</sup>tātiL-au ca=chāndas-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1] tiL and tātiL are [respectively 1.3.10 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vṛka- ‘wolf’ and jyēṣṭhā- ‘most excellent or superior’ [to denote excellence 40] in the domain of Chāndas.

*vṛka + tiL* = *vṛká-ti-h* ‘killer-wolf’; similarly *jyēṣṭhá+tātiL* = *jyēṣṭhá-tāti-h* ‘highest excellence, superiority’.

#### 5.4.42 <sup>1</sup>bahú=<sup>2</sup>álpa=arth-āt=sás káarak-ād anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] sás is introduced optionally (anya-tará-syām) [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] synonymous with bahú- ‘many’ and álpa- ‘a few’ [ending in 1.1.72] a case affix (káarak-āt).

Since no specific kárika is mentioned, all of them beginning with kárman- are relevant here: *bahú-n-i/bahú-bhiḥ/bahú-bhyaḥ dá-dā-ti* ‘gives much/with much/to many/from many’ = *bahu+sás* = *bahu-sáh dá-dā-ti*; the genitive is not a kárika: *bahú-n-ām svāmI* ‘lord of many’; similarly *álpa-m/álp-ena/álpā-ya/álp-āt dá-dā-ti* = *alpa-sáh da-dā-ti* ‘gives a few/with a few/to a few/from a few’.

#### 5.4.43 <sup>1</sup>saṁkhyā=<sup>2</sup>ekavacan-āt=ca vīpsā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 sás 42 is] also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] representing number-words (saṁkhyā- °) and expressions in the singular (°-eka-vac-an-āt) to express a distributive sense (vīpsā-y-ām), [optionally 42].

*dv-aú dv-aú* = *dví+sás* = *dvi-sáh móda-k-au dá-dā-ti* ‘distributes two móda-k-s each’; similarly *niṣká-m niṣká-m dá-dā-ti niṣká+sás* = *niṣka-sáh dá-dā-ti* ‘distributes a niṣka each’.

#### 5.4.44 prati-yog-é pañcamy-ās tāsī-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44] tās is [optionally 92 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) co-occurring with the particle prāti-°. (2.3.11).

*pra-dyumná-ḥ vāsudev-āt prāti/vāsudeva-tās prāti* ‘Pradyumná is the representative of Vāsudevá’.

#### 5.4.45 apa=ā-dān-e ca=á-<sup>1</sup>hīya-<sup>2</sup>ruh-oh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44] is also (ca) [optionally 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the fifth sUP triplet 44] to denote ablation (apa=ā=dān-e 1.4.24) excluding that associated with (verbal stems) hī-yá ‘to be abandoned’ and rúh- ‘ascend’.

*grām-āt/grāma-tās ā-gacch-a-ti* ‘comes from the village’; *cor-āt/cora-tās bī-bhe-ti* ‘fears the thief’; *adhy-ay-an-āt/adhy-ay-ana-tās pārá-jay-a-te* ‘overcome by study’; but *sārth-āt hī-yá-te* ‘is abandoned from the caravan’ and *párvat-ād áva-roh-a-ti* ‘descends from the mountain’.

#### 5.4.46 <sup>1</sup>ati-grah-á=<sup>2</sup>á-vyath-ana=<sup>3</sup>kṣépe-ṣu á-kar-tar-i tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.16 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44 is introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ) but not denoting the agent (á-kar-tar-i) to express ‘excess’ (ati-grah-á-Ø), ‘non-yielding’ (°-ávyathana-°) or ‘blame’ (°-kṣépe-ṣu).

1. *cāritr-éna/cāritra-tās āti-gṛh-ya-te* ‘excels (others) through conduct/behavior’; 2. *vyt-t-éna/vyt-ta-tās ná vyáth-a-te* ‘does not yield (to any) through conduct’; 3. *vyt-t-éna/vyt-ta-tās kṣip-tá-ḥ* ‘blamed on account of behavior’. But *deva-datt-éna kṣip-tá-ḥ* ‘blamed by D.’

#### 5.4.47 <sup>1</sup>hī-yá-m-āna-<sup>2</sup>pāpa-yog-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tāsī 44] is also (ca) introduced [optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet, but not denoting the agent 46], co-occurring with the verbal stem hī-yá- ‘be abandoned’ or the nominal stem pāpá- ‘sin’.

*vyt-t-éna/cāritr-éna* = *vyt-ta-tās/cāritra-tās hī-yá-te* ‘is abandoned on account of behavior’; similarly *vyt-ta-tās/cāritra-tās pāpá-ḥ* ‘a sinner through behavior’.

#### 5.4.48 ṣaṣ-ṭhy-ā vy-ā-śray-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási 44 is introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣ-ṭhy-āḥ) to denote 'taking the part of' (vy-ā-śray-é).

*dev-āḥ arjunasya/arjuna-tás ā-bhav-an* 'the gods took the side of Arjuna'.

#### 5.4.49 róg-āt=ca=apa-náy-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 tási 49] is also (ca) introduced optionally 42 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 designating a malady (róg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 the sixth sUP triplet 48] to denote its removal (apa-náy-an-é) or cure.

*pra-vāh-ik-ā-y-āḥ apa-náy-ana-m kur-ú = pra-vāh-ik-ā-tás kur-ú* 'cure diarrhoea'.

#### 5.4.50 <sup>1</sup>kṛ=<sup>2</sup>bhū=<sup>3</sup>ás-ti-yog-e sam-pad-ya-kar-tár-i Cviḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] Cvi is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] which is the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 'become', co-occurring with (the verbal stems) kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10), bhū- 'become' (I 1) or as- 'be' (II 56).

A vārttika restricts the application of this rule to [a-bhū-ta-tad-bhāv-é] 'becoming what it was not before'. Kāśikā accepts this as part of the sūtra itself.

*ā-śuk-la-ḥ śuk-lā-ḥ sám-pad-ya-te = śukla+Cvi+bhū = suklf+bhū- (7.4.12)* 'turn or become white', similarly *suklf+kṛ-* 'make white'.

#### 5.4.51 <sup>1</sup>árus=<sup>2</sup>mánas=<sup>3</sup>cákṣus=<sup>4</sup>cétas=<sup>5</sup>ráhas=<sup>6</sup>rájas-ān lópa-s=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 Cvi 50 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] árus- 'wound', mán-as- 'mind', cákṣ-us- 'eye', cet-as- 'awareness, consciousness', ráh-as- 'secrecy, privacy', ráj-as- 'passion' [co-occurring with the verbal stems kṛ- 'make', bhū- 'become' or as- 'be', and serves as the agent of the verbal stem sám-pad-ya- 50] with lopa (Ø) replacing the stem-final phoneme [1.1.52].

*án-arus=árus=sám-pad-ya-te = árus+Cvi+kṛ- = aruØ+Cvi+kṛ- = arú+Ø+kṛ-* (6.1.67; 7.4.16) 'inflict a wound, wound'. Similarly: *un-man-as+Cvi+kṛ- = un-manaØ+Cvi+kṛ- = un-manf+Ø-kṛ-* 'cause perplexity'; *un-manf=bhū-* 'become perplexed'; *uc-cakṣú-kṛ-/bhū-* 'make one raise the eye/raise the eye; *vi-cetf+kṛ-/*



*bhū-* ‘make one become aware of/become aware of’; *vi-rahṣ+kr-/bhū-* ‘separate from/become separate’. *vi-rajī+kr-/bhū-* ‘render free from passion/become free from passion’.

#### 5.4.52 vibhāṣā sātī kárt-sn-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *sātī* is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 which is the agent of the verbal stem *sám-pad-ya-* ‘become’, co-occurring with the verbal stems *kr-* ‘make’, *bhū-* ‘become’ or *as-* ‘be’ 50] when the transformation is complete (*kárt-sn-y-e*).

*bhásman+sāt/Cvi+bhū-* *bhasmaṭ-sāt* (8.2.7)/*bhasmṣ-bhū-* ‘be fully turned to ashes’.

#### 5.4.53 abhi-vi-dh-aú sám-pad-ā ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *sātī* 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with the verbal stem *sám-pad-* ‘become’ as well as (ca) [with *kr-* ‘make’, *bhū-* ‘become’ and *as-* ‘be’ 50] to denote a partial transformation (*abhi-vi-dh-aú*),

*udaka-sāt sám-pad-ya-te/udakṣ-bhav-a-ti lavaṇá-m* ‘the salt turns partially into water’.

#### 5.4.54 tad-adh-īna-vác-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *sātī* 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with the verbal stem *sám-pad-* ‘become’ 53 or with *kr-* ‘make’, *bhū-* ‘become’ or *as-* ‘be’ 50] to denote ‘is dependent on him’ (*tad-adh-īna-vaca-n-e*).

*rāja-sāt kar-ó-ti/sám-pad-ya-te = rājādh-īna-m kar-ó-ti* ‘brings under the control of the king’; with *-bhāv-a-ti* ‘becomes subject to the king’.

#### 5.4.55 dé-y-e trá ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] *trá* in addition to (ca) [*sātī* 52 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with the verbal stem *sám-pad-* ‘become’ 53 or with *kr-* ‘make’, *bhū-* ‘become’ or *as-* ‘be’ 50] to denote ‘be given (under the control of that)’ (*dé-y-e*).

#### 5.4.56 <sup>1</sup>devá-<sup>2</sup>manuṣya-<sup>3</sup>púruṣa-<sup>4</sup>purú-<sup>5</sup>mártye-bhyaḥ dvi-tíy-ā-sapta-my-ór bahulám

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 trā 55] is variously (bahulá-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] devá- ‘divine being’, manuṣya- ‘man’, púruṣa- ‘person’, purú- ‘many’ and már-tya- ‘mortal’ [ending in 1.1.72] the second or seventh sUP triplet (dvi-tíy-ā-sapta-my-óḥ).

*dev-án gáčch-a-ti* = *deva-trā gáčch-a-ti* ‘goes to the gods’; *devé-ṣu/deva-trā vás-a-ti* ‘abides with gods’; similarly: *manuṣya-trā/puruṣa-trā/puru-trā/martya-trā* ‘to or among men/persons/many/mortals’.

#### 5.4.57 a-vy-ak-ta-anu-kar-aṇ-<sup>2</sup>at=dvi-áC=avara=ardh-āt án-it-au ḌÁC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌÁC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] representing an echo-word (avyakta=anukaraṇ-āt) consisting of at least two syllables in its (constituent) half (dvi-áC=avara=ardh-āt), not followed by the particle [iti] [co-occurring with the verbal stems kṛ- ‘make’, bhū- ‘become or as- ‘be’ 50].

*paṭat+ḌÁC* = *paṭat-paṭat+ḌÁC* = *paṭaṭ-paṭaṭ-á* = *paṭa-paṭ-á* *kar-ó-ti* (6.1.100) ‘makes a sound like *paṭpat*’. But *paṭat+iti* = *paṭṭṭ-iti* = *paṭ-iti* (6.4.98).

#### 5.4.58 kṛñ-aḥ <sup>1</sup>dvi-tíya-<sup>2</sup>tṛ-tíya-<sup>3</sup>sám-ba-<sup>4</sup>bíj-āt kṛṣ-aú

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌÁC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] dvi-tíya- ‘second’ tṛ-tíya- ‘third’, sám-ba- ‘opposite direction’ and bíja- ‘seed’ co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛñ- ‘make’ to denote ploughing (kṛṣ-aú).

*dvi-tíya-m kárṣ-aṇa-m kar-ó-ti* = *dvi-tíya+ḌÁC* = *dvi-tíyṭ-á* *kar-ó-ti* ‘ploughs a second time’; similarly: *tṛ-tíy-á* *kar-ó-ti* ‘ploughs a third time’ and *sám-b-á/bíj-á* *kar-o-ti* ‘ploughs in the reverse or opposite direction/ploughs and seeds simultaneously’.

#### 5.4.59 saṁkhyā-y-aḥ guṇá=antā-y-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáC 57] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a numeral (saṁkhyā-y-āḥ) co-occurring with °-guṇá- ‘times’ as a final member (°-antā-y-āḥ in composition) [and with the verbal stem kṛÑ- to denote ploughing 58].

*dvi-guṇá-m = dvi-guṇá+ḌáC = dvi-gunṭh-á kar-ó-ti* ‘ploughs twice’.

#### 5.4.60 sam-ay-āt=ca yāp-anā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáC 57 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sam-ay-á- ‘time’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote ‘neglect, procrastination’ (yā-p-anā-y-ām).

*samayá+ḌáC = samayṭh-á kar-ó-ti* ‘procrastinates’.

#### 5.4.61 <sup>1</sup>sá-pat-tra-<sup>2</sup>nīṣ-pat-tr-āt=ati-vyáth-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sá-pat-tra- ‘feathered’ and nīṣ-pat-tra- ‘unfeathered’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote ‘intense pain’ (ati-vyáth-an-e).

*sá-pat-tra+ḌáC = sa-pat-trṭh-á kar-ó-ti* ‘wound with a feathered arrow in such a way that the feather enters the body’; so likewise *nīṣ-pat-tr-á kar-ó-ti* ‘wounds in such a way that the arrow becomes unfeathered when emerging from the other side of the body’.

#### 5.4.62 nīṣ-kul-āt=nīṣ-kóṣ-aṇ-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌáC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] nīṣ-kula- ‘without family’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote ‘evisceration or dismemberment’ (nīṣ-kóṣ-aṇ-e).

*nīṣ-kula+ḌáC = nīṣ-kulṭh-á kar-ó-ti* ‘exterminates by dismemberment’ but *nīṣ-kulā-n kar-ó-ti śatrū-n* ‘destroys the families of enemies’.

#### 5.4.63 <sup>1</sup>sukhá-<sup>2</sup>pri-y-ât ānu-lom-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌÁC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sukhá- ‘happiness, bliss’ and priy-á- ‘dear’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote ‘complaisance’ (ānu-lom-y-e).

*sukhá+ḌÁC* = *sukhθ-á kar-ó-ti* ‘makes happy, gladdens’; similarly *priy-á kar-ó-ti* ‘acts friendly towards, endears’.

#### 5.4.64 duḥ-kh-ât prāti-lom-y-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌÁC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] duḥ-kha- ‘misery, unhappiness’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote ‘distress, inconvenience, pain’ (prāti-lom-y-e).

*duḥ-khá+ḌÁC* = *duḥ-khθ-á kar-ó-ti* ‘causes pain, distresses’.

#### 5.4.65 śúl-ât pāk-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌÁC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śúla- ‘spit’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote ‘roasting, cooking’ (pāk-e).

*śúla+ḌÁC* = *śulθ-á kar-ó-ti* ‘roasts on the spit’.

#### 5.4.66 sat-y-ât á-śap-ath-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌÁC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sat-yá- ‘truth’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] when not signifying an oath (á-śap-ath-e).

*sat-yá+ḌÁC* = *sat-yθ-á kar-ó-ti* ‘concludes a bargain’ but *sat-yá-m kar-ó-ti* *brāmaṇá-h* ‘the brahmin utters an oath’.

#### 5.4.67 mad-r-ât pari-vā-p-an-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 ḌÁC 57 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] mad-rá- ‘auspicious’ [co-occurring with the verbal stem kṛÑ- 58] to denote shaving of the head (pari-vā-p-an-e).

*mad-rá+DáC* = *mad-rθ-á kar-ó-ti* ‘shaves off (the head), tonsures’.

#### 5.4.68 sam-āsa=ant-āḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced hereafter, beginning with this section and extending up to the end of this chapter] occur at the end( °-ant-āḥ) of compound expressions (sam-āśa- °,).

This is a governing rule heading this section for forming certain compounds ending in these specific affixes. The word [samāsāntá-] recurs in each of the following rules till the end of this chapter.

#### 5.4.69 ná púj-an-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160] do not occur (ná) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 co-occurring with another as a prior member in composition 68 and] expressing laudation (púj-an-āt).

*śóbh-an-o rájā* = *śú+rājan-* ‘good king’ blocking out the operation of 91 below.  
Similarly *āti-śay-i-ta-h rájā* = *āti-rājan-* ‘an extraordinary king’.

#### 5.4.70 kím-aḥ kṣép-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with kím- ° (as a prior member in composition) denoting pejoration (kṣép-e).

*kím+rājan-* ‘a king (who does not protect), an evil ruler’; *kím-go-* ‘an ox (which does not carry)’, but *ká-sya rájā* = *kím+rājan+TáC* = *kím-rājθθ-á-* (91; 6.4.144) ‘whose king?’.

#### 5.4.71 náÑ-as tatpuruṣ-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69 after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound co-occurring with the negative particle náÑ- ° (as a prior member in) a Tatpuruṣá compound.

*náN+rājan-* = *á-rājan* ‘not a king’; similarly *á-sakhi-* ‘not a friend or companion’; exception to 91 below.

### 5.4.72 path-áh=vibhāsā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affixes 3.1.1 introduced in the section 68-160 do not occur 69] optionally (vibhāsā) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a negative Tatpuruṣa compound 71 ending in 1.1.72] °-páthin- ‘path’.

*ná pánthā-h* = *náN+pathin-* = *á-pathin/apath00+á* (74) = *a-path-á*- ‘not a path.’

### 5.4.73 bahvrīh-aú samkhy-éy-e ḌáC á-<sup>1</sup>bahu-<sup>2</sup>gaṇ-āt

[The samāsānta 68 taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] ḌáC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound according to 2.2.25 above (sam-khy-éy-e), excluding those ending in (1.1.72) °-bahú- ‘many’ and °-gaṇá- ‘troop, group’.

*dásā-n-ām sam-īp-é y-é s-ānti* = *upa+dasan+ḌáC+Jas* = *upa-das00-á+Jas* = *upa-das-á-h* ‘whose number is approximately 10’; *dv-aú vā tráy-o vā* = *dvi+tri+ḌáC+Jas* = *dvi-tr-áh* ‘two or three’, but *bahún-n-ām sam-īp-é y-é* = *úpa-bahu+Jas* = *úpa-bahav-ah* ‘a good many’; so also *úpa-gaṇ-áh* ‘constituting a small class or number less than a troop’.

### 5.4.74 <sup>1</sup>ḡc=<sup>2</sup>púr=<sup>3</sup>áp=<sup>4</sup>dhúr=<sup>5</sup>path-ām á=án-akṣ-e

The samāsāntá 68 taddhitá 4.1.76 affix á is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 3.1.2] ḡc- ‘a stanza of RV’, púr- ‘fortified city’, áp- ‘water’, dhúr- ‘pole of a carriage’ excluding one connected with the axle (án-akṣ-e) and páthin- ‘path’ [occurring as final members of a compound 68].

1. *bahu+ḡc+á* = *bahv-ḡc-á* ‘pertaining to RV.’; *ardh-ar-c-á* ‘half a ḡc’; 2. *lalāṭa-pur-á* ‘n.pr. of a city’; 3. *dvi+ap+á* = *dvi-ip-á* (6.3.97) = *dv-īp-á* ‘island’; 4. *rājan+dhur+á* = *rāja0-dhur-á* (8.2.7)+TāP (4.1.4) = *rāja-dhur-0-á* ‘the yoke or burden of kingship’ but *akṣa+dhur* = *akṣa-dhúr*- ‘pole connecting the axle’; 5. *jala-pathin+á* = *jala-path00+á* (6.4.144) ‘sea-lane’.

### 5.4.75 áC <sup>1</sup>prāti=<sup>2</sup>ánu=<sup>3</sup>áva-pūrv-āt <sup>1</sup>sāma(n)=<sup>2</sup>lómn-ah

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced at the end of the compound 68 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-sāman- ‘chant’ or °-lóman- ‘hair’, co-occurring with the particles prāti-, ánu-° and áva-° (in composition).

*prati-ga-tá-m sāma/prati-ga-tá-m vā sāma a-syá* = *prāti-sāman+áC* =

*prati-sām-ā-m* (6.4.144); *sāma prati* = *prati-sāmā-m* (2.1.6); *anu-sām-ā-h/*  
*anu-sām-ā-m* = *ānu-ga-ta-m sāma an-éna/ānu-ga-tā-m sāma*; *āva-ga-ta-m*  
*sāma an-éna* = *āva-sām-ā-h*, *āva-ga-tā-m sāma* = *anu-sām-ā-m*. Similarly  
*prati-lom-ā-m*, *anu-lom-ā-m*, *āva-lom-ā-m*.

#### 5.4.76 akṣṇ-áh=á-dars-an-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áC 75 is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] co-occurring with ákṣi- ‘eye’ [as a final member in composition 68] when it does not imply ‘seeing’ (á-dars-an-āt).

*lavaṇā-m ákṣi iva* = *lavaṇā+ákṣi+áC* = *lavaṇākṣ-ā-* ‘n.pr.’ (2.1.56); similarly  
*puṣkarākṣ-ā-*; *brāhmaṇa-sya ákṣi* = *brāhmaṇākṣi-*. Patañjali emends this rule  
 by suggesting replacing [a-dars-an-āt] by [á-prāṇy-aṅg-āt] to enable generating  
 forms like *kabarā-kṣ-ā-* ‘bridle’ and *gav-ākṣ-ā-* ‘window’.

5.4.77 <sup>1</sup>a-catur-á=<sup>2</sup>vi-catur-á-<sup>3</sup>su-catur-á-<sup>4</sup>strī-puṁs-á-  
<sup>5</sup>dhenv-anaḍuh-á=<sup>6</sup>ṛk-sām-á=<sup>7</sup>vāñ-manas-á=<sup>8</sup>akṣibhruv-á=  
<sup>9</sup>dāra-gav-á=<sup>10</sup>ūrv-aṣṭhīv-á-<sup>11</sup>pad-aṣṭhīv-á-<sup>12</sup>nakta-m-div-á-  
<sup>13</sup>ratri-m-div-á=<sup>14</sup>ahar-div-á-<sup>15</sup>sa-rajas-á-<sup>16</sup>niḥ-sreyas-á-  
<sup>17</sup>puruṣāyus-á-<sup>18</sup>dvy-āyus-á-<sup>19</sup>try-āyus-á=<sup>20</sup>ṛg-yajuṣ-á-  
<sup>21</sup>jātokṣ-á-<sup>22</sup>mahokṣ-á-<sup>23</sup>vṛddhokṣ-á=<sup>24</sup>upa-sun-á-<sup>25</sup>goṣṭha-  
 śv-áh

The expressions beginning with a-catur-á- and ending with goṣṭha-śv-á- are introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 áC 75]: (1) having less than four, (2) containing various quarters of verses, (3) whose quarters are good, (4) female and male, (5) cow and bull, (6) strophe and melody, (7) speech and mind, (8) eye and eye-brow, (9) a wife and a cow, (10) thigh and knee, (11) foot and thigh, (12) night and day, (13) night and day, (14) day after day, (15) entirely, (16) most excellent, (17) life span of man, (18) two life-spans, (19) three life-spans, (20) RV and YV, (21) young bull, (22) large bull, (23) old bull, (24) near the dog, and (25) dog in the manger respectively.

#### 5.4.78 <sup>1</sup>brāhma(n)=<sup>2</sup>hastí-bhyām vārcas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] vārcas- ‘luster’ co-occurring with brāhma- ‘sacred knowledge’ and hastín- ‘elephant’ [in composition 68].

*brahmaṭṭ-varcas+áC* (8.2.7) = *brahma-varcas-á-m* ‘pre-eminence in sacred knowledge’; similarly *hasti-varcas-á-m* ‘the strength of an elephant’.

#### 5.4.79 <sup>1</sup>áva-<sup>2</sup>sám-<sup>3</sup>andhé-bhyas támas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *támas-* ‘darkness’ co-occurring after *áva-°*, *sám-°* or *andhá-°* ‘blind’ [in composition 68].

*ava-tamas-á-m* ‘light obscurity or darkness’; *sam-tamas-á-m* ‘great obscurity’;  
*andha-tamas-á-m* ‘blind darkness’.

#### 5.4.80 *śvās-aḥ* <sup>1</sup>vasíyas=<sup>2</sup>śréyas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *°-vās-īyas-* ‘richer’ and *śréyas-* ‘better’ co-occurring after *śvās-* ‘tomorrow’ [in composition 68].

*śvo-vas-īyas+áC* = *śvo-vas-īyas-á-* ‘bestowing future welfare’; *śvaḥ-śréyas-á-* ‘progressive improvement’.

#### 5.4.81 <sup>1</sup>ánu=<sup>2</sup>áva-<sup>3</sup>tap-t-āt ráhas-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *°-ráh-as-* ‘secret’, co-occurring after *ánu-°*, *áva-°* or *tap-tá-* ‘hot’ [in composition 68].

*anu-rah-as-á-m* ‘clandestinely, secretly’; *ava-rah-as-á-* ‘desolate’; *tap-ta-rah-as-á-m* ‘a secret which no one knows’.

#### 5.4.82 *práte-r úr-as-aḥ sapta-mī-sth-āt*

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *°-úras-* ‘chest, breast’, co-occurring after the particle *práti-°* [in composition 68] when denoting the sense of the seventh sUP triplet (*sapta-m-ī-sth-āt*).

*úras-i vārt-a-te* = *praty-uras+áC* = *praty-uras-á-m* ‘upon or against the breast; but  
*prati-ga-tá-m úrah* = *práty-uras-*.



#### 5.4.83 anu-gav-á-m ā-yām-é

The expression anu-gav-á- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal compound stem 4.1.1 anu-gú-] to denote the equivalent length of a cow (ā-yā-m-é).

*anu-gu+áC* (2.1.16) = *anu-go+áC* (6.4.146) = *anu-gav-á-m yā-na-m* ‘a cart having the length of a cow or bull’, but *gáv-ām paśc-át* = *anu-gú* (2.1.6; 1.2.48).

#### 5.4.84 dvi-stāvā tri-stāvā védi-ḥ

The expressions dvi-stāvā ‘having a double dimension’ and tri-stāvā ‘having a triple dimension’ are introduced for denoting a Vedic altar (védi-ḥ) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 69 affix 3.1.1 áC 75].

*dvis-tā-vat-I+áC* = *dvis-tā-vat∅+áC* (6.4.148) = *dvis-tāv∅∅+á+TāP* = *dvis-tāv-á* (irregular ∅ replacement of syllable beginning with the last vowel) and similarly *tris-tā-v-á*.

#### 5.4.85 upa-sarg-át ádhvan-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ádhvan- ‘way, route’ co-occurring after (1.1.67) a preverb particle (upa-sarg-át) [in composition 68].

*pra-ga-tá-ḥ ádhvān-am* = *pra+adhvan+áC* = *prādhv∅∅-á-ḥ rátha-ḥ* ‘a chariot which has traversed a long distance’, but *para-má-ś ca asaú ádhvā ca* = *paramādhvān-* ‘high-way’.

#### 5.4.86 tatpuruṣá-sya=aṅgúle-ḥ <sup>1</sup>saṁkhyā-<sup>2</sup>ávyaya-āde-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Tatpuruṣá compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-aṅgúli- ‘finger’, co-occurring with a numeral (saṁkhyā- °) or an indeclinable (°-ávyaya- °) as a prior member (°-āde-ḥ).

*dv-é aṅgúl-I pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syá* = *dví+angúli+áC* = *dvy-angul∅+á-* ‘having the measure of two fingers’; *nir-ga-tá-m aṅgúli-bhyah* = *nir+āngul-á-* ‘slipped/dropped from the fingers’.

#### 5.4.87 <sup>1</sup>áhan=<sup>2</sup>sarvá=<sup>3</sup>eka-deśá-<sup>4</sup>sám-khyā-ta-<sup>5</sup>púñya-āt=ca rátre-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 75 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °rátri- ‘night’, co-occurring with °áhan- ° ‘day’, sarvá- ° ‘all’, expressions signifying eka-deśá- ‘a portion’, sám-khyāta- ° ‘enumerated, counted’ and púñya- ° ‘auspicious’, as well as (ca) [with numerals and indeclinables in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. áhan+rátri+áC = ahar+rātrθ-á- = aharU+rātr-á- (8.2.68) = aha-u+rātr-á- (6.1.114) = aho-rātr-á-ḥ ‘day and night’; 2. sarva-rātr-á-ḥ ‘whole night’; 3. pūrva- °/apara-rātr-á-ḥ ‘first part/second part of night’; 4. sam-khyā-ta-rātr-á-ḥ ‘enumerated or counted night’; 5. puñya-rātr-á-ḥ ‘auspicious night’; 6. dv-é rátri sam-á-hṛ-te = dvi-rātr-á-ḥ ‘two nights’; 7. ati-krān-tá-ḥ rátri-m = ati-rātr-á-ḥ ‘passed beyond the night’. 3. and 4. are formed according to 2.2.1 and 2.1.57 respectively.

#### 5.4.88 áhn-aḥ ahna-ḥ=eté-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme ahna- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °ahan- ‘day’ [as a final member of a compound 68, co-occurring with] these [eté-bhyaḥ = sarvá- ° ‘all’, expressions signifying eka-deśá- ‘portion’, sám-khyāta- ° ‘enumerated’ and púñya- ° ‘auspicious’ 87 as well as numerals and indeclinables 86].

1. sarva+ahan+TáC (91) = sarva+ahna+á- = sarva+ahnθ-á (6.4.148) = sarváhn-á-ḥ (8.4.7) ‘whole day’; 2. purvá-hṇ-á-ḥ/aparáhṇ-á-ḥ ‘forenoon/afternoon’; 3. sam-khyā-tāhn-á-ḥ ‘enumerated day’; 4. dv-ahna-á-ḥ ‘two days’; 5. nir-ahṇ-á-ḥ ‘passed beyond the day’; the compound with [púñya- °] is barred by 90 below.

#### 5.4.89 ná sám-khyā=āde-ḥ sam-ā-hār-é

[The substitute morpheme ahna- 88] does not (ná) replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-áhan- ‘day’ 88] co-occurring with numerals (sám-khyā- °) as prior members (°-āde-ḥ in composition 88) when forming a collective compound (sam-ā-hār-é).

- dv-é áhan-ī sam-á-hṛ-t-e = dvi+ahan+TáC (91) = dv-ahθθ-á-ḥ ‘a collection or group of two days’.

#### 5.4.90 <sup>1</sup>ut-tamá=<sup>2</sup>ékā-bhyān ca

[The substitute morpheme ahna- 88 does not 89] also (ca) replace [the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-áhan- ‘day’ 88] co-occurring with the last word (uttamá- ° of the group listed in 87) and éka- ° ‘one’.

*púnya+áhan+áC* = *punyāh00/-áC* = *punyāh-á-h* ‘auspicious day’; similarly *ekāh-á-h* ‘a single day’.

#### 5.4.91 <sup>1</sup>rāja(n)=<sup>2</sup>áha(n)=<sup>3</sup>sákhi-bhyas=ṬáC

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ṬáC is introduced [after the nominal stems 4.1.1] rājan- ‘king’, áhan- ‘day’ and sákhi- ‘companion, friend’ [occurring at the end of a compound 68].

*mahán rājā* = *mahát+0-rājan+ṬáC* = *maha-ā+rāj+00-á-* (6.3.46) = *mahā-rājā-* ‘great king, emperor’. *paramá+áhan+ṬáC* = *paramāh00-á-* = *paramāh-á-* (6.4.145) ‘excellent day’. *rājñ-ah sákhā* = *rājan+sákhi+ṬáC* = *rāja-sakh0-á-* ‘companion or friend of the king’.

#### 5.4.92 gó-r á-taddhita-luK-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] gó- ‘cow, bull’ [co-occurring as a final member 1.1.72 of a Tatpuruṣá 86 compound] provided it does not occur in one involving a luK (=0<sup>1</sup>) replacement of a taddhitá affix (á-taddhita-luK-i).

*paramá-s=ca asaú gau-s=ca* = *paramá+gó+ṬáC* = *paramá-gav-á-h* ‘excellent bull’; *pañcā-n-ām gáv-ām sam-ā-hār-á-h* = *pañca0+go+ṬáC* = *pañca-gav-á-m* (2.1.51) ‘a herd of five cows/bulls’; But *pañcā-bhir gó-bhih krī-tá-h* = *pañca0+go+ṭhāK* (5.1.37) = *pañca-go+0<sup>3</sup>* (5.1.28) = *panca-gū-* (1.2.48) ‘bought with five cows/bulls’.

#### 5.4.93 agra=ā-khyā-y-ām úras-ah

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] úras- ‘chest, breast’ [occurring as a final member 1.1.72 of a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] to denote ‘the most excellent (of its kind)’ (agra=ā-khyā-y-ām).

*ásvā-n-ām úrah* = *asva+uras+ṬáC* = *asvoras-á-h* ‘most excellent horse’.

#### 5.4.94 <sup>1</sup>ánas=<sup>2</sup>ásma(n)=<sup>3</sup>áyas-<sup>4</sup>sáras-ām <sup>1</sup>já-ti-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-jñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] án-as- ‘chariot’, ás-man- ‘rock’, áy-as- ‘iron’ and sár-as- ‘pool’ [occurring as final members of 1.1.72 of Tatpuruṣá compounds 86] to denote a genus (játi- °) or a name (°-saṁ-jñā-y-ām).

1. *úpa+ánas+ṬáC* = *upánas-á-m* ‘space in a chariot’; 2. *a-mṛ-ta+aś-man+ṬáC* = *a-mṛ-tās-mṃṃ-á-h* ‘a variety of rock’; 3. *kāla+ayas+ṬáC* = *kālāyas-ám* ‘a variety of iron’; *lohitāyas-á-m* ‘copper’; 4. *maṇḍūka-saras-á-m* ‘fish-pond’; *jāla-saras-á-m* ‘n.pr.’

#### 5.4.95 <sup>1</sup>grāma-<sup>2</sup>kauṭā-bhyām ca tákṣṇ-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tákṣan- ‘carpenter’ co-occurring [after 3.1.1.67] grāma- ° ‘village’ or kauṭā- ‘independent’ [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

*grāma-sya tákṣā* = *grāmaṃ+takṣán+ṬáC* = *grāma-takṣṃṃ-á-h* (6.4.144) ‘village carpenter’; similarly *kuṭy-ám bhāv-a-sya takṣā* = *kauṭā+takṣan+ṬáC* = *kauṭa-takṣ-a-h* ‘independent or self-employed carpenter’ but *rājñ-aḥ tákṣā* = *rājyaṃ-takṣán-* ‘king’s carpenter’.

#### 5.4.96 át-eḥ súun-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śván- ‘dog’ co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particle áti- ° [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 88].

*ati-krān-tá-h śván-am* = *áti+évan+ṬáC* = *ati-évṃṃ-á-h varāhá-h* ‘a wild boar which outruns a dog’; *ati-év-á-h sévaka-h* ‘a servant as faithful as a dog’.

#### 5.4.97 upa-mā-n-āt á-prāṇi-ṣu

[The taddhitá samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 śván- ‘dog’ 96] when employed as an object of comparison (upa-mā-n-āt) to denote inanimate objects (á-prāṇi-ṣu).

*ā-karṣ-á-h śvā=iva* = *ā-karṣ-a+évan+ṬáC* = *ā-karṣ-a-évṃṃ-á-h* ‘a magnet shaped like a dog’; *phalaka-év-á-h* ‘a dice in the shape of a dog’, but *nāñ+évan-* = *á-évan-* ‘not a dog’ and *vānara-h śvā=iva vānara-éván-* ‘dog-like ape or monkey’.

#### 5.4.98 $^{1}\text{út-tara} = ^{2}\text{mrgá-púrv-āt} = \text{ca sákth-n-aḥ}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] sákthi- ‘thigh’ co-occurring [after 1.1.67] út-tara-° ‘left’, mrgá-° ‘animal, deer’ and púrva-° ‘anterior’ [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] as well as (ca) [items denoting an object of comparison 97].

1. *uttara-sakthī+Ṭác* = *uttara-sakth-á-m* ‘left thigh’; 2. *mrgá-sakth-á-m* ‘thigh of an animal or deer’; 3. *púrva-sakth-á-m* ‘upper part of the thigh’; 4. *phalaka-saktha-n*

#### 5.4.99 $\text{nāv-áḥ} = \text{dvigó-ḥ}$

[The taddhitá samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] náu- ‘ship, boat’ occurring at the [end of 1.1.72] a Dvigú compound [provided it does not occur in one involving the luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replacement of a taddhitá affix 92].

*dv-é náu-au sam-ā-hṛ-te* = *div+nau+Ṭác* = *div-nāv-á-m* ‘a convoy of two boats’;  
*dv-é náu-au dhána-m a-syá* = *dvī+naú+Ṭác+dhana* = *dvi-nāv-á-dhana-ḥ*  
‘whose assets consist of two boats’ (2.1.52); *dvá-bhyām náu-bhyām ā-ga-tá-m* =  
*dvi-nāv-á-rūpya-m* but *rājñ-aḥ náu-ḥ* = *rājaḥ-náu-ḥ* ‘royal boat’ *pañcá-bhir*  
*náu-bhiḥ krī-tá-m* = *pañca+nau+(tháK→luK)* (4.1.88) = *pañca-naú-* (5.1.28)  
‘bought with five boats’.

#### 5.4.100 $\text{ardh-át} = \text{ca}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 náu- ‘boat’ 99] co-occurring with ardhá-° ‘half’ [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

*ardhá-m nāv-áḥ* = *ardha+nau+Ṭác* = *ardha-nāv-á-m* ‘half a boat’.

#### 5.4.101 $\text{khāry-áḥ} = \text{prác-ām}$

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] khārī ‘n.pr. of a measure, [co-occurring after 1.1.67 ardhá-° 100 in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86 or in a Dvigú compound 99] according to Eastern Grammarians (prác-ām).

1. *ardhá-m khāry-áḥ* = *ardha+khārī+Ṭác* = *ardha-khār-á-m/ardha-khārī* (1.2.48) ‘half a khārī’.

2. *dv-é khāry-áú sam-ā-hṛ-t-é* = *dvi+khārI+TāC/(thāK→luk* 4.1.80; 5.1.28)  
*div-kharθ-ām/dvi-khārī* (1.2.48) 'a heap of 2 khārī-s'.

#### 5.4.102 <sup>1</sup>dvi-<sup>2</sup>trī-bhyām añjalé-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 TāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-añjalí- 'a measure of corn', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] dvi-° 'two' and trī- 'three' [in a Dvigú compound 99, but not when involving a luk replacement of a taddhitá affix 92].

*dv-áú añjal-í sam-ā-hṛ-t-é* = *dvi+añjali+TāC* = *dvy-añjal °-ā-m* 'two añjalí measures'; similarly *try-añjal-ā-m* 'tree añjalí measures'; but *dváy-or añjalí-ḥ* = *dvy-añjalí-ḥ*; *dvā-bhyām añjalí-bhyām krI-tā-ḥ* = *dvi+anjali+(thāK→luk)* *dvy-añjalí-ḥ* 'bought with two añjalí measures'.

#### 5.4.103 <sup>1</sup>an-<sup>2</sup>as-ant-āt nāpuṁsak-āt=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 TāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an or °-as and neuter in gender (nāpuṁsak-āt) [occurring at the end of 1.1.172 a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. °-an: *hastín-aḥ cār-maṇ-i* = *hastiθ-carman+Ñi* (8.2.7) = *hasti-carman+TāC+Ñi* = *hasti-carmθθ-ā+i* = *hasti-carm-é ju-hó-ti* 'offers an oblation on an elephant hide'.
2. °-as: *devā+chāndas+TāC+Śi* = *deva-cchandas-ā+Si* = *deva-cchandas-ā-n-i* 'n.pr. of a metre'.

#### 5.4.104 bráhmaṇ-aḥ jāna-pada=ākhyā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 TāC 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bráh-man- 'brahmin' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Tatpuruṣá compound 86] when designating someone belonging to that locality (jāna-pada-ā-khyā-y-ām).

This rule implies that the prior member should be the name of a locality (jana-padā-). *sūrāṣṭre-su bráh-mā* = *sūrāṣṭra+bráh-man+TāC* = *surāṣṭra-brah-mθθ-ā-ḥ* 'a brahmin resident of Sur.'

#### 5.4.105 <sup>1</sup>kú-<sup>2</sup>mahát=bhyām anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsantá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is] optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bráh-man- co-occurring [after 1.1.67] kú-° and mahát-° [in a Tatpuruṣá compound 86].

1. *kú-brah-man+Ṭác* = *ku-brah-mṃṃ-á-/kú-brah-man-* ‘vile brahmin’; similarly 2. *mahát+bráh-man-* = *maha-ā-brahm-á-* (6.3.44) = *mahā-brah-á-/mahā-brah-mán-* ‘great brahmin’.

#### 5.4.106 dvaṁdv-āt <sup>1</sup>cU-<sup>2</sup>da-<sup>3</sup>ṣa=<sup>4</sup>ha-ant-āt sam-ā-hār-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsantá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvaṁdvá compound [ending in 1.1.72] a palatal phoneme (cU-°) or [d] or [ṣ] or [h] when denoting a collection (sam-ā-hār-é).

1. cU: *vāk ca tvāk ca* = *vākṃ=tvac-Ṭác+am* = *vāk-tvac-á+am* (6.1.97) ‘speech and touch’; *id ca ūrk ca* = *id-ūrj+Ṭác* = *id-ūrj-á-m* ‘food and strength’; 2. [°d]: *samid=ca dṛṣád=ca* = *samid-dṛṣad-á-m* ‘firewood and stone’; *sampad-vipad-á-m* ‘good and bad fortune’; 3. [°-ṣ]: *vāk ca viprúṭ ca* = *vāg-viprus-á-m* ‘speech and drops falling from the mouth’; 4. [°-h]: *chāt-tram ca upā-nát=ca* = *chattro-pānah-á-m* ‘umbrella and sandals’.

#### 5.4.107 avyayībhāv-é śarád=pra-bhṛti-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsantá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with (°-pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ) °-śarád- ‘autumn’ occurring [at the end of 1.1.12 of] an Avyayībhāvá compound.

- śarád-aḥ sam-īpá-m* = *upa-śarad+Ṭác* = *upa-śarad-á-m* ‘approaching or near autumn’, but *parama-śarád-* ‘good autumn’.

#### 5.4.108 an-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsantá 68 affix 3.1.1 Ṭác 91 is introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the syllable °-an- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

- rājñ-aḥ sam-īpá-m* = *upa+rājan+Ṭác* = *upa=rājṃṃ-á-m* (6.4.144) = *upa-ráj-á-m* ‘near the king’; *ātman-i* = *adhi+ātman+Ṭác* = *adhy-ātman-á-m* ‘within the Self’.

#### 5.4.109 nápuṃsak-āt=any-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 9.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the syllable °-an- 108] in neuter gender [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

*cárman-ah sam-īpá-m* = *upa+carman+ṬáC* = *upa-carmṇ-á-m/upa-carmá* ‘near the skin’; similarly *carman-i* = *adhi-carm-á/adhi-carmṇ-á-m* ‘in/on the skin’.

#### 5.4.110 <sup>1</sup>nadí-<sup>2</sup>paurṇa-māśí-<sup>3</sup>āgra-hāy-aṇí-bhyaḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] nadí ‘river’, paurṇa-māśí ‘full-moon night’ and āgra-hāy-aṇ-í ‘full-moon night of Agra-háy-aṇa-’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

1. *nady-áh sam-īpá-m* = *upa+nadí+ṬáC* = *upa-nadṇ-á-m* ‘near the river’/*upa-nadí*; similarly 2. *upa-paurṇa-māś-á-m/upa-paurṇa-māśí* ‘approaching or near the full-moon night’; 3. *upāgra-hāy-aṇ-á-m/upāgra-hāy-aṇí* ‘approaching or near the full-moon night of Agra-háy-aṇa’

#### 5.4.111 jhaY-ah

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91 is optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes denoted by the siglum jhaY(= all stops) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107].

*samídh-ah sam-īpá-m* = *upa+samidh+ṬáC* = *upa-samidh-á-m* ‘near the fire-wood’ alternately *upa-samít*; similarly *upa-dṛṣad-á-m/upa-dṛṣát* ‘near the rock’.

#### 5.4.112 giré-s=ca senaka-sya

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 ṬáC 91] is also (ca) [optionally 109 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-girí- ‘mountain’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 an Avyayībhāvá compound 107] according to the grammarian Senaka.

The mention of the Senaka is honorific, since the optionality of this rule is provided by the recurring word [anya-tará-syām] from 109 above. *giré-h sam-īpá-m* = *upa-giri/upa-girí+ṬáC* = *upa-girṇ-á-m* ‘near the mountain’.



#### 5.4.113 bahuvrīh-aú <sup>1</sup>sákthi=<sup>2</sup>akṣṇó-ḥ sva=aṅg-át Śác

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] Śác is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' denoting one's limbs (svāṅg-át) when occurring at [the end of 1.1.72] a Bahuvrīhí compound.

The expression [bahuvrīh-aú] is the governing word recurring in each succeeding rule up to the end of this chapter.

*dirghá-m sákthi a-syá* = *dirgha+sakti+Śác* = *dirgha-sakthṇ-á-* m.n. 'possessing long thighs'; the difference between affix [Śác] and [TáC 91-112] is in the accentuation of the feminine derivative, respectively with Nís and NīP: *dirgha-sakth-á+Nís* = (4.1.41) = *dirgha-sakth-ṇ-í*. For further elucidation cf. 6.2.198. Similarly *sahasrā-ṇ-i ákṣi-ṇ-i a-syá* = *sahasra+akṣi+Śác* = *sahasrākṣṇ-á-ḥ* 'n.pr. of Indra, possessor of a thousand eyes'.

When the stems do not denote one's limbs: *dirghá-sakthi śakata-m* 'a cart with a long shaft' and *sthulá+akṣi-* = *sthulákṣi-r iṣu-ḥ* 'sugar-cane with large eye-like protuberances'.

#### 5.4.114 aṅgúle-r dāru-ṇ-i

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 Śác 113 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-aṅgúli- 'finger' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhí compound 113] to denote a piece of wood (dāru-ṇ-i).

*dv-é aṅgúl-I yá-sya tát* = *dvi+aṅguli+Śác* = *dvy-aṅgulṇ-á-m dāru* 'a piece of wood measuring 2 fingers in width'. But *pāñca aṅgúlay-aḥ a-syá* = *pāncāṅguli-r hásta-ḥ* 'hand possessing 5 fingers'.

#### 5.4.115 <sup>1</sup>dví-<sup>2</sup>trí-bhyām Śá mūrdhn-áh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] Śá is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-mūrdhán- 'head', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] dví-° '2' and trí-° '3' [in a Bahuvrīhí compound 113].

*dv-aú mūrdhán-au a-syá* = *dvi+mūrdhan+Śá* = *dvi-mūrdhṇ-á-ḥ* 'two-headed'; similarly *tri-mūrdh-á-ḥ* 'three-headed', but *uccaír-mūrdhan-* 'whose head is (held) high'.

Affix [Śá] is introduced here in order to provide for the optional final udātta accent by 6.2.197, whereas it would have been blocked by affix [Śác 113] which makes the final udātta accent non-optional: *dvi-mūrdh-á-/dví-mūrdh-a-/dvi-mūrdhán-/dví-mūrdhan-*.

#### 5.4.116 aP <sup>1</sup>pūr-aṇ-ī-<sup>2</sup>pra-māṇy-oh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] aP is introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of ordinals in the feminine gender (pūr-aṇ-ī °) or the word pra-māṇ-ī ‘authority’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*kalyāṇī pañcamī ā-sām rātri-ṇ-ām* = *kalyāṇī+pañcamī+aP+TāP+Jas* *kalyāṇī-pañcamī+aP+Jas* = *kalyāṇī-pañcam-āḥ rātray-āḥ* ‘nights of which the fifth is auspicious’; similarly *strī pramāṇī e-sām* = *strī+pramāṇī+aP+Jas* = *strī-pramāṇ-āḥ kutumb-īn-āḥ* ‘members of a family headed by a woman’.

#### 5.4.117 <sup>1</sup>antár-<sup>2</sup>bahír-bhyām ca lómn-aḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 aP 116 is introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-lóman- ‘hair’, co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the indeclinables antár- ‘within’ and bahís- ‘outside’ [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*antar-ga-tā-n-i lómān-i a-syá* = *antár+loman+aP* = *antár-lom+0+aP* (6.4.144) = *antár-lom-a-ḥ pra-vār-á-ḥ* ‘a coverlet, whose hairy part is turned inwards’; similarly *bahír-lom-a-ḥ* ‘whose hairy part is turned outwards’.

#### 5.4.118 áC=násikā-y-āḥ saṁjñā-y-ām nas-aṁ ca á-sthū-l-e

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-násikā ‘nose’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] not co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the word sthū-lá- ‘big, gross’ or its synonyms (as a prior member) to derive a name (saṁjñā-y-ām) and the substitute element nas- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] násikā.

*drú-r iva násikā a-syá* = *dru+násikā+áC* = *dru-nas-á-ḥ* ‘tree-nosed’; similarly *vādh-r-e bhav-ā* = *vādh-r-ī, śá násikā a-syá* = *vādh-r-ī+násikā+áC* = *vādh-r-ī-nas-á-ḥ* ‘rhinoceros’; *gau-r iva násikā a-syá* = *go-nas-á-ḥ* ‘cow-nosed (i.e., a variety of snake)’. But *tunigā/sthūlā násikā a-sya* = *tuniga-násik-á/sthū-la-násik-á-* ‘long-nosed/big-nosed (= wild boar)’.

#### 5.4.119 upa-sarg-āt=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-násikā ‘nose’] co-occurring

[after 1.1.67] a preverb particle (upa-sarg-āt) [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113 and the substitute element nas- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the stem nāsikā 118].

*ún-na-t-ā nāsikā a-syá* = *un+nas+áC* = *un-nas-á-h* ‘having a prominent nose’ = *pra-nas-á-h*.

#### 5.4.120 <sup>1</sup>su-prāt-á-<sup>2</sup>su-śv-á-<sup>3</sup>su-div-á-<sup>4</sup>sāri-kukṣ-á-<sup>5</sup>catur-aśr-á-<sup>6</sup>eṇī-pad-á-<sup>7</sup>aja-pad-á-<sup>8</sup>proṣṭha-pad-á-h

The irregular expressions su-prāt-á- ‘early morning’, su-śv-á- ‘having a happy tomorrow’, su-div-á- ‘having a bright or good day’, sāri-kukṣ-á- ‘having a belly like that of the sāri bird’, catur-aśr-á- ‘four-cornered’, eṇī-pad-á- ‘possessing feet like those of an antelope’, aja-pada-á- ‘having feet like those of a goat’ and proṣṭha-pad-á- ‘having feet like those of a bull, n.pr. of a month’ are introduced as [derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118].

1. *śóbh-ana-m prātár a-syá* = *su+prātár+áC* = *su-prāt-á-* with irregular replacement of stem-final [r] by  $\emptyset$ . Similarly:
2. *śóbh-ana-m śvāḥ a-sya* = *su-śvas+áC* = *su-śv-á-*.
3. *su+divā a-syá* = *su-div-á-*; 4. *śāre-r iva kukṣi-r a-syá* *śāri-kukṣi+áC* = *śāri-kukṣ-á-*; 5. *cátasr-aḥ áśray-aḥ a-syá* = *catur-aśr-á-*; 6. *eṇy-āḥ iva/ajá-sya iva/proṣṭha-sya iva/pād-áu a-syá* = *eṇī-pad-á-/aja-pad-á-/proṣṭha-pad-á-* (6.4.130).

Irregularity refers to the first three expressions; the rest are governed by 6.4.144 for the  $\emptyset$  replacement of stem finals.

#### 5.4.121 <sup>1</sup>náÑ-<sup>2</sup>dús-<sup>3</sup>sú-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>háli-<sup>2</sup>sákthy-or anya-tará-syām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áC 118] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-háli- ‘plough’ and sákthi- ‘thigh’, co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles náÑ-°, dús-° or sú-° [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā hali-r a-syá* = *náÑ+háli+ác* = *a-hal-á-/a-halí-* (6.2.172) ‘lacking a plough’; similarly *dur-hal-á-/dúr-halí-* ‘owning a bad plough’ and *su-hal-á-/su-halí-* (6.2.172) ‘owning a good plough’. Similarly:
2. *á-vid-ya-m-āna-m sákthi a-syá* = *náÑ+sákthi+áC* = *a-sakth-á-/a-sakthí-* ‘thigh-less’; *duḥ-sakth-á-/dúḥ-sakthi-* ‘having a bad thigh’; *su-sakth-á-/su-sakthí-* ‘possessing a good thigh’.

#### 5.4.122 nítya-m áṣiC <sup>1</sup>prajā-<sup>2</sup>medháy-oh

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] áṣiC is necessarily (nítya-m) introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] prajā ‘progeny’ and medhā ‘wisdom’ [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náñ-°, dúś-° or sú-° 121 in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā prajā a-syá* = *náñ+prajā+áṣiC* = *a-prajāś-ás-* ‘childless, barren’; similarly *duś-praj-ás-/su-praj-ás-* ‘possessing bad/good progeny’.
2. *á-vid-ya-m-ānā medhā a-syá* = *náñ+medhā+ásic* = *a-medhāś-ás-* ‘lacking wisdom’; *dur-medh-ás-/su-medh-ás-* ‘having wrong/right knowledge’.

#### 5.4.123 bahu-prajāś=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas the expression bahu-praj-ás- is introduced [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áṣiC 122 as a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*bahu-prajā nīr-ṛti-m á-vi-ve-śa* (RV 1.164.32) ‘one possessing a large progeny encounters adversity’. Outside Chāndas the form is *bahu-prajā-* (6.2.175).

#### 5.4.124 dhárm-āt=ániC kéval-āt

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] ániC is introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dhárma- ‘law’, co-occurring [after 1.1.67] a single (kéval-āt prior member) [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*kalyāṇa-h dhárma-h a-syá* = *kalyāṇa-dharma+ániC* = *kalyāṇadharmāś-án-* ‘whose law is auspicious’, but *para-má-h svá-h dhárma-h a-syá* = *paramá+svá+dharma-* ‘possessor of the highest personal or self-law’.

#### 5.4.125 jambhā <sup>1</sup>sú-<sup>2</sup>hár-i-ta-<sup>3</sup>tṛṇa-<sup>4</sup>sóme-bhyaḥ

The expression jambh-án- occurs as a final member [of a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] when co-occurring [after 1.1.67] sú-°, hár-i-ta-° or tṛṇa- and sóma-° respectively denoting ‘good, beautiful/green/grass/moon’.

*jambh-án* is here derived with affix [ániC 124] *śób-ana-h jambha-h a-syá* = *su+jambha+án-* = *su-jambhāś-án-* ‘having a well-shaped jaw’; *harita-jambh-án-* ‘possessing a green jaw’; *tṛṇa-jambh-án-* ‘graminivorous, having teeth showing grass’; *soma-jambh-án-* ‘possessing a moon-like jaw, n.pr. of a person’, but *pat-i-tá-jambha-* ‘whose teeth have all fallen’.

#### 5.4.126 dakṣiṇermá lub-dha-yog-é

The expression dakṣiṇerm-án 'wounded on the right side' is introduced [as a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to denote a connection with a hunter (lub-dha-yog-é) [as derived with the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 áñiC 124].

*dakṣiṇa-m* *irmá-m* (= *vraṇa-m*) *a-syá* = *dakṣiṇerma+ániC* = *dakṣiṇermθ-án-* (said of an animal hunted by a hunter), but *dákṣiṇerma-m śakaṭa-m* 'a cart, broken on the right side'.

#### 5.4.127 íC karma-vy-ati-hār-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] íC is introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of [a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] denoting reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hār-é).

*keśe-ṣu keśe-ṣu gṛh-I-tvá idám yuddhá-m prá-vṛt-ta-m* = *keśa+keśa+íC* = *keśā-keśθ-í* (6.3.137) 'hair-to-hair/head-to-head fight'.

#### 5.4.128 dvi-daṇḍ-í=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 íC 127] is also (ca) introduced [after 3.1.2 the class of Bahuvrīhī compounds 113] beginning with dvi-daṇḍ-í-

*dv-aú daṇḍ-aú pra-hár-aṇa-m yá-emin* = *dvi+daṇḍa+íC* = *dvi-dandθ-í-* (2.3.27) 'two staffs against two staffs', but *dvi+daṇḍa+TāP* = *dvi-daṇḍθ-ā śālā* 'a hall measuring two poles'.

#### 5.4.129 <sup>1</sup>prá-<sup>2</sup>sám-bhyām jānu-n-or jñu-h

The substitute morpheme jñu- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] jānu- 'knee' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles prá-° and sám-° (in composition).

*prá-kṛṣ-t-e jānu-n-I a-syá* = *prá+jānu* = *prá-jñu-* 'possessing shapely knees' or = *pra-ga-t-é jānu-n-I a-syá* 'bow-legged, having the knees apart'; similarly *sām-jñu-* 'knock-kneed'.

### 5.4.130 ūrdhv-āt vibhāṣā

[The substitute morpheme *jñu-* 129] optionally replaces (*vibhāṣā*) [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 *jānu-* ‘knee’ 129 at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] when co-occurring [after 1.1.67] *ūrdhvá-* ‘high’ (in composition).

*ūrdhv-é jānu-n-I a-syá* = *ūrdhvá-jñu-/ūrdhvá-jānu-* ‘having the knees raised (in a sitting or squatting position)’.

### 5.4.131 ūdhas-aḥ=anañ

The substitute morpheme *anañ* replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53] [of the nominal stem 9.1.1] °*ūdhas-* ‘udder’ [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

*kunḍá-m iva ūdhaḥ a-syáḥ* = *kunḍa+ūdha(s→anañ)+ñfṣ* (4.1.25) = *kunḍodh-an+ñfṣ* (6.1.97) = *kunḍodhñ-f* (6.4.134) = *kunḍodhn-f* ‘having udders full’; so also *ghaṭodhn-f*, literally ‘having udders shaped like a pitcher’.

### 5.4.132 dhānuṣ-as=ca

[The substitute morpheme *anañ* 131 replaces the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °*dhānuṣ-* ‘bow’ [at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113].

*śārngá-m dhānur a-syá* = *śārngá+dhānu-(s→anañ)* = *śārngá-dhanv-an-* ‘who wields the bow called Śārngá’; similarly: *gāṇḍī-vá-dhanv-an-/púṣpa-dhanv-an-* ‘n.pr. of Arjuna/Cupid’.

### 5.4.133 vā samjñā-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme *anañ* 131] optionally (*vā*) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *dhānuṣ-* ‘bow’ 132 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhi compound 113] to derive a name (*samjñā-y-ām*).

*śatá-dhanuṣ-/śatá-dhanv-an-* ‘n.pr. of a king’; so also *dyḍhá-dhanuṣ-/dyḍhá-dhanv-an-* ‘n.pr. of a king’. The present rule, however, does not apply to 132 above although they are proper names.

#### 5.4.134 jāyā-y-āḥ niṆ

The substitute element niṆ replaces [the stem-final of 1.1.53 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °jāyā 'wife' [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*yuvatī-r jāyā a-syā* = *yúvan+θ+jāyā* (6.3.34) = *yúvaθ+jāy-(ā→niṆ)* (8.2.7) = *yúva-jā-ni-* (6.1.66) 'possessing a young wife'; similarly *vṛd-dhā-jā-ni-* 'having an old wife'.

#### 5.4.135 gandhā-sya iT <sup>1</sup>úd=<sup>2</sup>pūti-<sup>3</sup>sú-<sup>4</sup>surabhī-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme iT replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-gandhā- 'odor, smell, scent', co-occurring [after 1.1.67] úd-°, pūti-° 'foul', sú-° 'good' and surabhī-° 'perfumed, fragrant' [as prior members in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*ud-ga-tā-ḥ gandhā-ḥ a-syā* = *út+gandh-(a→iT)* = *údgandh-i* 'fragrant' similarly: *pūti-gandh-i-* 'foul-smelling'; *sú-gandh-i-* 'sweet-smelling' and *surabhī-gandh-i-* 'strong-smelling; when the compound is not a Bahuvrīhī: *su-gandhā-ḥ* 'sweet smell'; *vyāghra-sya gandhā-ḥ* = *vyāghra-gandhā-ḥ* 'tiger scent'.

#### 5.4.136 alpa=ā-khyā-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme iT 135 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 gandhā- 135] signifying 'a little' (alpa-ā-khyā-y-ām) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*sūpa-sya gandhā-ḥ* (= *ālpā-ḥ*) *a-smín* = *sūpa-gandh-i bhōj-ana-m/(Uṇādi III 26)* '(a dinner course) consisting of only a trace of soup'; similarly *ghṛ-tā-gandh-i-* 'having only a trace of clarified butter'.

#### 5.4.137 upa-mān-āt=ca

[The substitute morpheme iT 135] also (ca) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 gandhā- 135] co-occurring [after 1.1.67] another stem denoting an object of comparison (upa-mān-āt) [as a prior member in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*pádma-sya iva gandhā-ḥ a-syā* = *pádma-gandh-i-* 'smelling like a lotus' = *út-pala-gandh-i-*.

#### 5.4.138 pādā-sya lopa-ḥ=ā-hasti(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ

Lopa (=∅) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pādā- ‘foot’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] except when co-occurring [after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] in the class headed by hastīn- ‘elephant’.

*vyāghrā-sya iva pād-āú a-syá = vyāghrá+pād-(a→∅) = vyāghrá-pād-* ‘whose feet resemble those of a tiger’. But *hastī-pāda-* ‘whose feet resemble those of an elephant’.

#### 5.4.139 kumbhá-pad-ī-ṣu ca

The word-class [comprising Bahuvrīhī compounds 113] beginning with kumbhá-pad-ī is introduced [as derived with a replacement of stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem °-pāda- ‘foot’ 138 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 the compound 113].

*kumbhá-sya iva pād-āú a-syáḥ = kumbhá+pada+ÑIP = kumbhá-pad-ī* (6.4.130)  
(→*kumbhá+pad∅+ÑIP*).

#### 5.4.140 <sup>1</sup>saṁ-khyā-<sup>2</sup>sú-pūrva-sya

[Lopa (∅) 138 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-pādā- ‘foot’ 138 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (saṁ-khyā-°) or sú-° [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*dv-āú pād-āú a-syá = dvī-pād-(a→∅) = dvī-pād-* ‘biped’; so also *trī-pād-* ‘triped’ and *catúṣ-pād-* ‘quadruped’. Similarly *śobh-an-au pād-āú a-syá = su-pād-* ‘having well-shaped feet’.

#### 5.4.141 váyas-i dánta-sya datṚ

The substitute morpheme datṚ- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dánta- ‘tooth’ [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a numeral or sú-° 140 at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to denote age (váyas-i).

*dv-āú dánt-au a-syá = dvī+danta- = dvī-datṚ-* ‘having two teeth (as an indication of age)’, but *dvī-danta-ḥ kuñjara-ḥ* ‘two-tusker elephant’. *śobh-an-āḥ dánt-āḥ a-syá = su-dátṚ-* ‘having a beautiful set of teeth’.



#### 5.4.142 chāndas-i ca

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute morpheme datṚ- 141] also (ca) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-dānta- occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

The context here is not one indicative of age and without reference to prior members specified before.

*ubhā-ya-dat-a ā-labh-a-te* (RV 10.90.10): *ubhā-ya-datṚ-* 'having teeth in both jaws', the RV passage indicating 'sacrifice (an animal) having teeth in both jaws'.

#### 5.4.143 striy-ām samjñā-y-ām

[The substitute morpheme datṚ 141 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 danta- 'tooth' 141 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to derive a feminine name (striy-ām samjñā-y-ām).

*āyāḥ iva dāntā-ḥ a-syāḥ* = *āyas+danta+ŃTP* (4.1.6) = *āyo-dat-Ṛ* 'n.pr. of a person', but *sama+danta=ŃfṢ* (4.1.55) = *sama-dantṬ-ṛ* 'whose teeth are even'.

#### 5.4.144 vibhāṣā 'śyāvā=²ārokā-bhyām

[The substitute morpheme datṚ 141] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 dānta- 'tooth', co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *śyāvā-* °. 'dark brown' and *āroka-* ° 'not bright' [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*śyāvāḥ dānt-āḥ a-syā* = *śyāvā-danta-/śyāvā-datṚ-* 'whose teeth are dark'; similarly *ā-roka-danta-/°-datṚ-* 'whose teeth are not bright'.

#### 5.4.145 ¹āgra=anta-²śuddhā-³śúbhṛa-⁴vṛṣa-⁵varāḥé-bhyas=ca

[The substitute morpheme datṚ 141] also (ca) [optionally 144 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal stem 4.1.1 danta- 'tooth' 141 co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] (ending in: °-anta-°) °-āgra-° 'tip' and the words *śuddhā-* ° 'pure', *śúbhṛa-* ° 'bright', *vṛṣa-* ° 'bull' and *varāḥ-* ° 'wild boar' [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

The particle [ca] in this rule is for inclusion of other unspecified co-occurring stems preceding [dānta-] in composition.

*kudmalā-n-ām* = *mukulā-n-ām āgrā-n-i iva dāntā-ḥ a-syā* = *kudmalāgrā-danta-/°-datṚ-* 'possessing teeth like the tips of buds'; *śuddhā-danta-/°-datṚ-* 'having pure or clean teeth'; *śúbhṛa-danta-/°-datṚ-*

‘endowed with bright teeth’; *vṛṣa-danta-*/<sup>°</sup>-*datṛ-* ‘having teeth like those of a bull’; *varāha-danta-*/<sup>°</sup>-*datṛ-* ‘having teeth like those of a wild boar’; and *dhi-danta-*/<sup>°</sup>-*datṛ-* ‘possessing teeth like those of a snake’.

#### 5.4.146 *kākuda-sya=ava-sthā-y-ām lōpa-ḥ*

Lopa Ø replaces [the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] <sup>°</sup>-*kākuda-* ‘hump’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] to denote age (*ava-sthā-y-ām*) or condition.

*á-saṁ-jā-ta-m kākud-am a-syá* = *á-saṁ-jā-ta-kakud-(a→Ø)* = *á-saṁ-jā-ta-kakud-* ‘whose hump has not yet manifested (= young, not adult)’; *ún-na-ta-kakud* ‘high-humped (= aged, old)’ *sthū-lá-kakud-* ‘large-humped (= strong)’, but *śvetá-kakuda-* ‘white-humped’ (not indicative of physical condition denoting age etc.).

#### 5.4.147 *trī-kakud=párvat-e*

The expression *trī-kakud-* ‘three-peaked’ is introduced to denote a mountain (*párvat-e*) [as derived with the Ø replacement 146 of the stem-final of 1.1.55 the nominal stem <sup>°</sup>-*kākuda-* 146 occurring at the end of 1.1.72 of a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*trī-ṇ-i kākudā-n-i a-syá* = *trī-kakudØ* = *trī-kakud-*.

#### 5.4.148 <sup>1</sup>*úd=²vī-bhyām kākuda-sya*

[Lopa Ø 147 replaces the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] <sup>°</sup>-*kākuda-* ‘palate’ co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb particles *úd-*<sup>°</sup> and *vī-*<sup>°</sup> [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*úd-ga-ta-m kākuda-m a-syá* = *úd-kākud-(a→Ø)* = *úd-kākud-* ‘endowed with a high or elevated palate’; similarly *vī-kākud-* ‘having a malformed or cleft palate’.

#### 5.4.149 *pūrṇ-āt vibhāṣā*

[Lopa (Ø) 146] optionally replaces [the stem-final 1.1.55 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *kākuda-* ‘palate’ 149, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *pūrṇá-* ‘full’ [in a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*pūr-ṇá-m kākuda-m a-syá* = *pūr-ṇá-kākuda-/°-kākud* ‘whose palate is fully developed’.

#### 5.4.150 <sup>1</sup>su-hḥd=<sup>2</sup>dúr-hḥd-au <sup>1</sup>mitrá=<sup>2</sup>a-mítray-oḥ

The expressions su-hḥd- and dúr-hḥd- are introduced [respectively 1.3.10] to denote a ‘friend’ and an ‘enemy or adversary’.

This nipātana rule provides for the replacement of the nominal stem [hḥdaya-] co-occurring after sú-° and dúś-° in a Bahuvrīhī compound by the replacement morpheme hḥd-. In other senses: *śóbh-ana-m hḥdaya-m a-sya* = *su-hḥdayá-h* = *kārunika-h* ‘compassionate’ and *duṣṭá-m hḥdaya-m a-sya* = *dúr-hḥdaya-h* ‘cruel, hard-hearted’.

#### 5.4.151 úras=pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ kaP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1] kaP is introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1 beginning with °-úras- ‘chest, breast’ [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*vy-úḍha-m úraḥ a-sya* = *vy-úḍha+uras+kaP* = *vy-úḍhoras-ka-h* ‘broad-chested’.

#### 5.4.152 ín-aḥ striy-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °ín- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 112] to derive a feminine stem (striy-ām).

*baháv-aḥ daṇḍ-ín-aḥ a-syām śālā-y-ām* = *bahu+daṇḍ-ín+KaP+TāP* = *bahu-daṇḍi*∅ (8.2.7) *+kaP+TāP* = *bahu-daṇḍi-kṇ-ā* = *bahu-daṇḍi-k-ā śālā* ‘a hall occupied by many carrying staffs’ but *bahu-daṇḍ-ín-/bahu-daṇḍi-ka-* m. ‘a king’.

#### 5.4.153 <sup>1</sup>nadī=<sup>2</sup>r̥T-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsānta 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is also introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoted by the t.t. nadī (1.4.3ff.) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel phoneme [r̥T] [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

(a) *bahvy-āḥ kumārī-āḥ-āḥ a-smín déś-e* = *bah+kumārī+kaP+sU* = *bahu-kumārī-ka-h déśa-h* ‘(a locality) abounding in many unmarried girls’; (b) *baháv-aḥ kartār-aḥ a-smín déś-e* = *bahu-kartāṛ-ka-h* ‘(a place) teeming with active people’.

#### 5.4.154 śeṣ-āt vibhāṣā

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1, occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a bahuvrīhī compound 113] not covered by the above rules (śeṣ-āt).

*bahvy-dḥ khatvā-ḥ a-smín = bahu-kahatvā-ka(P) = bahu-khatvā-ka- (7.4.15)/  
bahu-khatvā- (1.2.48) ‘(a place) containing many bedsteads’.*

#### 5.4.155 ná samjñā-y-ām

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151] is not (ná) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1, occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113] when denoting a name (samjñā-y-ām)

*viśv-e devā-ḥ a-syá = viśvā-deva- ‘name of a person’; so also viśvā-yaśas-.*

#### 5.4.156 īyas-as=ca

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 consisting of a Bahuvrīhī compound 113 ending in 1.1.72] °-īyas-.

*baháv-ah śréyā-m-s-aḥ a-syá = bahu-śréyas- ‘endowed with many excellences’.*

#### 5.4.157 vand-i-t-é bhrātu-ḥ

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 15 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bhrātr̥- designating ‘praised’ (vand-i-t-é) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*śóbh-ana-ḥ bhrātā a-syá = su-bhrātr̥- ‘whose brother is praiseworthy or excellent’,  
but mūrkhā-bhrātr̥-ka- ‘one who has a foolish brother’.*

#### 5.4.158 ṛT-as=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel phoneme [ṛT] [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*ha-t-ā mātá a-syá = hatá-mātr̥- ‘one whose mother is killed’.*

#### 5.4.159 <sup>1</sup>nāḍī-<sup>2</sup>tantry-óḥ sva=aṅg-é

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1] <sup>1</sup>nāḍī- ‘artery’ and tantrī ‘ibid’ denoting parts of one’s body (svāṅg-é) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*bahvy-áḥ nāḍy-áḥ a-syá* = *bahu-nāḍī* (1.2.48) *kāya-ḥ* ‘a body, containing many arteries’; similarly *bahu-tantrī-*. *bahu-nāḍī-ka-ḥ stambhá-ḥ* ‘a pillar containing many holes’ and *bahu-tantrī-k-ā vīṇā* ‘many-stringed Indian lute (vīṇā)’.

#### 5.4.160 níṣ-pra-vāṇi-s=ca

And (ca) the expression níṣ-pra-vāṇi- ‘fresh from the loom’ is introduced [to indicate that the taddhitá 4.1.76 samāsāntá 68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 151 is not 155 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1 pra-vāṇ-i ‘weavers’ shuttle’ occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a Bahuvrīhī compound 113].

*nir-ga-t-ā pra-vāṇ-i yá-smāt* = *níṣ-pra-vāṇ-i-* (1.2.48) ‘(cloth fresh from the loom)’.

### 6.1.1 éka=aC-aḥ=dv-é prathamá-sya

Two (dv-é syllables) replace the first [prathamá-sya] syllable (of a verbal stem which contains) a single syllable (ékāC-aḥ).

This is a governing rule (adhi-kār-á-) heading this section extending up to 12 below, and the three expressions will recur in each of them. The purport of this rule is to state that the first syllable of a mono-syllabic verbal stem is reduplicated under conditions stipulated in the subsequent rules.

### 6.1.2 áC=āde-r dvi-tíya-sya

[Two syllable 1] replace the second (dvi-tíya-sya) syllable [of a verbal stem] beginning with (°-āde-ḥ) a vowel (aC-°) (and contains two or more syllables).

This is also a governing rule having the same extension as the above and is an exception to 1 above. The expression [dvi-tíya-sya] implies that the verbal stem consists of at least two syllables.

Rule 1 is illustrated by *pac-*: \**pac-pac-*.

Rule 2 is illustrated by: *at+saN* = *at+iT-saN* (7.2.35; 3.1.32) = *at-i-sa-* the desiderative derived stem from the simple stem *at-* containing three syllables, beginning with an initial vowel: *a=t-i-sa-*; *a=ti-ti-ṣa* (8.3.59).

### 6.1.3 ná=n-d-r-āḥ saṁ-yog-á=āday-aḥ

The phonemes [n, d, r] constituting the initial of a consonant nexus (saṁ-yog-á=āday-aḥ) [forming part of the second syllable of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2] are not (ná) [duplicated 1].

*und+saN* = *und+iT-saN* = *un-di-ṣa-* (derived desiderative stem) : *un-di-di-ṣa* (exception to 7.4.60 below) 'desires to wet'; similarly from *ad-d-* : *ad-dī-dī-ṣa-* 'wish to assail' and *arc-* : *ar-ci-ci-ṣa-* 'wish to worship or honor'.

### 6.1.4 pūrva-ḥ abhy-ās-á-ḥ

The technical term (t.t.) *abhy-ās-á* denotes the first [pūrva-ḥ] of [these two replacements 1].

Thus in *pac-pac-* the first half bears the t.t. *abhy-ās-á* or reduplicated syllable; similarly in *a-ti-ti-ṣa-*, *un-di-di-ṣa-*, *ad-dī-dī-ṣa-*, *ar-ci-ci-ṣa-*.

### 6.1.5 ubh-é abhy-ās-ta-m

The t.t. abhy-ās-ta- denotes both [replacement syllables 1 of the verbal stem].

As a t.t. (a) abhy-ās-á- occurs in 1.3.71; 3.2.6; 6.1.7-12, 17,136; 4.78, 119-126; 7.3.55-58; 4.55-97; 8.3.61,54; 4.21,54 and (b) abhy-ās-ta- occurs in 3.4.109; 6.1.33, 189, 190, 192; 4.112-13; 7.1.78-79; 3.87.

### 6.1.6 jákṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ ṣaṭ

[The t.t. abhy-ās-ta- 5] denotes the six (verbal stems) beginning with jákṣ-i-ti (in addition to itself).

These seven verbal stems are: jákṣ- 'eat', jágṣ- 'wake up', dāridrā- 'be needy', cākāś- 'shine', śāś- 'chastise', dīdhī- 'reflect' and vévī- 'move', constituting nos. 62-68 of the second class of verbal stems beginning with ad- 'eat'.

### 6.1.7 túj-ādi-nām dīrghá-h=abhy-ās-á-sya

The long [vowel 1.2.28] replaces (the vowel) of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) of the class of verbal stems similar to túj- 'strike, hurt' (I 163).

In the expression [túj-ādi-] the word [°-ādi-] denotes 'similar to' and the class is to be constituted from actual occurrences in the language, since it is not listed in the Gaṇa- or Dhātu-pāṭha-s. Examples are: *tú-tuj-āna-*, *mā-mah-āna-*, *dā-dhār-a*, *tū-tāv-a*. Such forms occur only in the Chāndas: *tu-tój-a* etc. in non-Chāndas usage.

### 6.1.8 IIṬ-i dhātór án-abhy-ās-a-sya

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a mono-syllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2] if the stem does not contain a reduplicated syllable (án-abhy-ās-a-sya) [before 1.1.66 the 1-substitutes 3.4.78] of IIṬ (Perfect Tense).

*pac+IIṬ* = *pac-pac+ṇaL* (3.4.82) = *paṭ-pác-a* (7.2.116; 7.4.66). = *pa-pác-a* 'has cooked'; similarly *pra+ūrṇu+IIṬ* = *prá+ūrṇu-nu+ṇaL* = *prór-ṇu-nḍu-a* 'has covered'.

### 6.1.9 <sup>1</sup>saN-<sup>2</sup>yáÑ-oh

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2, if the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and yáÑ.

1.  $pac+saN = pac-pac+saN = pa\emptyset-pac+saN$  (7.4.60) =  $pf-pac+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP$  (3.1.68; 7.4.83) =  $pf-pak-\acute{s}a-ti$  (8.2.30; 3.59) 'wishes to cook'.
2.  $pac+yáÑ = pac-pac+yáÑ = pa\emptyset-pac-yá+\acute{S}aP+te = p\acute{a}-pac-yá-te$  (6.1.97; 7.4.83) 'cooks repeatedly or intensively'.

### 6.1.10 <sup>1</sup>Śl-au

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem 1 or the second of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 2 when the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the replacement marker] <sup>1</sup>Ślu (of <sup>1</sup>ŚaP 2.4.75).

By 2.4.75 the substitute marker <sup>1</sup>Ślu replaces the class-marker <sup>1</sup>ŚaP denoting the agent, introduced after the class of verbal stems beginning with [hu- III 1].  $hu+\acute{S}aP+tiP = hu+\acute{S}lu+tiP = hu-hu+\emptyset^2+tiP = ju-hu+tiP$  (7.4.62) =  $ju-h\acute{o}-ti$  (7.3.84) 'sacrifices'; similarly  $bhI+\acute{S}lu+tiP = bhI-bhI+\emptyset^3+ti-bh\acute{e}-ti$  (7.4.59; 8.4.54) 'fears'.

### 6.1.11 CaÑ-i

[Two syllables replace the first syllable of a monosyllabic verbal stem or the second syllable of a polysyllabic verbal stem beginning with a vowel 1-2 when the stem does not already contain a reduplicated syllable 8 before 1.1.66 the substitute Aorist marker] CaÑ (3.1.48).

1.  $pac+N\acute{I}C+Cl\acute{i}$  (3.1.41) =  $pac+N\acute{i}C+C\acute{d}\acute{N}$  (3.1.48) =  $p\acute{d}c+\emptyset+C\acute{d}\acute{N}$  (6.4.51) =  $pac+C\acute{d}\acute{N}$  (7.4.1) =  $pa\emptyset-pac+C\acute{d}\acute{N}$  (7.4.60) =  $\acute{a}T+pa-pac+Ca\acute{N}$  (6.4.71) =  $\acute{a}-pi-pac+Ca\acute{N}$  (7.4.93) =  $\acute{a}-pI-pac+Ca\acute{N}$  (7.4.94) =  $\acute{a}-pI-pac-a-$  (7.4.94) =  $\acute{a}-pI-pac-a-t$  'caused (someone) to cook'.
2.  $\acute{a}t+N\acute{i}C+Ca\acute{N} = \acute{a}T+\acute{a}t-i+Ca\acute{N} = \acute{a}+a-ti-ti+Ca\acute{N}+t = \acute{a}+a\acute{t}i-t\emptyset-a-t = \acute{a}ti-t-a-t$  'caused (someone) to wander'.



### 6.1.12 dās-vān sāh-vān mīdh-vān=ca

(The Perfect Participles) dās-vās- ‘who has given’, sāh-vās- ‘who has overpowered’ and mīdh-vās- ‘who has wetted’ are introduced (as irregularly derived forms).

1. *dās+KvāsU* = *dās-vās(U)* without reduplication (8) and initial increment iṭ before affix KvāsU.
2. *sah+KvāsU* = *sāh-vās* with a change of voice from middle to active, replacement of short penultimate by long vowel, and without reduplication or initial increment iṭ for KvāsU.
3. *mih+KvāsU* = *mīdh-vās* without reduplication and increment iṭ and replacement of short penultimate by long vowel.

### 6.1.13 Ṣyaṅ-aḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m <sup>1</sup>putrá-<sup>2</sup>páty-os tatpuruṣ-é

Samprasāraṇa (= vocalization 1.1.54) replacement of [the affix 3.1.1] Ṣyaṅ takes place in a Tatpuruṣá compound with °-putrá ‘son’ and °-pāti- ‘spouse, husband’ (as final members 1.1.72).

*Kārīṣa-sya iva gandhá-ḥ a-syá* = *kārīṣa-gandh-i-* (5.4.137), *tá-sya ápatya-m* = *kārīṣa-gandh-i-(áN→Ṣyaṅ+TāP* 4.1.78) = *kārīṣa-gandh-ḥ-y-á+putrá* = *kārīṣa-gandh-i-á+putrá-* = *kārīṣa-gandh-f+putrá-* (6.1.108) = *kārīṣa-gandh-i-putrá-* (6.3.139) ‘son of Kārīṣa-gandh-y-á’. Similarly *kaumuda-gandh-í-patí-* ‘husband of Kaumuda-gandh-y-á’.

### 6.1.14 bāndhu-n-i bahuvrīh-aú

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replacement of the affix 3.1.1 Ṣyaṅ 13 takes place] in a Bahuvrīhí compound [ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ° bāndhu- ‘kin, relative’.

*kaumuda-gandh-y-á bāndhu-r a-syá* = *kúmuda-gandhi+áN+Ṣyaṅ+TāP+bandhu-* = *kaumudagandh-i+ā+bandhu-* = *kaumuda-gandh-í-bandhu-ḥ* (6.3.139) ‘a kinsman of Kaumudagandhyá’.

### 6.1.15 <sup>1</sup>vaci-<sup>2</sup>svapi-<sup>3</sup>yajA=ādi-n-ām K-IT-i

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowels 1.1.45 of the verbal stems] vac- ‘speak’ (II 54), svap- ‘lie down, sleep’ (II 59) and the class of verbal stems beginning with yaj- ‘sacrifice’ (I 1051-59) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker K.

The yaj- class of verbal stems are: yaj- 'sacrifice', vap- 'sow', vah- 'carry, convey', vas- 'reside', ve- 'weave', vye- 'cover' and hve- 'challenge, summon'.

- (a)  $vac+Ktá = uac+Ktá = uc+Ktá$  (108) =  $uk-tá-$  (8.2.30) 'spoken, uttered'; similarly (b)  $svap+Ktá = sup-tá-$  'fallen asleep'; (c)  $yaj+Ktá = ij-Ktá$  (108) =  $iṣ-tá-$  'sacrificed';  $vap+Ktá = up-tá-$  'sown';  $vah+Ktá = uh+Ktá = udh+tá-$  (8.2.40) =  $udh-dhá-$  (8.4.41) =  $ūḥ=dhá-$  (8.3.13; 6.3.21) 'borne';  $vas+iṭ-Ktá = uṣ-i-tá-$  'dwelt';  $ve+Ktá = u-tá-$  'woven';  $vye+Ktá = vie+Ktá = vī-tá-$  (4.2; 3.37) 'covered';  $hve+Ktá = hue+Ktá = hū-tá$  (6.4.2) 'challenged'. In the case of vye- 37 below blocks further vocalization of the initial semivowel after that of the second. It also is a pointer that when an expression is subject to vocalization and consists of a nexus of two semivowels, the second undergoes that vocalization.

### 6.1.16 <sup>1</sup>grahī-<sup>2</sup>jyā-<sup>3</sup>vayī-<sup>4</sup>vyadhī-<sup>5</sup>vaś-<sup>6</sup>ti-<sup>7</sup>vṛśc-<sup>8</sup>ā-ti-<sup>9</sup>prchh-<sup>ā</sup>-ti-<sup>9</sup>bhr̥jj-<sup>ā</sup>-tī-n-ām N-IT-i ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowels 1.1.45 of the verbal stems] *grah-* 'seize' (IX 61), *jyā* 'grow old' (IX 29), *vay-* (Substitute morpheme for *ve-* 'weave' 2.4.41 I 1055), *vyadh-* 'pierce' (IV 72), *vaś-* 'desire' (II 70), *vyac-* 'deceive' (VI 12), *vṛśc-* 'cut' (VI 11), *prach-* 'ask' (VI 120) and *bhrasj-* 'roast' (VI 4) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker *ñ* in addition to (ca) [K 15].

1.  $grah+iṭ+Ktá$  (7.2.37; 3.84) =  $grh-i-tá-$  'clasped, seized';  $grah+Śná+tiP = grh-ná-ti$  'clasps, seizes' since [Śná] is N-IT by 1.2.4.
2.  $jyā+Ktá = jā+Ktá = jī+Kta$  (108) =  $jī+tá$  (4.2) =  $jī-ná-$  (8.2.44) 'grown old';  $jyā+Śná+tiP = jī-ná-ti$  'grows old'.
3. *vay-* being a replacement morpheme for *veñ* before l-substitutes of IIT only K-IT affixes follow it (1.2.5):  $vay+iṭ = vay+atus = vaḥ-vay+atus = u-uy+atus$  (17) =  $ūy-atus$  'they two have woven'.
4.  $vyadh+Kta = viadh+Kta = vidh+dhá-$  (8.2.40) =  $vid-dhá-$  'pierced';  $vyadh+ŚyaN+tiP = vídh-ya-ti$  'pierces'.
5.  $vaś+iṭ+Ktá = uś-i-tá$  'desired';  $vaś+ḥ^1+ánti = uś-ánti$  'they desire' (1.2.5).
6.  $vyac+Ktá = vyac+iṭ-KLá = vic-i-tá-$  (37) 'deceived';  $vyac+Śá+tiP = vic-á-ti$  'deceives'.
7.  $vraśc+Kta = vṛśc+ná$  (8.2.45) =  $vṛḥc+ná$  (8.2.29) =  $vṛk-ṇá-$  (8.2.30; 4.1) 'cut';  $vraśc+Śá+tiP = vṛśc-á-ti$  'cuts'.
8.  $prach+Ktá = prch+tá = pr̥ṣ-ta-$  (8.2.36; 4.41) 'asked';  $prach+Śá+tiP = pr̥cch-á-ti$  'asks'.
9.  $bhrasj+Ktá = bhraḥj+Ktá = bhr̥ṣ-t-á-$  'roasted';  $bhrasj+Śá+tiP = bhr̥jj-á-ti$  (8.4.40,53).

### 6.1.17 $l\dot{I}\dot{T}$ -i=abhy-ās-á-sya=ubhayé-ṣām

[Before 1.1.66 l-substitutes 3.4.78] of  $l\dot{I}\dot{T}$  "Perfect Tense" [samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of semivowels 13] of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) of both (ubhayé-ṣām) [classes of verbal stems enumerated in 15 and 16 above] takes place.

1.  $vac+l\dot{I}\dot{T} = vac+NaL$  (3.4.82) =  $va\emptyset-vac+NaL = u-vác-ca$  (193; 7.2.116),  $u-vác-i-tha$ ; similarly  $su-svāp-a$ ,  $su-svāp-i-tha$ ,  $i-yāj-a$ ,  $i-yāj-i-tha$ ;  $u-vāp-a$ ,  $u-vāp-i-tha$ ; etc.
2.  $jyā+l\dot{I}\dot{T} = jyā+au$  (7.1.34) =  $jī-jy-áú$ ,  $jī-jy-i-thá$  (4.64); similarly  $ja-grāh-a$ ,  $u-váy-i-tha$ ;  $u-vás-a$ ,  $u-vás-i-tha$ ;  $vi-vyác-a$ ,  $vi-vyác-i-tha$ ; etc.

### 6.1.18 $svāp$ -é-s=CáÑ-i

[Before 1.1.66 substitute marker] CáÑ [of Cli 3.1.48 samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem]  $svāp$ -í- (=  $svap+N\dot{I}C$ ) 'cause to sleep' takes place.

$$svap+N\dot{I}C+CáÑ = \acute{a}\dot{T}+svap-svap+CáÑ = \acute{a}-su-sup+\emptyset+CáÑ \text{ (16) } = a-sū-sup-a \text{ (7.4.94) } = a-sū-sup-a \text{ (8.3.59); } svāp-yá-te, svāp-i-tá-$$

### 6.1.19 ${}^1svap\dot{i}$ - ${}^2syam\dot{i}$ - ${}^3vye\dot{N}$ -ām $yá\dot{N}$ -i

[Before 1.1.66 the intensive marker]  $yá\dot{N}$  [samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13 replaces the semivowel of the verbal stems of]  $svap$ - 'lie down, sleep' (II 59),  $syam$ - 'cry' (I 878) and  $vye\dot{N}$ - 'cover, wrap' (I 1056).

- (a)  $svap+yá\dot{N} = su-sup-yá = so-sup-yá$  (7.4.82) =  $so-sup-yá-te$  (8.3.59) 'repeatedly sleeps'; (b)  $syam+yá\dot{N} = se-sim-yá-te$  'cries repeatedly or intensely'; (c)  $vye+yá\dot{N} = vi+yá\dot{N} = vi-vi-yá = ve-vi-yá-te$  (7.4.82; 6.4.2; 7.4.25) 'wraps repeatedly'.

Both in 18 and 19 vocalization takes place before reduplication.

### 6.1.20 ná $vaś$ -aḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) 13] does not (ná) [replace the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem]  $vaś$ - 'desire' (II 70) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1  $yá\dot{N}$  19].

$$vaś+yá\dot{N} = va\emptyset-vaś+yá- = vā-vaś-yá- \text{ (7.4.83) 'desire repeatedly or intensively'}$$

### 6.1.21 cāy-aḥ kī

The substitute morpheme *kī* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem] *cāy-* 'honor' (I 929) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 *yáÑ* 19].

*cāy+yáÑ* = *kī+yáÑ*: = *ce-kī-yá-* (7.4.62,92) 'honor repeatedly or intensively'.

### 6.1.22 sphśáy-aḥ sphī niṣṭhā-y-ām

The substitute morpheme *sphī* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal stem] *sphśáy-* 'swell' (I 516) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* (= *Ktá*, *KtávatU* 1.1.26).

*sphśáy+Ktá/KtávatU* = *sphī-tá/sphī-távat-* 'swollen'.

### 6.1.23 sty-aḥ prá-pūrva-sya

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] *styai-* 'to sound, crowd' (I 959) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26) 22] when it is preceded (in composition) by the preverb particle *prá-*°.

*prá+styai-Ktá/Ktávat* = *pra-stī-tá-/°-távat-* 'crowded together'; cf. 8.2.54 for the alternate form *pra-stī-ma-*; replacement by vocalization blocks the replacement of phoneme [t] by [n] introduced by 8.2.42. But *sám+styai+Ktá/KtávatU* = *sam-styā-ná-* (45) 'coagulated, condensed'.

### 6.1.24 <sup>1</sup>drava-mūrti-<sup>2</sup>spársay-oḥ śy-aḥ

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem] *śyai-* (= *śyā-*) 'go' (I 1012) takes place [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā* 22] to denote coagulation (*drava-mūrti-*°) or touch (°-*spársay-oḥ*).

*śyā+Ktá/KtávatU* = *śī-ná-/śī-návat-* (8.2.47) when denoting 'coagulation', e.g., *ghṛ-tá-* 'ghee, clarified butter'; *śī-tá-/śī-távat-* 'cold' to denote 'touch'. In other senses: *sam-śyā-ná-* (8.2.43) 'contracted'.

### 6.1.25 prátes=ca

[*Samprasāraṇa* (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem *śyā-* 'go' 24] when it co-occurs [after 1.1.67] the preverb particle

práti-° (in composition) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā 22].

*prati+śyā+Ktá/KtávatU* = *prati-śī-ná-/°-návat-* to denote not only the senses of coagulation and touch (24) but others also.

### 6.1.26 vibhāṣā 'abhí=²áva-pūrva-sya

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śyā 'go' 24 takes place] optionally (vibhāṣā) when co-occurring [after 1.1.66] the preverb particles abhí-° or áva-° (in composition) [before niṣṭhā 22 affixes 3.1.1].

*abhí+śyā+Ktá/KtávatU* = *abhi-śmá-/°-návat/abhi-śyā-ná-/°-návat-* 'coagulated' and *abhi-śī-tá-/°śyā-ná-* 'cold'. Similarly *ava-śī-ná-/°śyā-ná-* 'coagulated'; *ava-śī-tá-/ava-śyā-ná-* 'cold'.

### 6.1.27 śī-tá-m pāk-e

The expression śī-tá- is introduced to denote 'cooked' (pāk-é) [as derived with optional samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replacement of the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem śrā- 'cook' (I 848), co-occurring with or without the causative marker NíC].

This is a regulated option (vy-ava-sthi-ta-vibhāṣā): (a) necessarily in the case where milk or sacrificial oblation is indicated and (b) not occurring in other meanings.

*śrā+Ktá/śrā+NíC+Ktá* = *śī-tá-* 'cooked' (with reference to milk or sacrificial oblation), but *śrā-ná-* (8.2.43) elsewhere. Similarly *śrā-p-i-tá-* (4.92).

### 6.1.28 pyāy-aḥ pī

The substitute morpheme pī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the verbal stem] pyāy 'swell' (I 517) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā 22].

This is also a regulated option, the word (vibhāṣā) continuing to recur from 26 above: (a) necessarily when not co-occurring with preverbs and (b) not at all otherwise.

*pyāy+Ktá/KtávatU* = *pī-ná-/°-návat-* 'fat, obese, swollen', but *ā-pyā-ná-ś candrámaḥ* 'waning moon' and nevertheless *ā-pī-ná-* when referring to a well or udder. The replacement of phoneme [t] by [n] of *Ktá(-vat-)* is by 8.2.45. These forms could also have been realized by the vocalization of the semivowel of [pyāy-] as: *pyāy+Ktá* = *piāy+ná-* = *piy+ná* (108) = *piy+ná-* = *piḥ-ná-* (66) = *pī-ná-* with irregular replacement of the short vowel by the long; it was much

simpler to suggest replacement of the verbal stem itself by the substitute morpheme.

### 6.1.29 ${}^1\text{IT} = {}^2\text{yáÑ-os=ca}$

[The substitute morpheme  $\text{pī}$  replaces the verbal stem  $\text{pyáy-}$  'wax, swell' before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of]  $\text{IT}$  "Perfect Tense" or the intensive marker  $\text{yáÑ}$  [3.1.22] also (ca).

1.  $\acute{a}\text{-pyáy+IT} = \acute{a}\text{-pī+eś} = \acute{a}\text{-pi-pī+eś}$  (3.4.81; 7.4.56) =  $\acute{a}\text{-pi-py-e}$  (4.82).
2.  $\acute{a}\text{-pyáy+yáÑ} = \acute{a}\text{-pī+yáÑ} = \acute{a}\text{-pe-pī-ya-te}$  (7.4.82) 'waxes frequently or intensively'.

### 6.1.30 $\text{vibhāṣā śve-ḥ}$

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13 of the verbal stem]  $\text{śvi-}$  'swell' I 1059 optionally ( $\text{vibhāṣā}$ ) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of  $\text{IT}$  or the intensive marker  $\text{yáÑ}$  29].

- (a)  $\text{śvi+IT} = \text{śvi+NaL} = \text{śvi-śvi+NaL}$  (7.4.60) =  $\text{śi-śvaI+a}$  = (7.2.115)  $\text{śi-śváy-a}$  (78) 'has swollen'; (b)  $\text{śu+NaL} = \text{śu-śáv-a}$ ; (c)  $\text{śvi/śu+yáÑ} = \text{śe-śvI-yá-/śo-śū-ya-}$  (7.4.25).

By 15 above [ $\text{śvi}$ ] being a member of the [yaj-class] and  $\text{IT}$  being K-IT (1.2.5), samprasāraṇa replacement of the semivowel which necessarily takes place under that rule is made optional here, while it is made optional before  $\text{yáÑ}$  where no samprasāraṇa was formerly indicated.

### 6.1.31 $\text{Ñ-aú ca } {}^1\text{saN} = {}^2\text{CáÑ-oḥ}$

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel of the verbal stem  $\text{śvi-}$  'swell' optionally 30] when co-occurring with the causative marker  $\text{ÑiC}$  [before 1.1.66] the desiderative marker  $\text{saN}$  and the substitute Aorist marker  $\text{CáÑ}$  [replacement of  $\text{Clī}$  of  $\text{IUN}$  (3.1.48)].

1.  $\text{śvi+ÑiC+saN} = \text{śvi/śu+ÑiC+saN} = \text{śi-śvai+ÑiC+iT-saN} = \text{śi-śvay-e+i-saN} = \text{śi-śváy-ay-i-śa- śú-śáv-ay-i-śa-}$  'wish to swell'.
2.  $\text{śvi/śu+ÑiC+CáÑ} = \text{a-śi-śvai+θ+CáÑ=t}$  (4.51) =  $\text{á-śi-śvay-a-t}$  (7.4.1)  $\text{á-śū-sau+θ-a-t} = \text{á-śū-śav-a-t}$  (7.4.94).

A metarule states that operations connected with samprasāraṇa vocalization have priority over internal operations so that 7.2.115-6 etc. can only operate after the operations connected with vocalization are completed.

### 6.1.32 hv-aḥ samprasāraṇam

Samprasāraṇa (vocalization of the semivowel of the verbal stem) hvā- (= hveÑ I 1057) 'challenge' takes place [when co-occurring with the causative marker NīC before the desiderative marker saN or the Aorist substitute marker CāÑ of Cl<sub>i</sub> 31].

The use of the expression [samprasāraṇa] when it was already recurring from 13 above is to block out the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from 30 above.

1.  $hvā+NīC+saN = hu+NīC+saN = ju-hu+NīC+saN$  (7.4.62) =  $ju+hau+NīC+iT-saN = ju-hāv-e-i-sa-$  (7.3.84) =  $jū-hāv-ay-i-ṣa-$  (8.3.59) 'desire to challenge'.
2.  $hvā+NīC+CāÑ-t = hu+NīC+CāÑ-t = á-jū-hau-i-a-t = á-jū-hāv-ṭ-a-t$  (4.51) =  $ájū-hav-a-t$  (7.4.1,94) 'has caused to challenge'.

### 6.1.33 abhy-às-ta-sya ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) replaces the semivowel 13] of the reduplicated verbal stem (abhyàsta-sya) also [of hvā- 'challenge' 32].

$hvā+IT = hu+IT = hu+NaL = hu-hu+NaL = ju-hāv-a$  (7.2.115; 4.52) 'has summoned';  $hvā+yāÑ+te = hu+yāÑ+te = jo-hū-yā-te$  (7.4.62.82).

### 6.1.34 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the Chándas [samprasāraṇa] (vocalization) replaces the semivowel [of the verbal stem hvā- 'summon, call' 32] variously (bahulá-m).

*indrāgnī huv-é* 'I call upon Indra and Agni':  $hvā+ŚaP+é = hu+ṭ^1+é$  (2.4.76) *huv-é* (6.4.77); *hvyā-ā-mi marūt-aḥ śivā-n* 'I call upon the auspicious or beneficent breezes'.

### 6.1.35 cāy-aḥ kī

[In the Chándas 34] the substitute morpheme kī replaces [the whole of the verbal stem] cāy- 'honor' (I 929) [variously 34].

*ny anyám cikyúr ná ní cikyur anyám* (RV 1.164.38) 'they did not worship another':  $cāy+IT = kī+IT = kī+ús = ci-kī+ús = ci-ky-ús$  (4.82; 7.4.62);  $nī+cāy+Ktvā = nī-cāy+LyaP$  (7.1.37) = *nī-cāy-ya* 'having worshipped or honored'.

**6.1.36** <sup>1</sup>*ápa-sprdh-e-thām*=<sup>2</sup>*ān-ṛc-ús*=<sup>3</sup>*ān-ṛh-ús*-<sup>4</sup>*ci-cyu-ṣé*-  
<sup>5</sup>*ti-tyāj-a*-<sup>6</sup>*śrātāḥ*-<sup>7</sup>*śrī-tám*=<sup>8</sup>*āsīr-taḥ*

[In the Chándas 34] the irregularly derived expressions *ápa-sprdh-e-thām* 'you two have competed with each other', *ān-ṛc-uḥ* 'they have worshipped', *ci-cyu-ṣe* 'thou hast shaken', *ti-tyāj-a* 'has abandoned', *śrātāḥ* 'cooked', *śrī-tá-m* 'mixed', *āsīr*, *āsīrta*- 'milk mixed with Soma' are introduced.

The corresponding regular forms for the first five above are: (a) *apá-sprdh-e-thām*/*áspardh-e-thām* (Imperfect); (b) *ān-arc-ús*, *ān-arh-ús* (Perfect); (c) *cu-cyuv-i-ṣé* (IIṬ Perfect Tense); (d) *ta-tyāj-a* (Perfect). The remaining four forms are irregular derivatives from the verbal stem *śrīN* 'cook' (IX 3).

**6.1.37** *na sam-pra-sār-aṇ-e sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m*

*Sam-pra-sār-aṇa* (vocalization) replacement of a semivowel does not take place [before 1.1.66] another *samprasāraṇa* replacement.

This rule implies that vocalization replacement takes place from right to left; for an exception see 38 below. The repetition of the word [*samprasāraṇa*] in this rule while it was already recurring from 18ff. above is to indicate that it is a general rule, not restricted to cases previously discussed; e.g., by 6.4.133 the word *yuvan*- 'youth' undergoes this vocalization before non-taddhita affixes: *yūvan+Śas* = *yu-un-as* = *yūn-as* and no further vocalization takes place. *vyadh+Ktá* = *vi-a-dh+dhá-* (8.2.40) = *vid-dhá-* (8.4.53) 'pierced'; *vyac+iṬ-Ktá* = *vic-i-tá-* 'deceived'; in both these cases semivowel [v] is not further vocalized before the vocalization of [y].

**6.1.38** IIṬ-i *vay-o y-aḥ*

[Before 1.1.66 l'substitutes of] IIṬ (Perfect Tense) [*sa*-*pra-sār-aṇa* (vocalization) does not 37 replace the semivowel /y/ of the verbal stem] *vay-* [substitute for *veN*- 2.4.41].

*veN+IIṬ* = *vay+Nal* = *va-vāy-a* = *u-vāy-a/ūy-atuṣ/ūy-uṣ* (17).

**6.1.39** *va-s=ca=a-syá=anya-tará-syām* K-IT-i

[Before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 38] with IT-marker K, the phoneme [v] replaces [phoneme /y/ of the verbal stem substitute *vay-* 38] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

*ūy-atuṣ* (38)/*ūv-atuṣ* but *uvāy-a*, *uvāy-i-tha* since these l-substitutes are not K-IT (being substitutes for affixes with P as IT).



### 6.1.40 veÑ-ah

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] veÑ- ‘weave’ (I 1055) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIT 38 with it marker K 39].

This rule blocks the operation of both 15 and 17 above.  $ve\tilde{N}+IIT = v\tilde{a}+IIT$  (45) =  $v\tilde{a}+a\tilde{u}$  (7.1.34) =  $va-v\tilde{a}u$ ,  $va-v\tilde{a}-\acute{a}tus$ ,  $va-v-\acute{u}s$  (4.64).

### 6.1.41 LyaP-i ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem veÑ- ‘weave’ (I 1055) 40] also [before 1.1.66 the substitute affix] LyaP (for Ktvā 7.1.37).

$pra+ve\tilde{N}+Ktv\tilde{a} = pra-v\tilde{a}+LyaP$  (45; 7.1.37) =  $pra-v\tilde{a}-ya$  ‘having woven’.

### 6.1.42 jy-as=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] jyā- ‘grow old’ (IX 29) also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the absolutive or gerundial affix 3.1.1 substitute LyaP 41].

$pra+jy\tilde{a}+Ktv\tilde{a} = pra-jy\tilde{a}-ya$  ‘having aged’.

### 6.1.43 vy-as=ca

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem] vyā- (= vyeÑ- I 1056) ‘wrap, cover’ also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the absolutive substitute affix 3.1.1 LyaP 41].

$pra-vye\tilde{N}+LyaP = pra-vy\tilde{a}-ya$  (45) ‘having enveloped’.

### 6.1.44 vibhāṣā páre-ḥ

[Samprasāraṇa (vocalization) does not replace the semivowel 37 of the verbal stem vyā- (= vyeÑ- I 1056) ‘wrap, envelop, cover’ 43] when it co-occurs [after 1.1.67 the preverb participle] pári-° optionally.

$pari-vy\tilde{a}-ya/pari-v\tilde{r}-ya$  (6.4.2) ‘having wrapped around’, blocking out the [tṷK] increment (61) through 6.4.2 by metarule 1.4.2.

### 6.1.45 āT=eC-aḥ=upa-dés-e=áŚ-IT-i

The substitute phoneme long vowel āT replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 vowels] denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) occurring in verbal stems when first introduced (in the Dhātu-pāṭha) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] not marked by Ś as IT.

*meN pra-ni-dā-ne* (1010) 'trade, exchange, barter' +*tumuN* = *mā-tum*; but *meN+ŚaP+te* = *māy-a-te* (78); *glai+tumuN* = *glā=tum* 'to be wearied' but *glā+ŚaP+tiP* = *glāy-a-ti*; *śo+tumuN* = *śā-tum* 'to whet'; *śo+ŚyaN+tiP* = *ś-yā-ti* (7.3.71) 'whets'.

### 6.1.46 ná vy-aḥ=IIṬ-i

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] does not (ná) replace [the stem-final vowel (e) 45 of the verbal stem] *vyā* (= *vyeN* I 1056) 'wrap, envelop, cover' [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IIṬ "Perfect Tense".

*sam+vye+IIṬ* = *sam-vi-vye+NaL* = *sam-vi-vyāy-a* (78; 7.2.115) 'has enveloped securely'; *sam-vi-vyāy-i-tha* 'thou hast wrapped well'.

### 6.1.47 <sup>1</sup>sphur-á-ti-<sup>2</sup>sphul-á-ty-or GHaÑ-i

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme /o/ 46 of the verbal stems] *sphúr-*, *sphúl-* 'throb' (VI 95-96) [before 1.1.66 the kṛt 3.1.93 affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ.

*vi-sphur-/sphul+GHaÑ* = *vi-sphār-á-/vi-sphāl-á-* (7.2.115; 6.2.144) 'trembling, throbbing'.

### 6.1.48 <sup>1</sup>krī-<sup>2</sup>iÑ-<sup>3</sup>jí-n-ām N-au

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 of the verbal stems] *krī-* 'buy' (IX 1), *iÑ-* 'study' (II 37) and *jí-* 'win' (I 593), co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] Níc.

1. *krī+Níc+ŚaP+tiP* = *krai+í+a+ti* = *krā-puK+i+a+ti* (7.3.36) = *krāp-é+ti* (7.3.84) = *krāp-áy-a-ti* (78) 'causes to buy'.
2. *ádhi+iÑ+Níc+ŚaP+tiP* = *ádhi+ā-puK+í+a+ti* = *ádhy-āp-ay-a-ti* 'teaches, instructs'.
3. *jī+Níc+ŚaP+ti* = *jā-p-áy-a-ti* 'causes to win'.

### 6.1.49 sídh-ya-te-r á-pāra-laukik-e

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme e of the verbal stem 45] *sidh-* ‘accomplish, succeed’ (IV 83) [co-occurring with the causative marker *ŃiC* 48] when no reference is made to the other world (á-pāra-laukik-e).

*sidh+ŃiC+ŚaP+tiP* = *sedh+é+a+ti* = *sādh-áy-a-ti* ‘succeeds, accomplishes’, but *sedh-áy-a-ti táp-as tāpasá-m* ‘asceticism enlightens the ascetic (with reference to the other world)’.

### 6.1.50 <sup>1</sup>mī-nā-ti-<sup>2</sup>mi-nó-ti-<sup>3</sup>dīÑ-ām LyaP-i ca

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the vowel phoneme of the verbal stems 45] *mī-* ‘injure’ (IX 4), *mi-* ‘scatter’ (V 4) and *dīÑ-* ‘decay, perish’ (IV 26) [before 1.1.66 the substitute absolutive affix 3.1.1] *LyaP* [of *Ktvā*] and [affixes not marked by Ś as IT 45].

1. *pra+mI+tumūN* = *pra-mā-tum* ‘to injure’; *pra+mI+LyaP* = *pra-mā-ya* ‘having injured’.
2. *ni+mi+tumūN/+LyaP* = *ni-mā-tum/pra-mā-ya* ‘to scatter/having scattered’.
3. *upa+dI+tumūN/LyaP* = *upa-dā-tum/upa-dāya* ‘to destroy/having destroyed’.

### 6.1.51 vibhāṣā lī-ya-te-h

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replaces [phoneme e 45 of the verbal stems] *ḥ(Ń* IV 31) and *ḥ-* (IX 31) ‘adhere, stick’ [before 1.1.66 the substitute affix *LyaP* 50 and those which are not marked by Ś as IT 45].

*vi+ḥ+LyaP* = *vi-lā-ya/vi-lī-ya* ‘having adhered or stuck’; *vi-lā-tum/vi-lē-tum* ‘to stick or adhere’.

### 6.1.52 khid-e-s=chāndas-i

In the *Chāndas* [the substitute phoneme ā 45 optionally 51 replaces the phoneme e 45 of the verbal stem] *khid-* ‘be distressed’ (IV 61).

*khid+lIT* = *ci-khid+NaL* = *ci-khéd-a/ci-khād-a* ‘has been distressed’; in non-*Chāndas*: *khed-áy-a-ti* ‘causes distress’.

### 6.1.53 apa-gur-o NamuL-i

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme o 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] apa+gur- (gurĪ ud-yám-an-e VI 103) ‘exert’ [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] NamuL.

*apa-gur+NamuL* = *apa-gór-am* *apa-gor-am/apa-gár-am* *apa-gār-am* (3.4.22; 8.1.4);  
*asy-apa-gár-am/apa-gór-am* *yudh-ya-nte* (3.4.53) ‘they fight, brandishing swords’.

### 6.1.54 <sup>1</sup>ci-<sup>2</sup>sphúr-or N-au

[The substitute phoneme ā 45 optionally 51 replaces the phonemes denoted by the siglum eC 45 of the verbal stems] ci- ‘pile, collect’ (V 5) and sphúr- ‘throb’ (VI 95) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] NíC.

1. *ci+NíC* = *cai+é+ŚaP+tiP* = *cāy-áy-a-ti/cā-p+áy-a-ti* (7.3.36) ‘causes (someone) to pile or gather’.
2. *sphúr+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *sphor-áy-a-ti/sphār-áy-a-ti* causes to throb’.

### 6.1.55 pra-ján-e vī-ya-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] vī- (II 39) when denoting the sense of ‘become enciente or pregnant’ (pra-ján-e) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC 54].

*pra-vī+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *pra-vāy-áy-a-ti/pra-vā-p-áy-a-ti* ‘make pregnant, inseminate’.

### 6.1.56 bí-bhe-te-r hetu-bhay-é

[The substitute phoneme ā replaces the phoneme ai 45 optionally 51 of the verbal stem] bhī ‘fear’ (III 2) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC 54] to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhay-é 1.3.68).

*bhī+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhā-p-áy-a-te* ‘frightens, causes fear’, alternating with  
*bhī+suK+NíC+ŚaP+te* = *bhīṣ-áy-a-te* (7.3.40). When the cause of the fear is other than the agent of the causative verb: *kuñcikay-ā endám bhāy-áy-a-ti* ‘causes fear with a bamboo stick’.

**6.1.57 nītya-m smaya-a-te-ḥ**

[The substitute phoneme ā 45] necessarily (nitya-m) [replaces the phoneme ai 45 of the verbal stem] smi- 'smile' (I 996) [before 1.1.86 the causative marker NīC 54 to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative verb 56].

*vi+smi+NiC+ŚaP+te* = *vi-smā-p-ay-a-te* but when fear is not so denoted:  
*vi-smāy-ay-a-ti* 'causes wonder, astonishes'.

**6.1.58** <sup>1</sup>sr̥ji-<sup>2</sup>dr̥s-or jhaL-i=aM=a-K-IT-i

The infix increment aM is inserted after the [last vowel 1.1.47 of the verbal stems] sɿj- 'project' (VI 121) and dɿʃ- 'see' (I 1037) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with non-nasal consonaants (jɿɿL-i) excluding those marked with K as IT.

1. *srj+tumuN* = *sr-á-j+tumuN* (77) = *srd<sub>s</sub>-tum* (8.2.36; 4.41) ‘to project’, but *srj+Kta* = *srs-tá-* ‘projected, created’.
2. *d<sub>r</sub>ś+tumuN* = *dr-á-stum*; *d<sub>r</sub>ś+Kta* = *d<sub>r</sub>s-tá-*.

**6.1.59 ánuḍāṭṭa-sya ca=ṛT=upadha-sya=anya-tará-syām**

[The infixed increment aM 58] is optionally (anya-tará-syām) inserted [after the last vowel 1.1.47 of verbal stems] which are low-pitched (ánudātta-sya) [when first introduced (in the Dhp.)] and contain the short vowel ɾ(T) as penultimate (°=upa-dhá-sya) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with non-nasal consonants excluding those with K as IT 58].

*tʃp*+*tum*<sub>u</sub>*N* = *tr-á-p*+*tum*/*tárp-tum*/*tárp-i-tum* (7.2.45) 'to please'; similarly: *dr-á-p-tum*/*dárp-tum*/*dárp-i-tum* 'to be foolish'; but from *vʃh*<sup>5</sup> *ud-yam-e* (VI 57): *vʃh*+*tum*<sub>u</sub>*N* = *várh*+*tum* = *várdh*+*tum* (7.3.84; 8.2.31) = *várdh*+*dhum* (8.2.40) = *várdh*+*dhum* (8.4.41) *várθ*=*dhum* (6.3.111) 'to raise, elevate'.

**6.1.60 s̥rṣán=chandas-i**

In the Chándas the expression śīrṣan- is introduced (as a synonym of śīras- 'head').

*śīrṣṇ-ā hi tātra śoma-m krī-tām hār-a-nti* 'they carry the Soma purchased on the head'.

### 6.1.61 y-e ca taddhit-e

[The substitute morpheme śīrśān- 60 replaces the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stem śīras- 'head' before 1.1.66] a taddhitá affix [3.1.1] beginning with phoneme y-°.

*śīras-i bhāva-a-h* = *śīras+yāT* (4.3.55) = *śīrśān-yā-h* (4.168; 8.4.2) 'chief, foremost, at the head', but *śīrah icch-āti* = *śīras+KyāC+ŚaP+tiP* = *śīras-yā-ti* (97).

### 6.1.62 aC-i śīrśā-h

The substitute morpheme śīrśā- replaces [the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stem 4.1.1 śīras- 'head' before 1.1.66 a taddhitá affix 61] beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

*hastīn-aḥ iva śīrah asyā* = *hastī-śīras-* 'elephant-faced'; *hastī-śīras-aḥ āpatya-m* = *hastī-śīrśa+tiN* (4.1.96) = *hastī-śīrś-i-h* 'descendant of Hastīśīras'.

### 6.1.63 <sup>1</sup>pād-<sup>2</sup>dāt=<sup>3</sup>nās=<sup>4</sup>mās=<sup>5</sup>hṛd=<sup>6</sup>nīs=<sup>7</sup>asān=<sup>8</sup>yūṣān=<sup>9</sup>doṣān=<sup>10</sup>yakān=<sup>11</sup>śakān-<sup>12</sup>udān=<sup>13</sup>āsān Śas-pra-bhṛ-ti-ṣu

The substitute morphemes pād-, dāt-, nās-, mās-, hṛd-, nīs- asān-, yūṣān-, doṣān-, yakān-, śakān-, udān- and āsān- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.52 the nominal stems 4.1.1] (pādā- 'foot', dānta- 'tooth', nāsikā 'nose', māsa- 'month', hṛdaya- 'heart', nīsā 'night', āsrj- 'blood', yūṣa- 'soup', dōs- 'arm', yākṛt- 'liver', śākṛt- 'ordure, dung', udakā- 'water' and āsyā- 'oral cavity') [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with Śas (4.1.2).

*pādā+Śas/Tā/bhyām/bhis*, etc. = *pād-aḥ/pad-ā/pad-bhyām/pad-bhīḥ*, etc.; similarly: *dāt-aḥ/°-ā/°-bhyām/°-bhyām/°-bhīḥ*; *nāsikā+Śas* = *nās-aḥ*; *māsa+Śas* = *mās-aḥ*; *hṛdaya-Śas* = *hṛd-aḥ*; *nīsā+Śas* = *nīs-aḥ*; *āsrj+Śas* = *āsrj-aḥ*; *yūṣa+Śas* = *yūṣ-aḥ*; *dōs+Śas* = *dōs-aḥ*; *yākṛt+Śas* = *yākṛt-aḥ*; *āsya+yāT* = *āsān-yā-m prāṇā-m ūc-uḥ* 'they spoke of the air within the oral region'. In the case of 7-13 of the examples above (4.134) operates to replace penultimate vowel of the stem before an affix beginning with y- or a vowel.

Kāsikā has the reading [āsān-] for [āsya-], cf. Siddhānta-Kaumudī where Kāsikā has been criticized for a wrong reading.

### 6.1.64 dhātv=ādēḥ ṣ-aḥ sa-ḥ

The substitute dental phoneme *s* replaces the retroflex phoneme *ṣ*° occurring as the initial of a verbal stem (dhātv-āde-ḥ) [when first introduced in the Dhp. 45].

*sāhA mārs-an-e* I 905: *sāh+ŚaP+te* = *sāh-a-te* 'bears, endures'; *ṣicĀ kṣār-an-e* VI 140: *ṣic+Śā+tiP* = *si-nuM-c+ā-ti* (7.1.59) = *siñc-ā-ti* 'sprinkles'.

The purpose of representing verbal stems with initial retroflex sibilant [ṣ-] is in connection with the operation of 8.3.59. Such verbal stems are also listed by another enumeration: all verbal stems with initial *s*°, followed by a vowel or dental stops are introduced in the Dhp. with initial retroflex [ṣ], in addition to the following: *smi*- 'smile', *svid*- 'sweat', *svad*- 'taste', *svanj*- 'clasp', *svap*- 'sleep', and excluding *ṣp-* 'creep, crawl', *ṣṣj-* 'project', *stṛ-* 'strew, cover', *stṛ-* 'ib.', *styai-* 'coagulate', *sek-* 'go, move' and *ṣṛ-* 'move'.

### 6.1.65 ṇ-aḥ na-ḥ

The substitute phoneme dental *n* replaces retroflex phoneme *ṇ*- [occurring as initial of a verbal stem when first introduced in the Dh. 45],

*ṇIN prāp-an-e* I 950 'lead': *nī+ŚaP+tiP* = *nāy-a-ti*; *ṇamĀ pra-hav-tvé* I 1030: *nām-a-ti* 'bows, bends'.

The purpose of so representing such verbal stems in the Dhp. is in connection with the operation of 8.4.14. The exceptions are *nṛt*- 'dance', *nand*- 'be pleased', *nard*- 'sound', *nakk*- 'disappear', *nat*- 'fall down', *nath*- 'seek' and *nadh*- 'help'.

### 6.1.66 lópa v-y-or vāL-i

Lópa (= Ø) replaces phonemes [v] or [y] [before 1.1.66] the phonemes denoted by the siglum vāL (= all consonants excluding [y]).

*div+lit* = *div+KvāsU* (3.2.107) = *diṭ-div+KvāsU* = *di-diṭ-vas-* = *di-di-vās-* 'who has sported'; similarly *ūy+Ktā-* = *ūṭ-tā-* 'woven', but *ūy-yā-te* 'is woven' and *div+ŚyaN+tiP* = *dīv-ya-ti*, but *dīv-am icchāti* = *div+KyaC+ŚaP+tiP* = *div-yā-ti* 'desires heaven'.

### 6.1.67 ve-r á-prk-ta-sya

[Lópa (Ø) 66 replaces the single phoneme affix 3.1.1] (á-prk-ta-sya 1.2.41) vī.

[vī] is the cover term for the following affixes: (a) *kṛt*: *KvīN*, *KvīP*, *Nvī*, *NvīN*, *vīC* and *vīT*; (b) *taddhita*: *Cvī*.

*ghṛ-tá-m sprṣ-śá-ti* = *ghṛ-ta+sprṣ+KviN* (3.2.87) = *ghṛ-ta-sprṣ+θ* 'touching clarified butter'; *bráhmāṇ-am hán-ti* = *bráhmaṇ+han+KviP* = *brahmaθ+han+θ* (8.2.7) = *brahma-hán-* 'slayer of bráhmaṇ' (3.2.87). *árdha-m bháj-a-te* = *árdha+bhaj+Nvi* = *ardha-bháj+θ* 'sharing half' (3.2.62). *śvetá-ḥ enam váh-a-nti* = *śveta+vah+NviN* (3.2.71) = *śveta-váh+θ* 'borne by white steeds'; *úpa-yaj-a-te* = *upa-jay+viC* (3.2.73) = *upa+yáj+θ* 'additional formula at an animal sacrifice'; *kravyá-m át-ti* = *kravya+ad+viT* (3.2.69) = *kravyád+θ* 'flesh-eater'.

### 6.1.68 <sup>1</sup>h<sub>2</sub>L=<sup>2</sup>Ñĩ=<sup>3</sup>āP=bhyaḥ dīrgh-āt <sup>1</sup>sU-<sup>2</sup>tĩ-<sup>3</sup>sĩ=á-prk-ta-m h<sub>2</sub>L

[Lópa (θ) 66 replaces] a single phoneme consonantal (á-prk-ta-m h<sub>2</sub>L affix) sU (4.1.2) introduced [after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (h<sub>2</sub>L~ °) or the long vowel (dīrgh-āt) [of the feminine affixes 3.1.1] Ñĩ or āP as well as the [affixes 3.1.1] t(i) and s(i) (3.4.78) introduced [after 3.1.2 a verbal stem 3.1.91] ending in a consonant.

[Ñĩ] and [āP] are cover terms respectively for affixes ÑĩN, ÑĩP, ÑĩS and CāP, TāP, DāP.

1. h<sub>2</sub>L: *rājān+sU* = *rājān+sU* (6.4.8) = *rājān+θ* = *rājā+θ* (8.2.7) = *rājā*; *nadĩ+sU* = *nadĩ+θ* = *nadĩ*; *ramā+sU* = *ramā+θ* = *ramā*.
2. *bhṛÑ+IAN* = *āT+bhṛ+Ślu+tiP/siP* = *á-bi-bhar+t/s* (4.71; 7.4.76; 7.3.84; 3.4.100) = *á-bi-bhar+θ* = *á-bi-bhar*. But in the case of *grāma-m+náy-a-ti* = *grāma+nI+KviP* = *grāma-ñf+sU* = *grama-ñf-ḥ* 'village-head' and *niṣ-krān-tá-ḥ kauśāmbi-āḥ* = *niṣ-kauśāmbi+sU* = *niṣ-kauśāmbi-ḥ* 'who has departed from Kauśāmbī'.

### 6.1.69 <sup>1</sup>eÑ=<sup>2</sup>hrasv-āt sam-búd-dhe-ḥ

[Lópa (θ) replaces 86 a consonantal phoneme 68] of the vocative singular (sam-búd-dhe-ḥ) [affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the vowel denoted by the siglum eÑ (= e, o) or a short (vowel hrasv-āt 1.2.28).

1. eÑ: *agnĩ+sU* (voc.) = *ágne+sU* (7.3.108) = *ágne+θ* = *ágne* 'O Agni'; similarly *vāyu+sU* = *vāyo+s* = *vāyo+θ* = *vāyo*.
2. short vowel: *devá+sU* = *déva+θ* = *déva!*; *nadĩ+sU* = *nádi+s* (7.3.107) *nádi+θ* = *nádi*; *vadhū+sU* = *vádhu+s* = *vádhu+θ* = *vádhu*.



### 6.1.70 Śe-s=chándas-i bahulá-m

[In the domain of Chándas lópa Ø 66] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] Śi (7.1.20).

$yád+Śi\ kṣētra+Śi = yaa+Śi$  (7.2.102) =  $ya+Śi$  (97) =  $ya+nūM+Śi$  (7.1.72) =  $yád-n-i$   
 $kṣētrā-n-i = yáØ\ kṣētrāØ$  with Ø replacement of Śi along with its operation of the  
infixing increment (by 8.2.7).

### 6.1.71 hrasvá-sya P-IT-i kṛt-i tuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] tuK is inserted [at the end of 1.1.46 a verbal stem before 1.1.66] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] with marker P as IT when the stem (ends in 1.1.72) a short (vowel 1.2.28).

$sóma-m\ su-távān = sóma+su+KviP$  (3.2.90) =  $soma-sú-t+Ø = soma-sút-$  ‘who has pressed Soma’; similarly  $agní-m\ ci-távān = agni-cí-t+Ø = agni-cít-$  ‘who has piled the sacrificial fireplace’;  $pra+kṛ+Ktvā = pra-kṛ-LyaP = pra-kṛ-t-ya$  ‘having taken up’. Here LyaP replacement of Ktvā, being a P-IT operates the final increment tuK.

### 6.1.72 sám-hitā-y-ām

In the domain of continuous utterance (sám-hitā-y-ām).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á-] heading this section up to and including 157 below, and the expression [sám-hitā-y-ām] recurs in each of the subsequent rules dealing with euphonic combination in continuous speech.

### 6.1.73 ch-e ca

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted at the end of a short vowel 71 before 1.1.66] the phoneme ch [in continuous utterance 72].

$gám+ŚaP+tiP = gách-a-ti$  (7.3.77) =  $gá-tuK-ch-a-ti = ga-c-ch-á-ti$  (8.4.40) =  $gáčch-a-ti$  ‘goes’.

### 6.1.74 <sup>1</sup>āÑ-<sup>2</sup>māÑ-os=ca

[The final increment tuK 71 is inserted at the end of particles] āÑ and māÑ [before 1.1.66 the phoneme ch 73 in continuous utterance 72].

$āÑ+chāyā = ā+tuK+chāyā = ā-c-chāyā$  (8.4.40) =  $īśac-chāyā$  ‘a little shadow’;  
 $āÑ+chād-áy-a-ti = ā-t+chād-ay-a-ti = ā-c-chād-ay-a-ti$  ‘covers, wraps, envelopes’.

$m\acute{a}\acute{N}+aT\text{-}chait\text{-}s\text{-}\pi/aT\text{-}chid\text{-}a\text{-}t$  (IUN 3rd sing.) =  $m\acute{a}+\emptyset chait\text{-}s\text{-}T\text{-}t/chid\text{-}a\text{-}t$  (6.4.74)  
 =  $m\acute{a}+tuK+chait\text{-}s\text{-}\pi/chid\text{-}a\text{-}t$  =  $m\acute{a}c\text{-}chait\text{-}s\text{-}\pi/m\acute{a}c\text{-}chid\text{-}a\text{-}t$  'let him not cut'.

By denoting the particle á with marker Ñ, this operation is blocked in the case of its counterpart without that marker denoting either a sentence or remembrance (vākyā- or smār-āṇa-) as a necessary operation (76 below): á *chāyā/āc-chāyā* 'oh! the shadow'.

### 6.1.75 dīrgh-āt

[The final increment  $tuK$  71 is inserted after 1.1.67] a long (vowel 1.2.28: dīrgh-āt) [before 1.1.66 the phoneme *ch* in continuous utterance 72].

$hrīch+SaP+tiP$  =  $hrī\text{-}t\text{-}ch\text{-}a\text{-}ti$  =  $hrīcch\text{-}a\text{-}ti$  (8.4.40) 'feels shy'; so also  $mlech\text{-}:\text{-}mlecch\text{-}a\text{-}ti$  'speaks indistinctly';  $āpa+cho+ya\acute{N}+ŚaP+te$  =  $apa+chā+ya+te$  =  $apa\text{-}cā\text{-}chā\text{-}ya\text{-}te$  (45) =  $apa\text{-}cā\text{-}t\text{-}chā\text{-}ya\text{-}te$  =  $apa\text{-}cāc\text{-}chā\text{-}ya\text{-}te$  'continuously breaks'.

### 6.1.76 padá=ant-āt=vā

[The final increment  $tuK$  71] is optionally (vā) inserted [after 1.1.67 a long vowel 75] occurring at the end of a padá [before 1.1.66 the phoneme *ch* 75 in continuous utterance 72].

$kuṭī\text{-}chāyā$  =  $kuṭī\text{-}tuK\text{-}chāyā$  =  $kuṭī\text{-}c\text{-}chāyā/kuṭī\text{-}chāyā$  'shadow of a hut'.

### 6.1.77 iK-aḥ yaÑ aC-i

The substitute semivowel phonemes denoted by the siglum  $ya\acute{N}$  (=y, v, r, l) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the vowel phonemes denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) (before 1.1.66) a vowel phoneme (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

$dādhi/mādhv+ātra$  =  $dādhy-/mādhv\text{-}ātra$  'curds/honey here'.  $nadī\text{-}vadhū+Tā$  =  $nady\text{-}ā/vadhv\text{-}ā$  'by the river/by the daughter-in-law'.  $mātī\text{-}+Tā$  =  $mātr\text{-}ā$  'by the mother'.  $l\text{-}ā\text{-}kṛ\text{-}ti\text{-}h$  =  $l\text{-}ā\text{-}kṛ\text{-}ti\text{-}h$  'configuration of the phoneme ḷ'.

For an exception to this rule cf. 101 below.

### 6.1.78 eC-aḥ=<sup>1</sup>ay-<sup>2</sup>av-<sup>3</sup>āy-<sup>4</sup>āv-aḥ

The substitute elements ay, av, āy and āv [respectively 1.3.10] replace the vowels denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [before 1.1.66 a vowel phoneme 77 in continuous utterance 72].

$cf+LyuT = c\acute{e}+LyuT$  (7.3.84) =  $c\acute{e}+ana-$  (7.1.1) =  $c\acute{a}y-ana-$  'piling up';  $l\acute{u}+LyuT = l\acute{o}+ana-$  =  $l\acute{a}v-ana-$  'cutting, reaping';  $cf+NvuL = ca\acute{f}+aka-$  (7.1.1; 2.115) =  $c\acute{a}y-aka-$  'gatherer'; similarly  $l\acute{u}+NvuL = la\acute{u}+aka-$  =  $l\acute{a}v-aka$  'reaper'.

### 6.1.79 $v\bar{a}=anta-\grave{h}$ y-i praty-ay-é

[Before 1.1.66] an affix (praty-ay-é) with initial phoneme y-° (y-i) elements ending in phoneme °-v (= av, āv 78:  $v\bar{a}=anta-\grave{h}$ ) [respectively replace the vowels o and au of eC 78].

$babhr\acute{o}-r \acute{a}patyam = babhr\acute{u}+ya\tilde{N}$  (4.1.105) =  $babhro+ya\tilde{N}$  (4.146) =  $b\acute{a}bhra-v-ya-\grave{h}$  (7.2.117) 'gotrá descendant of Babhrú'.  $n\acute{a}v-\acute{a} t\acute{a}r-y\grave{a}-m = na\acute{u}+y\grave{a}T$  (4.4.91) =  $n\acute{a}v-y\grave{a}-m$  'navigable'.

### 6.1.80 dhāto-s tán-nimitta-sya=evá

[Before 1.1.66 an affix with initial phoneme y-° the substitute elements ending in °-v (= av, āv) 79 respectively 1.3.10 replace the vowels o and au of eC 78] provided (evá) only that these vowels are replacements caused by that affix itself of the verbal stem-final (dhāto- $\grave{h}$ ) [in continuous utterance 72].

$l\bar{u}+y\grave{a}T$  (3.1.97) =  $lo+y\grave{a}T$  (7.3.84) =  $l\acute{a}v-ya-$  'reapable';  $l\bar{u}+Ny\grave{a}T$  (3.1.125) =  $lau+y\grave{a}$  (7.2.117) =  $l\acute{a}v-y\grave{a}-$  'necessarily to be cut'. But  $a\tilde{N}+ve\tilde{N}+yaK+te$  3rd p. sg. passive of the Pres. Tense =  $\acute{a}-\bar{u}-ya-te$  =  $o-ya-te$  'is woven', with the corresponding Imperfect  $\acute{a}T+\bar{u}+yaK+ta$  =  $a\acute{u}-ya-ta$  (90) 'was woven'; in both situations the initial diphthongs are not caused by the affix yáK and thus do not come under the operation of this rule.

### 6.1.81 ${}^1k\acute{s}áy-ya-{}^2jáy-ya-au$ śakya=arth-é

The expressions  $k\acute{s}áy-ya-$  and  $jáy-ya-$  are introduced to denote the sense of 'capable of' ( $\acute{s}ak-ya=arth-e$ ).

$k\acute{s}é-tum \acute{s}ák-ya-m = k\acute{s}i+y\grave{a}T = k\acute{s}é+yaT = k\acute{s}áy-ya-m$  'capable of being destroyed' where /e/ is replaced irregularly by /ay/. Similarly  $jé-tum \acute{s}ák-ya-m = jáy-ya-m$  'capable of being conquered', against the regular forms  $k\acute{s}é-ya-/jé-ya-$  'to be destroyed'/'to be conquered'.

### 6.1.82 kráy-ya-s tad-arth-é

The expression kráy-ya- is introduced to denote 'exhibited for the purpose of sale' (tad-arth-é).

$kr\bar{I}+y\bar{a}T = kré+ya- = kráy-ya-$  'displayed for the purpose of sale', but  $kré-ya-$  'vendible, purchaseable'.

### 6.1.83 bháy-ya- pra-váy-y-e ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the expressions bháy-ya and pra-váy-yā are introduced as special forms.

$b\bar{I}+bhe-ti\ a-smāt = bh\bar{I}+y\bar{a}T$  (3.3.113) =  $bhe+y\bar{a}T = bháy-ya-$  'should be afraid of'; in opposition to non-Chándas  $bhé-ya-$  'to be feared or dreaded';  $pra+v\bar{I}+y\bar{a}T = pra-ve+y\bar{a}T+T\bar{a}P$  (4.1.4) =  $pra-váy-y-\bar{a}$  'fit for impregnation' versus non-Chándas  $pra-ve-y-\bar{a}$  'to be impregnated'.

### 6.1.84 éka-ḥ pūrva-paráy-oḥ

A single substitute replaces both the preceding and succeeding phonemes (pūrva-paráy-oḥ) [in continuous utterance 72].

This is a governing rule (1.3.11) heading this section which extends up to and including 112 below. This will, therefore, recur in the subsequent rules of this section.

### 6.1.85 anta=ādi-vát=ca

[A single substitute element which replaces both the preceding and succeeding phonemes 84 in continuous utterance 72] functions as the final (anta-°) of the preceding unit and the initial (ādi-vat) of the following unit.

In the expression  $vr̥kṣá-áú$  ( $vr̥kṣá+au/auT$ ), resulting from the single replacement [au] of stem-final [a] and the affix [au] of sUP, [au] is considered as the initial of sUP and the final of [vr̥kṣá-] so that by 1.4.14 one can define  $vr̥kṣáú$  as a Padá. Similarly in the expression  $brahma-bandh-á$  (=  $brahma-bandhú+āN$ ) f. the single replacement [ū] resulting from the replacement-final [u] of  $brahma-bandhú-$  m. and the feminine affix [ūN] is considered as the final of the nominal stem and therefore sUP can be introduced after it by 4.1.1.

### 6.1.86 <sup>1</sup>ṣa-tva-<sup>2</sup>tuK-or á-sid-dha-ḥ

[A single substitute element replacing the preceding and succeeding phonemes 84 in continuous utterance 72] is deemed inoperative for the purpose of replacement by retroflex /ṣ/ or for the final augment tuK.

In *kím+sU á-sic-a-t* = *ká+s* (7.2.103)+*á-sic-a-t* = *kárU+á-sic-a-t* (8.2.66) = *ká-u+á-sic-a-t* (113) = *kó+á-sic-a-t* (87) = *kó-sic-a-t* (109), dental /s/ is not replaced by the retroflex sibilant, since by this rule the single replacement of *padá*-final /o/ and the following /a/ blocks out the operation of 8.3.59.

In *ádhi+īN+Ktvá* = *adhi+i+LyaP* = *adh-ī-LyaP* (7.1.37), the single substitute /ī/ of the preverb final /i/ and the initial /i/ of the verbal stem /iN/ is considered inoperative and thus does not block out the operation of 71 above: *adh-ī-t-ya* 'having studied'.

### 6.1.87 āt=guṇá-ḥ

[A single phoneme 84] denoted by the t.t. *guṇá* (1.1.2 = a, e, o) replaces [both the vowel following 1.1.67] the phoneme-class /a/ as well as the phoneme-class /a/ [preceding 1.1.66 that vowel phoneme 77 in continuous utterance 72].

*devá+índra-* = *dev-e-ndrá-* 'king of gods'; *nár-air fā-ya-ḥ nára+fāya-* = *nár-e-dya-* 'to be praised by men'; *á+i-táh* = *é-tah* 'they two come'; *prá+īkṣ-a-te* = *pr-é-kṣ-a-te* 'sees'; *pārā+īkṣ-e-ta* = *par-e-kṣ-e-ta* 'one should look at'; *uṣṇa+udaka-* = *uṣṇ-o-daká-* 'hot water'; *kutsá+úḥ-ti* = *kuts-o-k-tí-* 'slander, contemptuous speech'; *karabhá+āru-* = *karbh-óru-* 'whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant'; *jihvá+ārdhva-bhāgá-* = *jihv-o-rdhva-bhāgá-* 'upper part of the tongue'; *devá+fṣi* = *dev-ar-ṣí* (1.1.51) 'divine seer' (Nārada); in this case /a/ being the most proximate to both phonemes among the *guṇá* vowels, replaces them and by 1.1.51 a vowel replacement of vocalic /ṛ/ by a simple vowel (a, i, u) is always accompanied by the phoneme /r/ which gives the working rule that the *guṇá* and *vṛddhi* grades of /ṛ/ are respectively /ar/ and /ār/ and of /ḷ/ are /al/ and /āl/: *tava+ḷ kārah* = *tav-al-kār-a-ḥ* 'your sonant lateral /ḷ/'.

### 6.1.88 vṛd-dhi-r eC-i

[A single substitute 84] denoted by the t.t. *vṛd-dhi* (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) replaces [both 84 the vowel 77 following the vowel-class /a/ 87] represented by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [and the vowel phoneme-class /a/ preceding 1.1.66 it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

*śveta+edaka-* = *śvet-ai-daká-* 'white ram'; *brahma+odana-* = *brahm-au-daná-* 'rice meant for a brahman'; *brahma+aitikā-yana-* = *brahm-ai-tikāyaná-* 'brahmin descendant of Itika'; *tikṣṇá+auṣadhá-* = *tikṣṇ-au-ṣadhá-* 'bitter medicine'.

### 6.1.89 <sup>1</sup>é-ti=<sup>2</sup>édh-a-ti=<sup>3</sup>ūṬH-su

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi 88 replaces both 84 the preceding 1.1.66 phoneme-class /a/ and the following 1.1.67 eC 84,88 before 1.1.66] the expressions é-ti 'goes', édh-a-ti 'grows' and the substitute element ūṬH (of °-vāh- 4.132 below) [in continuous utterance 72].

*úpa+e-mi/e-ṣi/e-ti* = *úp-ai-mi/°-ṣi/°-ti* but *úpa+i-tas* = *up-e-tas* 'they two approach'; *úpa+édh-a-te* = *úp-ai-dh-a-te* 'grows'; *praṣṭha-vāh+Śas* = *praṣṭha-ūṬH-h+Śas* (4.132) = *praṣṭh-au-h-as* = *praṣṭhauh-aḥ* acc. plur. 'young bulls trained for the plough'.

The (recurrent expression) [eC-i] applies here properly only to the strong forms of the verbal stem [iN gat-au II 36] since in the weaker forms guṇá does not take place. Also it is not relevant to [ūṬH].

### 6.1.90 áṬ-as=ca

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88 replaces both 84 the vowel denoted by the siglum aC 77 occurring after 1.1.67] the initial increment áṬ and áṬ (4.72) [preceding it 84, in continuous utterance 72].

*áṬ+ikṣ+ŚaP+ta* = *ai-kṣ-a-ta* 'saw'; *ubh+IUÑ* = *áṬ+ubh+ṣiC+t* (3.1.44) = *á-ubh+iṬ-s+IT+t* (7.2.35; 3.96) = *aú-bh-i-ṭ-I-t* (8.2.28) = *aú-bh-I-t* 'has filled with'; *ṛdh+IAÑ* = *áṬ+ṛdh+Śnu+t* = *ár-dh-no-t* 'prospered'.

### 6.1.91 upa-sarg-át ṛT-i dhāt-au

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88 replaces both 84] the preverb [final 1.1.52 phoneme-class /a/ 87] and the (initial 1.1.54) syllabic resonant /ṛ/ of a verbal stem (dhāt-au) [occurring after 1.1.67 it in continuous utterance 72].

*úpa+ṛcch-a-t-* = *úp-ār-cch-a-ti* 'importunes'.

### 6.1.92 vā sUP-y ápiśale-h

[A single substitute 84 denoted by the t.t. vḡddhi (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) 88] optionally (vā) replaces [both 84 the pre-verb final 91 phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the initial syllabic resonant /ṛ/ 91] of a denominative (sUP-i) [verbal stem 91 in continuous utterance 72] according to the grammarian Āpiśali.

*ṛṣabhā-m atmán-aḥ icch-á-ti* = *ṛṣabhā+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ṛṣabhI-yáti* (7.4.33)  
 'desires a bull for one's self': with the preverb *prá+ṛṣabhI-ya-ti* =  
*pr-ár-ṣabhI-ya-ti/pr-ár-ṣabhIya-ti*. Since option is indicated by the indeclinable  
 /vā/ Āpiśali's name is for honorific purpose only.

### 6.1.93 ā=°T-aḥ=<sup>1</sup>am-<sup>2</sup>Śas-oḥ

[The single substitute phoneme 84] /ā/ replaces [both 84 stem-final 1.1.52] phoneme /o/ [and the following initial vowel 84 of the affix 3.1.1] am and Śas (4.1.2) [in continuous utterance 72].

*gó+am/Śas* = *g-á-m/g-á-h* (8.3.15) acc. sing./plur. of *gó-* 'cow, bull'.

### 6.1.94 eÑ-i para-rūpá-m

[A single substitute 84] consisting of the second of two (contiguous phonemes para-°) [replaces both the preceding 84 pre-verb-final phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the following 84] vowel denoted by the siglum eÑ (= e, o) [of a verbal stem 91 in continuous utterance 72].

Exception to 88 above. *úpa+el-ay-a-ti* = *úp-e-l-ay-a-ti* impels towards;  
*úpa+oṣ-ay-a-ti* = *úp-o-ṣ-ay-a-ti* 'burns down'.

### 6.1.95 <sup>1</sup>óm=<sup>2</sup>āÑ-os=ca

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces both the preceding 84 stem-final phoneme-class /a/ 87 and the following vowel 84] of the particles óm and āÑ [in continuous utterance 72].

*kā óm ity á-voc-a-t* = *k-óm ity á-voc-a-t* 'who uttered Óm?'. *āÑ+vah+ṭṛ-* =  
*ā+uḍh+dḥṛ-* (8.2.40) = *ā+uḍh+dḥṛ-* (8.4.41) = *ā+oḥ-dḥṛ-* (8.3.13) = *ó-dḥṛ-*  
 'harbinger'; so also *adyá+odḥṛ-* = *ady-o-dḥṛ-* 'harbinger of today'.

### 6.1.96 us-i á-pada=ant-āt

[A single substitute 86 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces] a non-padá-final (á-pada=ant-ā) [phoneme-class /a/ 87 preceding the substitute affix 3.1.1] °-us [and the initial vowel of °-us following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

*dā+IUÑ* = *āT+dā+(Clī→siC→∅ 3.1.43.44; 2.4.77)+us* (3.4.108) = *ā+dā+us* =

*á-d-us* 'they have given'; *chid+IIÑ* = *chid+ŚnaM+yás+Jus* (3.4.103,108) = *chi-nØ-d+yáØ+us* (4.11; 7.2.79) = *chind-yá+us* = *chind-y-ús* 'they should cut off'.

### 6.1.97 aT-aḥ=guṇ-é

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two continuous phonemes 94 replaces a non-padá-final 96] short vowel /a(T)/ [preceding 84] a guṇá vowel (= a,e,o) [and the guṇa vowel following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

*pác+ŚaP+jhi* = *pác-a+anti* (7.1.3) = *pác-a-nti* 'they are cooking'; *yáj+ŚaP+IT* = *yáj-a+e* (3.4.79) = *yáj-e* 'I am sacrificing'.

### 6.1.98 a-vyak-ta=anu-kár-aṇa-sya=at-aḥ it-au

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94 replaces the final 1.1.52] element /at/ of an echo-word (a-vyak-ta=anu-kár-aṇa-sya) [preceding (1.1.66) 84] the indeclinable iti [and the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of iti following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

*paṭat+iti* = *paṭ-i-ti*; *jhaṭat+iti* = *jhaṭ-i-ti*.

### 6.1.99 ná=ā-mreḍ-i-ta-sya=ánt-ya-sya tu vā

[A single substitute 84, consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94] does not (ná) replace [the element /at/ 99] of a re-duplicated (ā-mreḍ-i-ta-sya) [echo-word 98 and the following initial 1.1.54 phoneme of iti 98], but (tu) will optionally (vā) replace [the final 1.1.52] phoneme [of the echo-word and the initial of iti 98 in continuous utterance 72].

*paṭ-at-paṭ-ad-iti/paṭ-at-paṭa+ti* = *paṭ-at-paṭ-e-ti*.

### 6.1.100 nítya-m ā-mreḍ-i-t-e DĀC-i

[A single substitute 84 consisting of the second of two contiguous phonemes 94] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the element /at/ 99 of the first half as well as the second half] of the echo-word co-occurring with [affix 3.1.1] DĀC.

By 5.4.57 affix DĀC is introduced after echo-words, with re-duplication of the echo-



word; this rule operates prior to the operation of Ø replacement of the syllable beginning with the last vowel (6.4.143): *paṭ-at+DāC* = *paṭ-at-paṭ-at+DāC* = *paṭ-at-paṭ-Ø+ā* (97) = *paṭ-at-paṭ-ā kar-o-ti* = *paṭ-aØ-paṭ-ā kar-o-ti*.

### 6.1.101 aK-aḥ sā-varṇ-e dīrghá-ḥ

[A single substitute 94] long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) replaces [both 84] a vowel denoted by the siglum aK (= a, i, u, ṛ, ṝ) and [the following 84] homogeneous vowel (sā-varṇ-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

Exception to the general rule 77 with reference to [iK]. *daṇḍá+āgra* = *daṇḍ-ā-grá* 'tip of a staff'; *kaví+índra* = *kav-I-ndrá* 'poet laureate'; *mádhu+udaká* = *madh-ū-daká* 'honey and water'; *pitṛ+ṛṇá* = *pit-ṛ-ṇa* 'debt owed to the father'.

### 6.1.102 prathamáy-oḥ pūrva-savarṇá-ḥ

[The single substitute 84 long vowel 101] homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels (pūrva-sa-varṇá-ḥ) [denoted by the siglum /aK/ 101] replaces [both the nominal stem-final 1.1.52 vowel aK 101 and the initial aC vowel 77 of the affixes 3.1.1] of the first and second (prathamáy-oḥ) sUP triplets introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 in continuous utterance 72].

*agní+au* = *agn-í* 'two fires'; similarly *vāyú+au* = *vāy-ú* 'two winds'; *hará+Jas* = *har-á-ḥ* 'Hara-s'; in this instance both 101 and 102 can operate to give the expected surface form, but by metarule 1.4.2 the later rule prevails. Though 97 can also cover the situation it blocks the operation of 101 but not of 102, by a general metarule that a prior exception blocks the operation of an immediately following rule and not one which follows it later.

### 6.1.103 tá-smāt=Śás-aḥ=ná-ḥ puṁs-í

After (tá-smāt) [that single substitute 84 long vowel replaces both the stem-final aK and initial vowel of affix 3.1.1] Śás, phoneme /n/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of Śás [in continuous utterance] in the case of masculine [nominal stems 4.1.1] (puṁs-í).

*hará+Śás* = *har-á-s* = *har-á-n*; *hári+Śás* = *hár-I-s* = *hár-I-n*; *vāyú+Śás* = *vāy-ú-n*; *pitṛ+Śás* = *pit-ṛ-n*.

### 6.1.104 ná=āt=iC-i

[A single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 102] does not (ná) replace [both 84] the phoneme-class /a/ [and the following vowel 84 denoted by the siglum] iC (= all vowels other than the phoneme-class /a/) [before 1.1.66 the first and second sUP triplets 102 introduced after nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.52] the phoneme-class /a/.

*hará+au* = *har-aú* (88); *śālā+ŚI* (7.1.18) = *śāl-e* (87) 'two halls'; *vána+ŚI* (7.1.19) = *ván-e* 'two forests', *sárva+ŚI* (7.1.17) = *sárv-e* 'all'.

### 6.1.105 dīrgh-āt=Jas-i ca

[A single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homogeneous with the first of two contiguous vowels 102 does not replace 104 both 84 stem-final 1.1.52] long vowel (dīrgh-āt) [and the following 84 initial vowel 77 of the affix 3.1.1] Jas and (ca) [the initial vowels denoted by the siglum iC 102 in continuous utterance 72].

*nadī+Jas* = *nady-āḥ* (77) 'rivers'; *nadī+au* = *nady-aú* 'two rivers'. Rules 102-107 deal only with the first and second sUP triplets.

### 6.1.106 vā chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [a single substitute 84 long vowel 101 homogeneous with the first of two contiguous vowels 102 does not 105] optionally (vā) replace [both the stem-final long vowel and the following initial vowel 84 of Jas 105 or the first and second sUP triplets 102 beginning with iC 104 in continuous utterance 72].

*mārutī+Jas* = *mārut-ī-ḥ/mārutī-āḥ cātāṣ-ah* 'four Mārutī-s'; similarly *vārāḥ-ī/vārāḥy-aú* 'two V. sāman-s'.

### 6.1.107 am-i pūrva-ḥ

[A single substitute 84] homologous to the first (pūrva-ḥ) [of two contiguous vowels denoted by the siglum aK 101 replaces that vowel as well as the following initial vowel 84 of the affix 3.1.1] am [of the second sUP triplet 102 in continuous speech 72].

*devā+am* = *dev-ā-m*; *mālā+am* = *māl-ā-m*; *hāri+am* = *hār-i-m*; *nadī+am* = *nad-ī-m*; *dhenú+am* = *dhen-ú-m*; *vadhū+am* = *vadh-ū-m*. In the case of nominal

stems ending in /-ṛ/ 7.3.110 replaces the stem-final with guná and being a later rule, takes precedence over this by virtue of the metarule 1.4.2.

### 6.1.108 sam-pra-sār-aṇ-āt=ca

[A single substitute 84 vowel homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 107] also (ca) replaces [both 84] the sam-pra-sār-aṇa vowel (=iK) [and the vowel following it 84 in continuous utterance 72].

*yaj+Ktá = iaj+tá (15) = ij+tá = iṣ-ṭá-* (cf. 15 above).

### 6.1.109 eÑ-aḥ pada=ant-āt=aT-i

[A single substitute 84 vowel homologous to the first of two contiguous vowels 107] denoted by the siglum /eÑ/ (= e,o) replaces [both 84] padá-final eÑ and [the following 84] short initial /a/ of (the following padá) [in continuous utterance 72].

*ágne-átra = ágn-e-tṛa* 'O Agni! here'; similarly *vandé-ahám = vand-é-hám* 'I salute'; *váyo+atra = váy-o-tra*.

### 6.1.110 ÑasI-Ñas-os=ca

[A single substitute 84 vowel denoted by the siglum eÑ 109] replaces [both itself and the following short initial /a/ 109 of the affixes 3.1.1] ÑasI and Ñas (4.1.2) [in continuous utterance 72].

*agní+ÑasI/Ñas = agné+as (7.3.111) = agn-é-s = agn-é-h (8.3.15)*; similarly *vāyú+ÑasI/Ñas = vāy-ó-s = vāy-óh*.

### 6.1.111 ṛT-aḥ=uT

[A single substitute 84 vowel] short /u/ replaces [both the stem-final 1.1.52] short vowel /ṛ/ [and the following 84 initial short /a/ of the sUP triplets ÑasI and Ñas 110 in continuous utterance 72].

*mātṛ+Ñas(I) = māt-úr-s = māt-úrḥ (8.2.24) = māt-úh (8.3.15)*.

### 6.1.112 khy<sub>a</sub>-ty-āt pára-sya

[A single substitute 84 vowel short /u/ 111 replaces the initial short /a/ of the sUP triplets ŅasI and Ņas 110 after 1.1.67] °-khy- and °-ty- [of nominal stems 4.1.1 in continuous utterance 72].

*sákhi+ŅasI/Ņas = sákhy+as = sakhy-us (77) = sakhy-uh; páti+ŅasI/Ņas = páty+as = páty-us = páty-uh.*

### 6.1.113 aT-aḥ=rO-ḥ=á-plut-āt=á-plut-e

[The substitute short vowel /u/ 111 replaces] rU (8.2.66) when it is preceded and followed by (1.1.66-67) a non-prolated (á-plut-āt+á-plut-e) short phoneme /a/ [in continuous utterance 72].

*hará+sU+á-tra = hará-rU+á-tra = hará+u+átra = haró+átra (87) = har-ó-tra (109).*

### 6.1.114 haŚ-i ca

[The substitute short vowel /u/ 111] also (ca) replaces [rU when it is preceded by a non-prolated short vowel a 113 before 1.1.66] a voiced consonant (haŚ-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

*hará+sU+hás-a-ti = hará+rU+hás-a-ti = hará-u+hás-a-ti = haró hás-a-ti* 'Hará laughs'.

### 6.1.115 pra-kḥ-ty-ā=antaḥ-pādá-m á-v-y-a-par-e

[A padá-final vowel denoted by the siglum eÑ (= e,o) and short /a/ following it 109] retain their forms (pra-kḥ-ty-ā) when occurring within a quarter of the ṛk-verse (antaḥ-pādá-m), provided it is not followed by phonemes /v/ or /y/ [in continuous utterance 72].

*śu-jāt-e áśva-sūṅt-e* (RV 5.79.1) 'O well-born one, who art pleased with horses'; *ádhvaryo ádri-bhiḥ su-tá-m* (RV 9.51.1) 'O Adhvaryu! (the soma) has been pressed with stones', but *té á-vad-an = t-é-vad-an* 'they spoke'. *té-yaj-anta (= té á-yaj-anta)* 'they sacrificed'.

### 6.1.116 <sup>1</sup>avyát=<sup>2</sup>avadyát=<sup>3</sup>áva-kramus=<sup>4</sup>á-vrata=<sup>5</sup>ayám=<sup>6</sup>ávantu=<sup>7</sup>avas-yú-ṣu

[Pada-final eÑ (= e,o) 109 occurring within a ṛk-verse quarter 115 and

the following short vowel /a/ retain their forms 115] also when [short vowel /a/ occurs as initial 1.1.54] of av-yât ‘may he assist’, a-vad-y-ât ‘from disgrace’, áva-kram-us ‘they have trampled underfoot’, á-vrata- ‘impiety’, ayám ‘this’, áv-a-ntu ‘may they protect’ and avas-yú- ‘desiring assistance’ [in continuous utterance 72].

These are exceptions to the constraints placed on the phoneme /a/ by the preceding rule of not being followed by phoneme /v/ or /y/.

1. *ágnih prathamó vásu-bhir no avyât* ‘May Agni, the foremost, assist us with wealth’ (T.S. 2.1.11.3).
2. *mitra-m aho a-vady-ât* (R.V. 4.4.15).
3. *mā éivāso áva-kram-uḥ* (R.V. 7.32.27) ‘may happiness not overcome’.
4. *té no á-vrat-ā-ḥ* ‘they behave impiously towards us’.
5. *śatā-dhāro ayām manī-ḥ* ‘this jewel has a hundred edges’.
6. *té no av-a-ntu pitār-aḥ* (R.V. 10.15.1) ‘may the Manes protect us’.
7. *kusikā-so av-as-yáv-aḥ* (R.V. 3.42.9) ‘descendants of Kuśika, desirous of assistance’.

### 6.1.117 yájuṣ-i=urah

In the domain of Yajur-Veda [padá-final /o/ of the nominal stem 4.1.1] úras- ‘chest, breast’ [and following short phoneme /a/ 109 retain their form 115 in continuous utterance 72].

*úro antárikṣa-m* (V.S. 3.42.9) ‘the chest is the intermediate region’.

### 6.1.118 <sup>1</sup>āpo=<sup>2</sup>jusāno=<sup>3</sup>vṛṣṇo=<sup>4</sup>várṣ-iṣṭhe=<sup>5</sup>ámbe=<sup>6</sup>ámbāle=<sup>7</sup>ámbike-pūrv-e

[In the domain of Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final vowels denoted by the siglum eÑ (=e,o) 109 of the expressions] āp-o ‘waters’, juṣ-āñ-ó ‘pleasing’, vṛṣṇ-o ‘man’s’, várṣ-iṣṭh-e ‘in the highest’, and ámbē/ámbāle preceding ámbike [retain their shape 115 before 1.1.66 short vowel /a/ 119 in continuous utterance 72].

1. *āp-o asmān mātār-aḥ sundh-ay-a-ntu* (V.S. 4.2) ‘may the motherly waters purify us’.
2. *jus-āno aptúr ājya-sya* (V.S. 5.35) ‘busy loving clarified butter’.
3. *vṛṣṇ-o amśú-bhyāñ gābhastī-pū-taḥ* (V.S. 7.1) ‘purified by a man’s hands with two Soma libations’.
4. *várṣ-iṣṭh-e ádhi nāk-e* (T.S. 1.1.8.1) ‘in the highest heaven’.
5. *ámbe ámbāle ámbike* ‘O mothers!’. These vocatives are not subject to the operation of 7.3.107 in YV.

### 6.1.119 ánga ity-ād-au ca

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eÑ (= e,o) of the nominal stem 4.1.1] ánga- 'limb' (i.e., áng-e) and (ca) initial /a/ of the following expression ánge (tad-ād-au) [both retain their shape in continuous utterance 72].

*aindrā-h prāṇ-ó ánge ange ní-dīdhy-at* 'the breath of Indra meditated on each limb'.

### 6.1.120 ánu-dātt-e ca <sup>1</sup>kU-<sup>2</sup>dhá-par-e

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eÑ 109] and (ca) [the following 1.1.66] low-pitched (án-udātt-e) [short vowel /a/ 109] preceding velar stops (kU- ° 1.1.69) or phoneme /dh/ [both retain their original shapes 115 in continuous utterance 72].

*ayám só agní-h* 'this is that Agni' (V.S. 5.37) but *adhás+ágr-e adhó+ágre = adh-ó-gre* (109).

### 6.1.121 á-vap-a-thās-i ca

[In the Yajur-Veda 117 padá-final eÑ (= e,o) 109 and the following ánudātta short vowel /a/ 109 of the verbal form] á-vap-a-thās 'thou hast sown' [both retain their original form 115 in continuous utterance 72].

*trī rudré-bhyo a-váp-a-thās* (K.S. 30.6.32) 'thou has sown thrice for the Rudra-s'.

The verbal form [á-vap-a-thās] loses its high-pitched accent when following a non-verbal form by 8.1.28, but by 8.1.30 *yád rudré+bhyas á-vap-a-thās=yád rudré-bhy-ó-vap-a-thās* the verbal padá retains its original accent and is thus subject to 109.

### 6.1.122 sarvá-tra vibhāṣā go-h

[Pada-final eÑ 109 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] go- 'cow f., bull m.' and [the following short vowel /a/ 109 both retain their original form] optionally (vibhāṣā) everywhere (sarvá-tra) [i.e., in the Chándas and elsewhere in current speech, in continuous utterance 72].

*gó+ágra-m = gó-agram/g-ó-gram* 'headed by cattle'.

### 6.1.123 avaÑ sphótāyana-sya

According to the grammarian Sphótāyana the substitute avaÑ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 go- 'cow, bull' 122 before 1.1.66 a vowel 77 in continuous utterance 72].

*gó+ágra-m = gava+ágra-m = gav-á-gra-m/gó-agram/g-ó-gra-m; go+añind-m = gav-á-jind-m/g-o-jind-m 'cow-hide'; go+odaná-m gav-au-daná-m/gav-o-daná-m 'cattle-feed'; go+uṣṭrá- gav-o-ṣṭrá-m 'cows and camels'. But gó+akṣa- = gav-á-kṣa- 'window' without option.*

### 6.1.124 indr-e (nítya-m\*)

[The substitute element avaÑ 123] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 go- 'cow, bull' 123 before 1.1.66] indra- [in continuous utterance 72].

*gó+indra- = gava+indrā = gav-e-ndrā- 'lord of cattle (= bull)'.*

### 6.1.125 plu-tá=pra-gf̥h-y-ā-ḥ aC-i nítya-m

Prolated (plu-tá-°) vowels and pra-gf̥h-ya vowels (1.1.11) necessarily (nítya-m) [retain their original form 115 before 1.1.66] vowels (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 72].

According to Patañjali the word [nítya-m] occurs only in this rule and not in 124 above, since its separate mention following 123 itself indicates the absence of option. The use of this word here is to block the operation of 127 below.

*dēvadatta!ṣ ihá áś-ana-m alam-kur-u 'Devadatta! please grace this seat'; agní+au = agn-í (102)+iti, vāy-á iti, śál-e iti.*

### 6.1.126 āÑ-ah=ánu-nās-ika-s=chándas-i

In the Chándas a nasalized (ánu-nās-ika-ḥ) particle /ǣ/ replaces āÑ [before 1.1.66 a vowel 77 in continuous utterance 72].

*āÑ+ap-áh = ǣ ap-áh.*

### 6.1.127 iK-ah=á-sa-varṇ-e śákalya-sya hrasvaśś=ca

According to the grammarian Śákalya [a padá-final 109 vowel denoted by the siglum] iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [retains its form 115 before 1.1.66] non-

homogeneous [vowels 77] (á-sa-varṇ-e) and the (corresponding) short vowel replaces it [in continuous utterance 72].

*dádhi+átra = dádhi átra/dádhy-átra, mádhu átra/mádhv-átra; kumārī+átra = kumārī átra/kumāry-átra; vadhú+átra = vadhú átra/vadhv-á-tra.*

### 6.1.128 ṛT-y aK-aḥ

[According to the grammarian Śākalya 127 padá-final vowel 109 denoted by the siglum] aK (= a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [retains its form 115 and the corresponding short vowel replaces it 127 before 1.1.66] the short vowel /ṛ/ [in continuous utterance 72].

*brahma+ṛṣí = brahma-ṛṣí-/brahmar-ṣí 'brahmin sage'; khátvā+ṛśya-h = khátva-ṛśya-h/khátv-ár-śya-h.*

### 6.1.129 á-plu-ta-vat=upa-sthi-t-é

[A prolated vowel (plu-tá) 125] is treated like a non-prolated one (á-plu-ta-vat) [before 1.1.66] the indeclinable iti (upa-sthi-t-é) used in the Padapāṭha (for separating padá-s).

*su-ślokáṣ+iti (8.2.84)/su-ślok-é-ti (87).*

### 6.1.130 ī3 cākra-varmaṇ-á-sya

According to the grammarian Cākra-varmaṇ-á [the prolated vowel 125] ī3 [is treated like a non-prolated vowel 123 before 1.1.66 vowels 77 in continuous utterance 72].

This is an optional rule: *ás-tu hṛṣ iti/as-tu h-ṛ-ti; ci-nú hṛṣ idam = cinú-h-ṛ-dam.*

### 6.1.131 div-aḥ=uT

The substitute short vowel /u/ replaces [padá-final 109 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] dív- 'heaven, sky'.

*div-í kām-ó+a-syá = dív+0+kāma-h = dí-u-kāma-h = dyú-kāma-h 'n.pr. (lit. whose desire is in heaven)'; dív+bhīś = dyú-bhīś; vímalā dyaú-r a-smín = vímala+div- = vímala-dyu (= dí-u) 'bright day'. But when not padá-final: dív+au/Jas/am/Śas = dív-au, dív-as, dív-am/dív-as.*



### 6.1.132 etád=tád-oḥ sU-lopá-ḥ=á-k-oḥ á-naÑ-sam-ās-e haL-i

Lopa (Ø) [zero affix 3.1.1] replaces [the first sUP triplet 4.1.1] sU introduced [after 3.1.2 the pronominal stems] etád- 'this' and tád- 'that' not co-occurring with [the affix ák(aC) 5.3.71] or with the privative particle náÑ in composition (á-naÑ-sam-as-e) [before 1.1.66] a consonant (haL-i).

*etád+sU = etáa+sU (7.2.102) = et-á+sU (97) = eśá+sU (7.2.106) = eśá-sU (8.3.57)+dá-dā-ti = eśáØ da-dā-ti* 'this one gives'; so also *tád+sU ná dá-dā-ti = sá-Ø ná dá-dā-ti* 'he does not give'; but *eśá-ka+sU dá-dā-ti = eśá-ka+rU dá-dā-ti (8.2.66) = eśá-ka+u dá-dā-ti (113) = eśá-ko dá-dā-ti; náÑ+etád+sU dá-dā-ti = án-eśa+sU = án-eṣo dá-dā-ti*.

### 6.1.133 sya-ś chándas-i bahulá-m

In the Chándas [lópa (Ø) replaces the first sUP triplet sU 132] variously, [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 4.1.1] syá- (= tyád-) 'that one' [in continuous utterance 72].

*eśá syá te paav-a-ta indra sóma-ḥ (R.V. 9.97.46)* 'here, O Indra, that soma flows off clearly for you', contra *yá-tra syó ni-pat-et* 'where that one may fall down'.

### 6.1.134 s-aḥ=aC-i lóp-e cét pāda-pūr-aṇá-m

[In the Chándas 133 lópa (Ø) replaces the first sUP triplet sU, introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stem 4.1.1 tád- 132 before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i), if by that replacement (cét) the quarter-verse can become complete (pāda-pūr-aṇá-m) [in continuous utterance 72].

*sédu rája kṣay-a-ti carṣaṇī-nām (R.V. 1.32.15)* for *sá-ḥ íd*. This rule is extended to the epic language on the basis of the maxim *chando-vát kaváy-aḥ kur-v-ánti: śáśá dáśarathī rāmá-ḥ* for *sá+sU+eśá+sU*.

### 6.1.135 suṬ k-at pūrva-ḥ

The initial increment suṬ is inserted before (pūrva-ḥ) the phoneme /k/ [in continuous utterance 72].

This is a governing rule heading this section and extending up to and including 157 below, and recurs in the subsequent rules in this section.

### 6.1.136 <sup>1</sup>aṭ=²abhyāsa-vy-av-āy-é=ápi

[The initial increment suṭ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135] even (ápi) when there is intervention (between them vy-av-āy-é) by áṭ (4.72) or the reduplicated syllable ( °-abhy-ās-á- °) [in continuous utterance 72].

*sám+kar-ó-ti* = *sám-skar-o-ti* 'adorns' (137); *sám+kṛ+IAÑ* = *sam+áṭ+kṛ+u+t* = *sam-á-suṭ-kar-o-t* (7.3.84) = *sam-á-skar-o-t*; *sam+kṛ+IIṬ* = *sám+ca-s-kār-a*; *sam+kṛ+UÑ* = *sam-á-s-kār-ṣ-I-t*. This is also a governing rule along with 136.

### 6.1.137 <sup>1</sup>sám-²pári=³úpe-bhyḥ kar-ó-t-au bhūṣ-aṇ-e

[The initial increment suṭ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem] *kar-ó-ti* (= *kṛ*- 'do, produce' VIII 10), co-occurring with the pre-verbs *sám- °*, *pári- °* and *úpa- °* to denote 'adorn, beautify' [even with the intervention of áṭ or the reduplicated syllable 136 in continuous utterance 72].

*sám-s-kar-o-ti*, *sam-á-s-kar-o-t*, *sám-ca-s-kār-a*; *sám-s-kār-tum*, *sám-s-kar-tṣ-*, *sám-s-kar-tāvya-m*; *pari-ṣ-kar-tṣ-* (8.3.70), *pari-ṣ-kār-tum*; *upa-s-kār-tum*, *upa-s-kar-tṣ-*.

### 6.1.138 sam-av-āy-é ca

[The initial increment suṭ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kar-ó-ti*, co-occurring with the preverbs *sám- °*, *pári- °* and *úpa- °* 137, even with the intervention between them by áṭ or the reduplicated syllable 136 in continuous utterance 72] also (ca) to denote 'assemblage, collection' (*sam-av-āy-é*).

*sám+kṛta-* = *sám-s-kṛ-ta-* 'assembled, put together'; so also *pári-ṣ-kṛ-ta-* 'combined'; *úpa-s-kṛ-ta-* 'assembled'.

### 6.1.139 úp-āt <sup>1</sup>prati-yat-ná-²vai-kṛ-tá-³vākya=adhy-ā-hār-é-ṣu

[The initial increment suṭ is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kar-ó-ti* 137] co-occurring with the preverb *úpa- °* [in continuous utterance 72] to denote the senses of 'make an effort' (*prati-yat-ná- °*), 'transform' (°*vai-kṛ-tá- °*) and 'fill an ellipsis in a sentence' (°*-vākya=adhy-ā-hār-é-ṣu*).

1. *edho-daká-sya úpa-s-kur-u-te* 'makes an effort to prepare fuel and water (for the sacrifice)'.

2. *úpa-s-kr̥-ta-m bhu-n-k-té* 'eats stale food'.

3. *úpaa-s-kr̥-ta-m adh-I-té* 'studies (the text) with elaboration (i.e., filling the gaps)'.

### 6.1.140 kir-á-t-au lāv-an-e

[The initial increment *suṭ̥* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem] *kir-á-ti* (= *kṛ̥* VI 116) 'scatter' [co-occurring with the preverb *úpa-°* 139 in continuous utterance 72] to denote 'reap, cut, split' (*lāv-an-e*).

*upa+kṛ̥+NamūL* = *upa-suṭ̥+kār-am mādراك lu-n-ánti* 'the citizens of Madrá scatter and cut' but *deva-dattá-h úpa-kir-a-ti* 'D. scatters'.

### 6.1.141 himsá-y-ām práte-s=ca

[The initial increment *suṭ̥* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kir-á-ti* 'scatters' 140] co-occurring with the preverb *práti-°* and also (ca) [*úpa-°* 139] to denote 'hurt, injure' (*himsá-y-ām*) [in continuous utterance 72].

*práti+kṛ̥+Ktá* = *práti-s-kr̥-ṇa-* (7.1.10; 8.2.42,83) = *úpa-s-kr̥-ṇa-* 'hurt, injured, violated', but *úpa-kr̥-ṇa-* 'bestrewed', *práti-kr̥-ṇa-* 'scattered'.

### 6.1.142 áp-āt=<sup>1</sup>cátuṣ-pād=<sup>2</sup>śakúni-ṣu=ā-lékh-an-e

[The initial increment *suṭ̥* is inserted before the phoneme /k/ 135 of the verbal stem *kir-á-ti* 140] co-occurring with the preverb *ápa-°* [in continuous utterance 72] to denote 'the scraping of the earth (*vi-lékh-an-e*) by quadrupeds (*cátuṣ-pād-°*) and birds (*-śakúni-ṣu*)'.

*ápa-s-kir-a-te vṛṣabhá-h* 'the bull scratches the ground'. *ápa-s-kir-a-te bhakṣy-ā-rthf kukkuṭá-h* 'the rooster scratches the earth in search of food', but *ápa-kir-a-ti Devadattá=h* 'Devadattá scatters'.

### 6.1.143 ku-s-tumburū-ṇ-i jâ-ti-h

The expression *kústumburu-* 'coriander' is introduced [with the initial increment *suṭ̥* inserted before the phoneme /t/] to denote a genus (*jâ-ti-h*) [in continuous utterance 72].

*kú-s-tumburu- m.* 'coriander or cilantro plant', n. 'its seed' but *kuts-i-tá-n-i tumburū-ṇ-i* = *kú-tumburū-ṇ-i* 'fruit of *Diospyros embriopteris* = *indukṛ̥*'.

#### 6.1.144 a-para-s-par-ā-ḥ kriy-ā-sātat-y-é

The expression a-para-s-par-ā-ḥ is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote 'continuity of action' (sā-tat-y-é) [in continuous utterance 72].

*a-para-s-par-ā-ḥ gáčch-a-nti* 'they go one after another (= in succession)' but  
*apara-par-āḥ (sārth-ā-ḥ) gáčch-a-nti* 'the ones and the others (traders) go (simultaneously)'.

#### 6.1.145 go-ṣ-padá-m <sup>1</sup>sevitá=<sup>2</sup>á-sevita-<sup>3</sup>pramāṇe-ṣu

The expression go-ṣ-padá-m is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote a locality which is occupied (sevitá-°) or not occupied (°-á-sev-i-ta-°) or a measure of quantity (°=pra-māṇe-su) [in continuous utterance 72].

*gáv-aḥ pád-y-a-nte a-smín* = *go+pad+GHá* (3.3.118) = *go-ṣ-padá-m* 'a locality frequented by cattle'; *á-gospadam áranyam* 'a forest not frequented by cattle';  
*go-ṣ-pada-mātrá-m kṣétra-m* 'a part of a field the size of a cow's hoof' but *gó-ḥ padám* = *go-padá-m* 'impression of a cow's hoof in soil'.

#### 6.1.146 ā-s-padá-m prati-ṣṭhā-y-ām

The expression ā-s-padá-m is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before the phoneme /p/] to denote a fixed place (prati-ṣṭhā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 72].

*á+pad-ya-te a-smín* = *ā-s-pad+GHá* (3.3.118) = *ā-s-padá-m* 'place, seat, abode, dignity', but *á pad-át* (2.1.13; 3.10) = *ā-padá-m* ind. 'up to the foot'.

#### 6.1.147 ā-ś-cár-ya-m á-ni-ty-e

The expression ā-ś-cár-ya-m is introduced [with initial increment suṭ 135 inserted before phoneme /c/] to denote 'something unusual' (á-ni-ty-e) [in continuous utterance 72].

*áñ+car+yāT* = *ā-ś-cár-ya-m* 'wonderful, marvellous, astonishing' but *ā-cár-ya-* 'to be practiced or performed'.

### 6.1.148 *vārc-as-k-e=ava-s-kar-ā-h*

The expression *ava-s-kār-a* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] to denote 'ordure, excrement' (*vārc-as-k-e*) [in continuous utterance 72].

*ava+kṛ+aP* (3.3.57) = *ava-s-kar-ā* 'excrement, ordure' but *ava-kar-ā* 'dust, sweepings'.

### 6.1.149 *apa-s-kar-ó ratha=aṅgá-m*

The expression *apa-s-kār-a* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before phoneme /k/] to denote a part of a chariot (*rathāṅgám*) [in continuous utterance 72].

*apa+kṛ+aP* = *apa-s-kar-ā* 'any part of a chariot' but *apa-kar-ā* 'scattering'.

### 6.1.150 *vi-ṣ-kir-ā-h śakúni-r vā*

The expression *vi-ṣ-kir-ā* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] optionally (*vā*) to denote a bird (*śakúni-h*) [in continuous utterance 72].

*vi+kṛ+Ká* (3.1.135) = *vi-ṣ-kir-ā* / *vi-kir-ā* 'a gallinaceous bird such as domestic fowl, partridge, quail' etc., while *vi-kir-ā* has also the general sense of 'scattering'.

### 6.1.151 *hrasv-āt=candrā=ut-tara-pad-e mántr-e*

[The initial increment *suṭ* 135 is inserted before the nominal stem 4.1.1] °*cāndra-* as a final member (in composition: °*uttara-pad-é*), co-occurring with [a prior member ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel 1.2.28), in the domain of *Mántra* [in continuous utterance 72].

*sú+cāndra-* = *su+suṭ+candra-* = *su-ś-candrā-* (8.4.40); *hari+candra-* = *hári-ś-candra-* 'n.pr.' (cf. 153 below), but *sūryā-candra-mās-au* 'sun and moon' but in non-Chands *su-candrā paurṇa-māś*, *hári-candra-*.

### 6.1.152 *prāti-ṣ-kaśa-s=ca kaśe-h*

The expression *prati-ṣ-kaś-ā* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] of the verbal stem *kaś-* 'move' (II 14) co-occurring with the preverb *prāti-* ° [in continuous utterance 72].

*práti+kaś+áC* (3.1.134) = *prati+suṭ+kaś-á-* 'emissary, agent', but *prati-ga-tá-h*  
*kás-ām* = *práti-kaś-a-h* 'a horse not responding to or obeying the whip'.

### 6.1.153 <sup>1</sup>*prá-s-kaṇva*-<sup>2</sup>*harí-s-candr-au=ḥṣ-ī*

The expressions *prá-s-kaṇva-* and *hári-ś-candra-* are introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 respectively before 1.2.10 phonemes /k/ and /c/] to denote names of Vedic seers (ḥ-ī) [in continuous utterance 72].

*hari-ś-candra-* is included here for the purpose of showing its occurrence outside the domain of Mántra also (cf. 151).

### 6.1.154 <sup>1</sup>*má-s-kar-a*-<sup>2</sup>*ma-s-kar-ín-au* <sup>1</sup>*véṇu-* <sup>2</sup>*pari-vrāj-akay-oḥ*

The expressions *má-s-kar-a* and *ma-s-kar-ín-* are introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 inserted before the phoneme /k/] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] a bamboo (*véṇu-*) and a wandering monk (*°-pari-vrāj-akay-oḥ*) [in continuous utterance 72].

In other senses: *mákara-* 'sea monster, whale, shark'; *makar-ín-* 'ocean'.

### 6.1.155 <sup>1</sup>*kā-s-tīra*=<sup>2</sup>*ajā-s-tund-e* *nágar-e*

The expressions *kā-s-tīra-* and *ajā-s-tunda* are introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /t/] to denote the names of cities [in continuous utterance 72].

But *kā-tīra-* 'bad shore or bank'; *ajā-tundá-* 'protruding belly of a ram'.

### 6.1.156 *kār-a-s-kar-ó* *vṛkṣá-h*

The expression *kār-a-s-kar-á* is introduced [with initial increment *suṭ* 135 before the phoneme /k/] to denote a tree [in continuous utterance 72].

But *kār-a-kar-á-* (3.2.21) 'acting as agent'.

### 6.1.157 $\text{pāra-s-kar-á}=\text{pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca saṁjñā-y-ām}$

The class of expressions beginning with  $\text{pāra-s-kar-á}$  is introduced [with initial increment  $\text{suṭ}$  135 before the initial consonantal phoneme of the posterior member in composition] to form names ( $\text{saṁjñā-y-ām}$ ) [in continuous utterance 72].

$\text{pārd-m kar-ó-ti} = \text{pāra}+\text{kṛ}+\text{Ta}$  (3.2.20) =  $\text{pāra}+\text{suṭ}+\text{kar-á} = \text{pāra-s-kar-á-}$ ;  
 $\text{rátha-m pá-ti} = \text{rátha}+\text{pā}+\text{Ká}+\text{TāP}$  (3.2.3)  $\text{ratha-s-pā}$  ( $\text{nad-f}$ ).

### 6.1.158 $\text{án-udatta-m padá-m eka-várja-m}$

With the exception of one syllable ( $\text{eka-várja-m}$ ) [for which an  $\text{udátta}$  'high-pitch' or  $\text{svaritá}$  'circumflex, high and low pitch' accent is introduced] a  $\text{padá}$  (1.4.14ff.) bears the  $\text{ánudátta}$  'low pitch' accent.

This is a metarule governing accentuation. Accent rules introduce either an  $\text{udátta}$  or  $\text{svaritá}$  accent on a particular syllable of a  $\text{padá}$ , the rest bearing the  $\text{ánudátta}$  accent. A nominal stem ( $\text{prātipadiká}$ ) or a verbal stem ( $\text{dhātu}$ ) or an affix ( $\text{praty-ayá}$ ) has its particular  $\text{udátta}$  or  $\text{svaritá}$  accent, and when a  $\text{padá}$  is generated by a combination of stem and affix, the  $\text{padá}$  bears the  $\text{udátta}$  or  $\text{svaritá}$  accent on a single syllable, the rest being  $\text{ánudátta}$ . Thus by 162 below the final syllable of a verbal stem is considered to bear the  $\text{udátta}$  accent in general. Thus from the verbal stem  $\text{lú-}$  'cut' (IX 13) we derive the theme  $\text{lú}+\text{Śná}$  where the class-marker also bears the  $\text{udátta}$  accent, so that the theme will be  $\text{lu-ná-}$  before  $\text{l}$ -substitutes  $\text{tiP}$ ,  $\text{tás}$ ,  $\text{ánti}$ , generating the Present Indicative forms  $\text{lu-ná-ti}$  ( $\text{tiP}$  being  $\text{ánudátta}$  by 3.1.4),  $\text{lu-ni-tás}$ ,  $\text{lu-n-ánti}$ ; further if we derive the comparative form  $\text{lu-ni-tás}+\text{taraP}+\text{ám}$  we arrive at  $\text{lu-nítas-tar-á-m}$ . A grammatical form or  $\text{padá}$  may consist of stems ( $\text{pra-kṛ-ti}$ ), increments ( $\text{āgama}$ ), replacements ( $\text{ādeśá}$ ) and affixes ( $\text{praty-ay-á}$ ), each of which may be bearing its own accent, but when the surface form emerges it can have only one accented syllable, leaving all others without accent. The last step in the successive derivation will determine the final position of the accent in the  $\text{padá}$ .

### 6.1.159 ${}^1\text{karṣ-á}={}^2\text{áT-vat-aḥ GHaÑ-aḥ}=\text{ánta}=\text{udátta-h}$

The final syllable ( $\text{ánta-h}$ ) of an expression [ending in 1.1.72 the  $\text{kṛt}$  3.1.93 affix 3.1.1]  $\text{GHaÑ}$  bears the  $\text{udátta}$  accent when it is derived from [the verbal stem 3.1.91]  $\text{kṛṣ-}$  'draw, drag' (VI 6) or from those containing the vowel phoneme long  $\text{/ā/}$  ( $\text{áT-vat-aḥ}$ ).

This is a prior exception to 197 below. Under normal conditions the marker  $\text{Ñ}$  of

$\text{GHaÑ}$  introduces the  $\text{udátta}$  accent on the initial syllable of the derived form.

$\text{kṛṣ}+\text{GHaÑ} = \text{karṣ-á-}$  (7.2.86) 'dragging, ploughing';  $\text{pac}+\text{GHaÑ} = \text{pák-á-}$  (7.2.116;

3.52) 'cooking'; *rañj+GHaÑ* = *rāg-á-* (4.27) 'dying, coloring'; *dā+GHaÑ* = *dā+y<sub>u</sub>K+á* (7.3.33) *dā-y-á-* 'donation, presenting'; *dhā-y-á-* 'beasting'.

### 6.1.160 uñch-á=ādī-n-ām ca

[The final syllable 159 of the class of derived nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with uñch-á- 'gleaning' [derived with various affixes 3.1.1 such as GHaÑ, aP, etc. bears the udātta accent 159].

*uñch+GHaÑ* = *uñch-á-*; *g<sub>r</sub>+aP* = *gar-á-* 'poison' but in other meanings regularly *gár-a-* (197).

### 6.1.161 án-udātta-sya ca yátra=udātta-lopá-ḥ

[The udātta accent 159 replaces] an ánudātta syllable when the preceding udātta syllable is replaced by lopa (∅) on account of it.

*kumārā+ÑIP* = *kumār∅+I* = *kumār-í* 'maiden' (4.1.20; 6.4.148); *path-ín+Śas* = *path∅∅+as* (7.1.88) = *path-ás*, *path-á*, *path-é* etc.; *kumudá+DmatUP* (4.2.87) = *kumud∅+mat-* = *kumud-vát* (8.2.10) 'abounding in lotuses'.

### 6.1.162 dhāto-ḥ

[The final syllable 159] of a verbal stem [bears the udātta accent 159].

*DU-pac-Aṣ pāk-é* (I 1045): *pác+ŚaP+tiP* = *pác-a-ti* 'cooks'; *ūrṇúÑ ācchād-an-e* (II 30): *ūrṇú+∅<sup>2</sup>+tiP* = *ūrṇó-ti* 'covers'; *gup+āya+ŚaP+tiP* = *gop-āyá+a+ti* = *gop-āy-á-ti* (97) 'protects'.

### 6.1.163 C-IT=aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] marked with C as IT or [ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 so marked bears the udātta accent 159].

*kṣetriyáC* = *kṣetriyá-* 'incurable in the present life' (5.2.92). *bhās+GHuráC* = *bhās-urá* (3.2.161) 'shining'; similarly *bhañj+GHuráC* = *bhañg-urá-* (7.3.52) 'fragile'.

### 6.1.164 taddhitá-sya

[The final syllable 159] of a taddhitá derivative [i.e., a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a taddhitá affix 3.1.1 marked with C as IT 163 bears the udātta accent 159].



*kuñja+CphaÑ* (4.1.98)+*Ñya* (5.3.113) = *kauñj-āyand+Ñya* = *kauñj-āyan-ya-ḥ* ‘descendant of Kuñja’, but in the plural affix [Ñya] is replaced by  $\emptyset^1$  (2.4.62): *kuñja+CphaÑ+ $\emptyset^1$ +Jas* = *kunj-āyan-āḥ* since affix [CphaÑ] remains in position, marker [Ñ] functioning to operate 7.1.117 and C the present rule; [Ñya] becomes inoperative by 1.1.63.

### 6.1.165 K-IT-aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a taddhitá 164 affix 3.1.1] with marker K as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

*naḍá+phaK* = *nād-āyand-* (7.1.2; 2.118) ‘descendant of Naḍá’.

### 6.1.166 tisf-bhyaḥ Jas-aḥ

[The final syllable 159 of the sUP triplet 4.1.2] Jas introduced [after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] tisf- f. ‘three’ [bears the udātta accent 159].

This is a prior exception to 8.2.4. *tisf+Jas* = *tier-āḥ* f. ‘3’. By 8.2.4 the semivowel substitute of an udātta or svaritá vowel operates a svaritá on the following vowel, and since Jas is ánudātta (3.1.4) and /r/ is the substitute for /ṛ/ which bears the udātta accent, the form realized by the operation of that rule would have been \**tier-āḥ*, but this prior exception blocks that rule. Cf. also 174 and 179 below.

### 6.1.167 cátur-aḥ Śas-i

[The final syllable 159 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] cátur- ‘four’ [bears the udātta accent 150 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet 4.1.2] Śas.

*cátur+Śas* = *catúr-aḥ paśya* ‘look at the four’, but *cátaś-aḥ paśya* f.

### 6.1.168 s-au éka=aC-as=tr-tíyā=ādir vi-bhák-ti-ḥ

sUP triplets (vi-bhák-ti-ḥ) beginning with the third (tr-tíyādi-ḥ) [bear the udātta accent 159] when introduced [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] which are monosyllabic (éka=aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 the seventh sUP triplet] su.

The binding condition here is that the nominal stem should be monosyllabic before the locative plural affix su.

*vác+su* = *vāk-śu* whence *vác-ā*, *vāg-bhyām*, *vāg-bhīḥ* but *vāk*, *vác-au*, *vác-aḥ*, *vác-am* and *rájan+suP* = *rāja-ḥ-su*: *rājñ-ā*, *rājñ-e* etc.; similarly *tváy-ā*, *máy-ā* since the locative plural forms are *yusmā-su*, *asmā-su* (disyllabic).

### 6.1.169 ánta=udatt-āt=uittara-pad-āt=anya-tará-syām á-nitya-sam-ās-e

[sUP triplets beginning with the third 168, introduced after 3.1.2 a monosyllabic 168 nominal stem 4.1.1] constituting the final member of a compound which is not obligatory (á-ni-tya-sam-ās-e) and bears the udātta accent on its final syllable, optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bear the udātta accent 159].

*para-m-ā vāk* = *para-maθ+vāc*- 'highest speech' + *Tā* = *parama-vāc-ā/parama-vāc-ā*, but *ā-vāc*- 'absence of speech; dumbness' generates *ā-vāc-ā*, *ā-vāc-e*, etc. (6.2.2); on the other hand *a-vāc* (2.172) 'speechless, dumb': *a-vāc-ā/a-vāc-ā* *brāhmaṇ-éna* 'by a non-speaking brahmin' which is a non-obligatory compound (2.2.11). In the case of obligatory compounds: *agni-cīt-ā*, *soma-sút-ā*, etc., since these are not governed by (2.2.11).

### 6.1.170 añcē-s=chándas-i=á-sarva-nāma-sthā-ne

[sUP triplets] excluding those denoted by the t.t. *sarvanāma-sthāna* (1.1.42-43 *Śi*, sUT) [bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-añc- in the domain of *Chándas*.

By 222 below a nominal stem ending in °-añc- bears the udātta accent on the last syllable of the prior member when θ-replacement reduces it to °-c- only: *dadhī-c* (3.138)+*Śas* = *dadhī-c-āḥ*, *dadhī-c-ā*, *dadhī-c-é*, etc.

### 6.1.171 <sup>1</sup>ūṬH=<sup>2</sup>idám=<sup>3</sup>pád-ādi=<sup>4</sup>áp-<sup>5</sup>púm-<sup>6</sup>raí-<sup>7</sup>dyú-bhyaḥ

[sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. *sarvanāma-sthāna* 170 (= *Śi*, sUT: weak declensional endings) bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ūṬH (4.132) and *idám*- 'this', word-class beginning with °-pád- (63 above up to *nís*-. °-áp- 'water', °-púms- 'male', °-raí- 'riches' and °-dív- 'heaven'.

1. *praṣṭha-vāh*+*Śas* = *praṣṭha+ūṬHāh*+*Śas* (4.132) = *praṣṭhauh-āḥ* (89), *praṣṭhauh-é*, etc.; 2. *ā-bhyám*, *ā-bhīḥ*, etc.; 3. *ni-pad-āḥ/ni-pad-ā*; *dat-āḥ*, *dat-ā*, etc. 4. *ap*+*Śas* = *ap-āḥ*, *ap-sú*; 5. *púms-āḥ*, *púms-ā* etc.; 6. *rāy-āḥ*, *rāy-é*, etc.; 7. *div-ā*, *div-é*, *div-āḥ* etc.

### 6.1.172 aṣṭán-o dīrgh-āt

[sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanamasthāna 170 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṣṭán- 'eight' [ending in 1.1.72] a long (vowel 1.2.28: dīrgh-āt 7.2.84).

aṣṭā-bhīḥ/°-bhyaḥ etc., but when not ending in a long vowel: aṣṭā-su.

### 6.1.173 Śātu-r á-nuM-aḥ 'nadī=²áC=ādī

The feminine (nadī) [affix NīP 4.1.6 introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ŚātR without the infix increment nuM (a-nuM-aḥ) (7.1.80) [and bearing the udātta accent on the final syllable 169] as well as [sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāna 170] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādī) [bear the udātta accent 159].

*tud+Śá+ŚātR+NīP = tud-á-at+NīP = tud-á-t+I (97) = tudat-f contra tud-ánt-I 'piercing' (7.1.80). tudat+Śas = tudat-áh/°-á/°-e etc., but tud-ánt-aḥ; likewise dá-d-at-aḥ, dád-at-ā since this has the udātta accent on the initial syllable.*

### 6.1.174 udātta-yaN-aḥ haL-pūrv-āt

[The feminine affix (NīP) 173 as well as sUP triplets excluding those denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-asthāna 170 beginning with a vowel 173 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] whose (final 1.1.72) udātta vowel is replaced by a semivowel (udātta-yaN-aḥ) preceded by a consonant (haL-pūrv-āt).

*kṛ+tṛC+NīP = kar-tṛ+I = kar-tr-f f. 'doer, agent', but kṛ+tṛN+Tā/Ñe = kár-tr-ā/kár-tr-e etc.*

This rule is a prior exception to 8.2.4. In the Bahuvrīhi compound *bahu-tita-ú brāhmaṇ-í* 'a brahmin lady possessing many sieves', the udātta accent falls on the final syllable by 2.175 below and *bahu-tita-ú+Tā = bahu-dtita v-á*, since the semivowel replacement of the udātta vowel is not preceded by a consonant, the present rule does not operate and by 8.2.4 the following anudātta vowel of the sUP triplet bears the svaritá accent.

### 6.1.175 ná=<sup>1</sup>úÑ-<sup>2</sup>dhātv-oh

[sUP triplets excluding those indicated by the t.t. sarvanāmasthāna 170 beginning with a vowel 173 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 whose final udātta vowel of the feminine affix 3.1.1] úÑ (4.1.66) or of a verbal stem ( ° dhāto-ḥ) [is replaced by a semivowel preceded by a consonant 174] does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 159].

*brahma-bandhu+úCanu(N) = brahma-bandh-á+Tā = brahma-bandhv-à* (8.2.4) 'by a brahmin-like lady'; *khalā-pū+Tā = khalapv-à* (6.4.83; 8.2.4) 'by a sweeper'.

### 6.1.176 <sup>1</sup>hrasvá-<sup>2</sup>nuṭ=bhyām matUP

[The taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matuP [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel 1.2.28: hrasvá- °) [bearing the udātta accent 169] or the initial increment nuṭ (8.2.16).

1. *agní+matUP = agní-mát-* 'maintaining a sacrificial fire'; similarly *kṛ+ṭṣC+matUP = kar-ṭṣ-mát-* 'active', but *kṛ+ṭṣN+matUP = kár-ṭṣ-mat-*.
2. *akṣí+matUP = akṣ-án+matUP* (7.1.76) = *akṣán+nuṭ+matUP* (8.2.16) = *akṣádḥ-n=mat* (8.2.7) *akṣa-n-vát-* (8.2.9; 4.2) 'having eyes'; similarly *astha-n-vát-* 'possessing bones' or *śrīṣa-n-vát-* 'having a head', but *vásu-mat* 'rich, wealthy'.

### 6.1.177 n-ām anya-tará-syām

[The sixth sUP triplet 4.1.2] n-ām optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a short udātta vowel 176 before affix matUP 176].

*agní+ām = agní+nuṭT-ām* (7.1.54) = *agnI-n-ām/agní-n-ām* (7.3.102) since this stem ends in a short udātta vowel before the matUP. But *vásu-n-ām*.

### 6.1.178 Ñy-ās=chándas-i bahulá-m

In the domain of Chándas [the sixth sUP triplet n-ām 177 bears the udātta accent 159] variously (bahulá-m) [when introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affix 3.1.1] Ñī.

*bahú+ÑiP* (4.1.45) = *bahv-í+ām = bahv-I-n-ām pitá* (RV 6.75.5) 'father of many (daughters)', but *jáy-ant-I-n-ām marút-aḥ* (RV 10.103.8).

### 6.1.179 <sup>1</sup>śás-<sup>2</sup>trí-<sup>3</sup>catúr-bhyaḥ haL=ādi-ḥ

[A sUP triplet] beginning with a consonant (haL=ādi-ḥ) [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stems 4.1.1 denoting number words covered by the t.t.] śás (1.1.24) and trí- 'three' and catúr- 'four'.

śás+bbhis = śád+bbhis (8.4.53) = śad-bhīḥ; śad-bhyāḥ, śaṇ-ṇ-ām; pañcā-n-ām, sapta-n-ām, etc.

tri-bhīḥ, tri-bhyāḥ, trayā-ṇ-ām catur-bhīḥ, catur-bhyāḥ etc. For an exception see 172 above: aṣṭá-su.

### 6.1.180 jhaL-i úpottama-m

The penultimate (úpa=uttama-m) [of a polysyllabic padá derived from the number words denoted by the t.t. śás as well as tri- and catúr- 179 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets beginning with] non-nasal consonantal phonemes (jhaL-i) [bears the udātta accent 159].

1. pañcan+bbhis = pañcāḥ-bhis = pañcā-bhīḥ/°-bhyah; sapta-bhīḥ sapta-bhyah; but before initial nasal phoneme: sapta-n-ām, pañcā-n-ām.

2. tisṛ-bhīḥ; catúr-bhyah; in the case of non-polysyllabic padás: śad-bhīḥ, tri-bhyāḥ.

### 6.1.181 vibhāśā bhāśā-y-ām

In the domain of current speech (bhāśā-y-ām) [the penultimate syllable of a polysyllabic padá derived from the number words denoted by the t.t. śás as well as trí- '3' and catúr '4' 179 with sUP triplets beginning with non-nasal consonants 180 bears the udātta accent 159] optionally.

1. pañcā-bhīḥ/pañca-bhīḥ; sapta-bhīḥ/sapta-bhīḥ.

2. tisṛ-bhīḥ/tisṛ-bhīḥ, catasṛ-bhīḥ/catasṛ-bhīḥ; aṣṭá-su/aṣṭa-sú (cf. 172 above).

### 6.1.182 ná <sup>1</sup>gó-<sup>2</sup>śván-<sup>3</sup>sAU=a-varṇa=<sup>4</sup>rāj=<sup>5</sup>án=<sup>6</sup>krún=<sup>7</sup>kṛd-bhyaḥ

[The operations indicated in 168-181] do not (ná) take place [after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1] gó- 'cow/bull', śván- 'dog', a stem [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme class /a/ [before 1.1.66 the suP triplet] sU, rāj- 'ruler, king', a stem [ending in 1.1.72] °-āñc-, or °-krún- 'curlew' and kṛ-t- 'doer, agent'.

1. gó: gáv-ā, gó-bhyām (blocking 168 above); sugú-nā, sugáv-e (blocking 169).

2. *śvan*: *śun-ā*, *śun-é*, *parma-śún-ā* etc.
3. *sAU*=*a-varṇa*: *yá-h*, *yebhyaḥ*, *té-bhyaḥ*.
4. *rāj*: *rāj-ā*, *parma-rāj-ā* etc.
5. *āñc*: *prāñc-ā*, *prāñc-e* but *prāc-ā* etc.
6. *krūñc*: *krūñc-ā*, *parama-krūñc-ā* etc.
7. *kṛt*: *kṛt-ā*, *kṛt-e*, *parama-kṛt-e* etc.

### 6.1.183 *div-o jhaL*

[A sUP affix 4.1.2] beginning with a non-nasal consonant (*jhaL*) [does not 182 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *dív-* ‘heaven, sky’.

*dív+bhyaṁ* = *dyú-bhyaṁ* (131) but *dív-ā*. This rule blocks the operation of either 168 or 171.

### 6.1.184 *nṛ ca=anya-tará-syām*

[A sUP triplet 4.1.2 beginning with a non-nasal consonant 182] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [does not 182 bear the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *nṛ-* ‘man’.

*nṛ-bhiḥ/nṛ-bhīḥ* (168).

### 6.1.185 *T=IT svar-i-tá-m*

An element marked with T as IT bears the svar-i-tá accent.

*vac+NyaT* = *vāk-yá-* (7.2.116; 3.52); *kṛ+NyaT* = *kār-yá-*.

### 6.1.186 <sup>1</sup>*tási*=<sup>2</sup>*án-udātta*=*IT*=<sup>3</sup>*ÑIT*=<sup>4</sup>*aT*=*upa-deś-āt* *la-sārvadhātuká-m ánu-dāttam á-<sup>1</sup>hnu=*<sup>2</sup>*ĩÑ-oh*

A *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113) [affix 3.1.1 replacing an] l-member (=tiÑ 3.4.78 and ŚatR, ŚānaC 3.2.124-25) bears the anudātta accent when introduced [after 3.1.2 the tense marker] *tási* (3.1.33) or verbal stems with anudātta or Ñ as IT markers, excluding the stems *hnuÑ* ‘hide’ (II 72) and *ĩÑ* [with *ádhi-* °] (II 37) and short *aT* which have been introduced as such when first introduced (in the Dhp.).

1. *kṛ+tási+Dā* (2.4.85) = *kar-táṭṭ+ā* (6.4.143); *kṛ+tási+ras/ras* = *kar-táṭṭ-rau/ras* (7.4.51).
2. *anudātta=IT: āsA upa-veś-an-e* (II 11)+*te* = *ās-te* ‘sits’.

3. Ñ-IT: *śīñ swap-n-é* (II 22)+*te* = *śé-te* 'sleeps'.

4. *aT=upa-deś-a*: themes ending in short vowel /a/: *pác+ŚaP+tás* = *pác-a-taḥ* 'they two cook'; *tud+Śá+tas* = *tud-á-taḥ* 'they two vex'.

5. In other cases: *ci+Snu+tiP/tás* = *ci-nó-ti/ci-nu-tás*; here, although /Śnú/ is a Ñ-IT by 1.2.4, it is so only in so far as it affects the preceding morpheme. In *pác+ŚaP+vás/más* = *pác-ā-vas/mas* the accent shift to the l-substitutes is not blocked by /a of ŚaP/ being replaced by /ā/(7.3.101) since in grammatical operation the theme still ends in /a/. Similarly in *han+tás* = *haṭ=tás* the theme is still *ha-(n→ṭ)* blocking out the operation of this rule, though /tás-/ here is preceded by /ha/. But exceptions to 3. above are: *hnu-té* 'hides', *yad adhī-té* (8.1.30) 'that he studies'.

### 6.1.187 ādi-ḥ siC-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

The first (ādi-ḥ) syllable (of a verbal stem) [ending in 1.1.72 the Aorist Marker] siC optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

*mā hi Kṛ+siC+tām* = *mā hi kār-s-tām/kār-ṣ-tām* (7.2.1; 8.4.2,41); *mā hi lāv-i-s-tām/lāv-i-ṣ-tām* since normally the marker C of siC indicates that the syllable containing it bears the udātta accent.

### 6.1.188 <sup>1</sup>svap=ādi=<sup>2</sup>hims-ām aC-i=an-iṬ-i

[The first syllable 187 of the class of verbal stems] beginning with sváp- 'sleep, lie down' (II 59-61) and hims- 'hurt, injure' (VII 19) [optionally 187 bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 a sārvaḥātuka affix replacing an l-member 186] beginning with a vowel excepting that of the initial increment iṬ (aCi=an-iṬ-i).

The verbal class beginning with [svap-] consists of: svap-, śas-, an- and jakṣ-; *svap+ṭ<sup>1</sup>+anti* = *sváp-anti/swap-ánti*; *śvās-anti/śvas-ánti*; *hims+ŚnaM+anti* = *hi-na-nṣ+anti hi-nṭ-ṭ-s-anti* (4.111,23) = *hims-anti/hims-ánti* (8.3.24). But *svap+tás* = *svap+iṬ-tás* = *svap-i-táh* (7.2.76).

### 6.1.189 abhy-ās-tā-n-ām ādi-ḥ

The first (ādi-ḥ) syllable of a reduplicated verbal theme [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 a sārvaḥātuka affix replacing an l-member 186 beginning with a vowel other than the initial increment iṬ 188].

*dā* (III 9)+*Śtu+gḥi* = *dā-dā-ati* = *dā-dṭ-ati* (4.112) 'they give'; similarly *dā-d-atu* 'let them give'; *jā-kṣ-atu* 'let them eat', but *jakṣ+iṬ+tás* = *jakṣ-i-tás*.

### 6.1.190 án-udātt-e ca

Also (ca) [the first syllable of a reduplicated verbal theme 189 bears the udātta accent 159 before a sārva dhātuka affix 186] not containing an udātta accent (án-udātt-e).

$dā+Ślu+tiP = dā-dā-ti$  'gives';  $hā+θ^1+ti = jā-hā-ti$  'abandons';  $mā hi dā-dhā-t$  (:  $dhā+IAN+t = dhā+θ^3+t$ ) 'let him not bear';  $dā-dhā-ti$  'bears'.

### 6.1.191 sarvá-sya sUP-i

[The first syllable 189 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] sarvá- 'all' [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets (sUP-i).

*sárva-h, sárv-au, sárv-e* but *sarvá+taraP/tamaP = sarvá-tara-/°-tama-*.

### 6.1.192 <sup>1</sup>bhī-<sup>2</sup>hrī-<sup>3</sup>bhṛ-<sup>4</sup>hu-<sup>5</sup>máda-<sup>6</sup>janA-<sup>7</sup>dhanA-<sup>8</sup>daridrā-<sup>9</sup>jāgar-ām pūrva-m P-IT-i

The syllable preceding (pūrva-m) [a sārva dhātuka affix replacing an l-member 186] with marker P as IT [bears the udātta accent 159 when introduced after 3.1.2 the reduplicated themes of] bhī- 'fear' (III 2), hrī- 'be ashamed' (III 3), bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5), hu- 'offer an oblation' (III 1), mād- 'rejoice' (I 853), jan- 'be procreated' (III 24), dhan- 'run' (III 23), daridrā 'be in need' (II 64) and jāgr- 'wake up' (II 63).

Affixes with marker P referred to here are [tiP, siP, miP] with their replacements.

- (a) *bi-bhé+ti/si/mi*; (b) *jī-hré-mi/si/ti*; (c) *bi-bhār-mi/si/ti*; (d) *ju-hó-ti/si/mi*;  
(e) *ma-mát-tu, ma-mád-at*; (f) *ja-ján-at*; (g) *da-dhán-at*; (h) *daridrā-ti/si/mi*;  
(i) *jā-gár-ti/si/mi*.

### 6.1.193 L-IT-i

[The syllable preceding 192 an affix 3.1.1] with marker L as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

$kṛ+saN+NvuL = cf-kṛ-sa+NvuL = ci-kṛ-gṭh-aka-$  (4.148) 'wishing to do, desirous of doing';  $bhaúriki+vidhaL = bhaurikí-vidha-$  (4.2.54).

### 6.1.194 ādí-r NamuL-i=anya-tará-syām

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] NamuL the first (ādí-h) syllable (of a verbal stem) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].



$lā+ya\tilde{N}+Nam\bar{u}L = lō-lā-y\emptyset+am \quad lo-lā-y-am/lo-lā-y-am \quad lo-lā-y-am$  'having repeatedly cut'.

### 6.1.195 aC-aḥ kar-tr-yaK-i

[Before the marker 1.1.66] yáK (3.1.67 of passive construction) used reflexively (kartṛ-yaK-i) [the initial syllable of verbal stems 194 which end in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-i) [when first introduced (in the Dhp.) 186 optionally 194 bears the udātta accent 159].

$lū-ya-te/lū-yá-te \text{ kedāra-ḥ svayá-m evá}$  'the field is reaped by itself', but  $bhid-yá-te \text{ svayá-m evá}$  'breaks automatically' and  $lū-yá-te \text{ kedarā-ḥ Deva-datt-éna}$  'the field is being reaped by Devadattá'.

For the verbal stems jan-, san- and khan- also the present rule applies as by 4.62 the stem-final is replaced by  $\bar{a}$  before affixes beginning with non-nasal consonants:  $jā-ya-te/jā-yá-te$ ;  $sā-ya-te/sā-yá-te$ ;  $khā-ya-te/khā-yá-te$ .

### 6.1.196 thaL-i ca sá-iṬ-i=iṬ=anta-ḥ=vā

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] thaL (3.4.82), co-occurring with initial increment iṬ, either iṬ or the final (ánta-ḥ) syllable or (vā) [the initial syllable 194 bears the udātta accent 159].

When this rule does not operate, the general rule 193 operates, giving in all four different placements for this suprasegmental phoneme:  $lā+lIT = lā=thaL = lu-lā+iṬ-thaL = lu-lo+iṬ-thaL = lu-lav-i-tha/lu-lav-i-thá/lú-lav-i-tha/lu-láv-i-tha$  'thou hast cut'.

### 6.1.197 Ñ-N-IT-y ādí-r nṭya-m

[Before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ñ or N the initial (ādí-ḥ) syllable [of the stem] necessarily (ní-tya-m) [bears the udātta accent 159].

$gargá+ya\tilde{N}$  (4.1.105) =  $gārg\emptyset-ya-$  (4.148) 'gotrá descendant of Gargá';  $vāsudevá+vuN = vāsudeva\emptyset-aka-$  (4.3.98) 'a partisan of Vāsudeva'; similarly  $árjun-aka-$ .

### 6.1.198 ā-mantr-ita-sya ca

[The initial syllable 197] of a vocative (ā-mantr-i-ta-sya) also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 159].

*dēvadatta! háre! vāyo! etc.*

### 6.1.199 <sup>1</sup>pathí-<sup>2</sup>math-óḥ sarvanāmasthān-é

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- ‘path’ and mathín- ‘churning stick’ [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets] denoted by the t.t. (sarva-nāma-sthān-é).

*pánthāḥ* (7.1.85-87)/*pánthān-au*/*pánthān-ah*/*pánthān-am*/*pánthān-au*; *mánthā-h*/*mánthān-au*/*mánthān-ah*/*mánthān-am*/*mánthān-au*. But *path-áh*/*path-á*/*path-é*/*path-í* etc.

### 6.1.200 ántas=ca távai yugapát

[The initial syllable 197] as well as (ca) the final (ánta-s) syllable of an expression [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] távai (3.4.9) simultaneously (yugapát) [bear the udātta accent 159].

*kṛ+ántas* = *kár-tavaí* ‘to do’; *mlécch-i-tavaí* ‘to speak indistinctly’.

### 6.1.201 kṣáy-a-ḥ ní-vās-é

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] kṣáy-a- [bears the udātta accent 159] when denoting the sense of ‘residence’ (nīvāsé).

*kṣiy-ánti ní-vas-a-nti a-smín* = *kṣi+GHá* (3.3.118) = *kṣáy-a-* ‘residence’; the normal affix is [áC 3.3.56] yielding *kṣi+dC* = *kṣay-á-* ‘destruction, consumption’.

### 6.1.202 jáy-a-ḥ kár-aṇa-m

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] jáy-a- [bears the udātta accent 159] to denote ‘instrument or means of victory’ (kár-aṇ-e).

*jáy-anti an-éna* = *jü+GHá* = *jáy-a* (3.3.118) ‘instrument or means of victory’ as in *já-ya-ḥ áśva-ḥ* ‘horse of victory’ but *jü+aC* = *jay-á-* (3.3.56) ‘victory’. In the case of both [GHá, áC] the normal accent should fall on the final syllable; however, affix GHa is in operation as the derived form is a samjñá or name.

### 6.1.203 vṛṣa=ādī-n-āñ ca

[The initial syllable 197 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with vṛṣ-a- ‘bull’ [bears the udātta accent 159] also (ca).

*vṛṣ+Ká* (3.1.135) = *vṛṣ-a-* ‘bull’ (exception to 3.1.2); *jvar+dC* (3.1.134) = *jvár-a-* ‘temperature, fever’ against normally expected word-final accentuation.

### 6.1.204 *saṁjñā-y-ām upa-mā-na-m*

[The initial syllable 197 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] serving as an object of comparison (*upa-mā-na-m*) in a proper name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [bears the udātta accent 159].

*cāncā* 'straw-man, scare-crow'; *vādhrikā* 'eunuch'; *khāra-kuṭī* 'barber's shop'; *dās-ī* 'n.pr.'; in the generation of these forms there is  $\emptyset^3$  replacement of affix kaN (5.3.98).

### 6.1.205 *niṣṭhā ca dvy-ác án-āT*

[The initial syllable 197] of dissyllabic (*dvy-ác*) [nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *niṣṭhā*, excluding those with vowel phoneme /ā/ in the first syllable (*án-āT*) [serving as proper names 204 bears the udātta accent 159].

*dā+Kta* = *dad+Kta* (7.4.46) = *dāt-taḥ*; *gūp-ta=ḥ* when occurring as proper names; but otherwise *dat-tā-* 'given'. *gup-tā-* 'protected'; similarly for the polysyllabic *rakṣ-i-tā-* even when denoting a proper name; likewise *trā-tā-* 'protected'.

### 6.1.206 <sup>1</sup>*śús-ka=²dhṛṣ-ṭ-au*

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 *niṣṭhā* affixes 205] *śús-ka-* 'dry' and *dhṛṣ-ṭa* 'bold, daring' [bears the udātta accent 159].

*śús+Ktā* = *śús+kā* (8.2.51) = *śús-ka-*; *dhṛṣ+Ktā* = *dhṛṣ-ṭa-*.

### 6.1.207 *ás-i-ta-ḥ kar-tā*

The expression *ás-i-ta-* used as an agent (*kar-tā*) (noun) [bears the udātta accent 159 on its initial syllable 197].

*ás-i-ta-ḥ deva-dattā-ḥ* 'Devadattā has eaten' (exception to 2.144) but *ás-i-tā-m ánna-m* 'food has been eaten' (passive construction) and *ás-i-ta-m (devadatt-éna)* 'eating has taken place' (by Devadattā) [impersonal construction].

There are three views on the derivation of this expression: (a) *as+Ktā* with high pitched accent on the initial and replacement of the vowel by the corresponding long one; (b) *as+NIC+Kta* with initial udātta accent or (c) *áN+as+Kta* contra 2.144 below.

### 6.1.208 rik-t-é vibhāṣā

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] rik-tá- [ending in 1.1.72 in a niṣṭhā affix 205] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 159].

*ric+Kta = rik-ta-/rik-tá-* (8.2.30) 'emptied, voided'.

### 6.1.209 <sup>1</sup>júṣ-ṭa=<sup>2</sup>ár-p-i-t-e ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] júṣ-ṭa- 'pleasant' and ár-p-i-ta- 'inserted, fixed' also (ca) [optionally 208 bears the udātta accent 159].

*júṣ-ṭa-/júṣ-ṭá-; ár-p-i-ta-/ar-p-i-tá-*.

### 6.1.210 nítya-m mántr-e

In the domain of Mántra [the initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] júṣ-ṭa- 'pleasant' and ár-p-i-ta- 'inserted, fixed' necessarily (nítya-m) [bears the udātta accent 159].

*júṣ-ṭa; ár-p-i-ta-*.

### 6.1.211 <sup>1</sup>yuṣmád=<sup>2</sup>asmád-or Ņas-i

[The initial syllable 197 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' [bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] Ņas (genitive singular).

*yuṣmád+Ņas = tava+Ņas* (7.2.96) = *tava+aŚ* (7.1.27) = *táva* (97) 'thine'; similarly *asmád+Ņas = máma* 'mine'.

### 6.1.212 Ņay-i ca

[The initial syllable 197 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] Ņe also (ca).

The two rules 211-12 have been separated to avoid the operation of metarule 1.3.10. *yuṣmád+Ņe = tubhya+Ņe* (7.2.95) = *tubhya+am* (7.1.28) = *túbhy-a-m* (97) 'to thee'; so also *asmád+Ņe = máhy-a-m* 'to me'.

### 6.1.213 yàT-ah=á-nāv-ah

[The initial syllable 197 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] yàT, [consisting of two syllables 205, bears the udátta accent 159] excluding the [nominal stem 4.1.1] náú- 'boat' [before it 1.1.66].

*ci+yàT* (3.1.97) = *cé-ya-* 'to be piled'; but *naú+yàT* = *nāv-yà-* 'navigable' and  
*kṛ+saN+yaT* = *ci-kṛ-ṣa+yaT* = *ci-kṛ-sṭh-yà-* = *ci-kṛ-s-yà-* 'desiring to be done'.

### 6.1.214 1fḍA-2vánd-3vṛ-4śámsa-5duh-ām NyàT-ah

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 derived with affix 3.1.1] NyàT [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] fḍ- 'praise' (II 9), vánd- 'salute' (I 11), vṛ-(IX 38) 'choose', śáms- 'praise' (I 764) and duh- 'milk' (II 4) [bears the udátta accent 159].

*fḍ-/vánd-/vṛ-/śáms-/duh-/ + NyàT* = *fḍ-ya-* 'to be praised'; *vánd-ya-* 'to be saluted';  
*vār-ya-* 'to be chosen'; *śáms-ya-* 'to be praised'; *dóh-ya-* 'to be milked'.

### 6.1.215 vibhāṣā 1veṇú=2indhānay-oh

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] veṇú- 'reed, bamboo' and indh-āna- 'who kindles' optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udátta accent 159].

*ve-ṇu-/ve-ṇú-*; *indh+CānáŚ* = *indh+CānáŚ* = *iṭh+na-dh+CānáŚ* = *i-nṭh-dh+CānáŚ*  
 (4.23, 111) = *indh-āná-/indh-āna-*; *indh+ŚānáC* = *indh+ŚānaC* (186) =  
*iṭh-ná-dh+ŚānaC* = *i-nṭh-dh+ŚānaC* (4.111) = *indh-āna-* (161).

### 6.1.216 1tyāg-a-2rāg-a-3hās-a-4kúh-a-5śvāth-a-6kráth-ā-n-ām

[The initial syllable 197 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] tyāg-a- 'renouncing', rāg-a- 'passion', hās-a 'laughter', kúh-a- 'deceiver', śvāth-a- 'speech' and kráth-a- 'destruction' [optionally 215 bears the udátta accent 159].

The first three forms are derived with affix [GHaÑ] and the rest with affix [áC].  
*tyaj/ranj/has+GHaÑ* = *tyāg-a-/tyāg-á-* (159); *rāg-a-/rāg-á-*; *hās-a-/hās-á-*;  
*kuh/śvath-/krath+áC* = *kúh-a-/kuh-á-*; *śvāth-a-/śvath-á-*; *kráth-a-/krath-á-*.

### 6.1.217 úpa=ut-tama-m R-IT-i

The penultimate (úpottaman) syllable [of a (polysyllabic) nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] with marker R as IT [bears the udātta accent 159].

$kṛ+anīyaR = kar-anīya-$  (8.4.3) 'to be accomplished';  $paṭú+jātīyaR = paṭu-jātīya-$  (5.3.69).

### 6.1.218 CaÑ-i=anya-tará-syām

[The penultimate syllable 217 of a polysyllabic grammatical form ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] CaÑ (3.1.48) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

$má\ hí\ cI-kar-á-tām/cI-kár-a-tām$  'do not cause him to make'. This form is derived as follows:  $kṛ+NIC+CaÑ+tām = áT+cI-kár-(í→\emptyset)+a+tām$  (4.51) =  $á-cI-kar-a-tām$  (7.4.1), and with privative particle [má]  $\emptyset$  replaces the initial increment [áT] leaving  $cI-kar-a-tām$  which then gets the placement of accent by this rule.

### 6.1.219 matO-ḥ pūrva-m āT samjñā-y-ām striy-ām

The phoneme long /ā(T)/ preceding (pūrva-m) [the affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [in a derivative nominal stem 4.1.1] in the feminine gender denoting a name (samjñā-y-ām) [bears the udātta accent 159].

$udumbāra+matUP+ÑIP = udumbarā-vat-I$  (3.119) 'n.pr. of a river'; so also  $śarā+matUP+ÑIP = śarā-vat-I$  (3.120) 'n.pr. of a river', but  $ikṣú+matUP+ÑIP = ikṣu-māt-I$  (176),  $ajirā+matUP+ÑIP = ajira-vat-í$  (220).

### 6.1.220 ánta-ḥ=avaty-āḥ

The final syllable (ánta-ḥ) of [a derived nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-a-vat-I [bears the udātta accent 159 when denoting a name in the feminine gender 219].

$ajirā+matUP+ÑIP = ajira-vat-í$  'n.pr. of a river' and likewise  $khadir-a-vat-í$ .

### 6.1.221 ī-vaty-āḥ

[The final syllable 220 of a derived nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in] °-ī-vat-ī [bears the udātta accent 159 when denoting a name in the feminine gender 219].

*ahī-vat-ī* (3.120), *munī-vat-ī* 'names of rivers'.

### 6.1.222 c-au

[The final syllable 220 of the prior member 219 bears the udātta accent 159 before 1.1.66 the following element] °c- (= replacement of °-añc- 4.138).

Before affix [KviN] introduced after [añc-] by 3.2.59 the penultimate nasal is replaced by Ø (4.24) [= aØc = ac] and before weak affixes beginning with a vowel it is further reduced by Ø replacement to [c] by 4.138; it is before this reduced posterior stem that the prior member has its final vowel accented with udātta: *dādhi+añc+KviN+Śas* = *dadhi+Øc+as* = *dadhī-c-as* (3.138).

### 6.1.223 sam-ās-á-sya

[The final syllable 220 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a compound (sam-ās-á-sya) [bears the udātta accent 159].

*rājñ-aḥ pūruṣa-ḥ* = *rājaØ+Ø+puruṣá-ḥ* (8.2.7) 'royal servant'. This is a general rule [ut-sarg-á], exceptions to which are dealt with in subsequent sections of the next pāda.

### 6.2.1 bahu-vrīh-aú pra-kṛ-ty-ā pūrva-padá-m

In a Bahuvrīhí compound the prior member (pūrva-padá-m) retains its (original) accent.

This is an exception to 1.223. The word udátta (1.159) and svar-i-tá- (1.185) recur as needed in this section to characterize the accent of the prior member. In the compound *kārs-ṇa-h uttarāsāṅgá-h a-syá* = *kārsṇottarā-sāṅga-h* the udátta accent should fall on the final syllable, but in the Bahuvrīhí compound derived from these constituent members to denote 'whose upper or outer garment is made out of the skin of the black antelope' the prior member retains its original accent: *kṛṣ-ṇa-aN̄* = *kārs-ṇ-a-* (1.197) as against *kārsṇa-h uttarāsāṅgá-h* = *kārsṇottarāsāṅgá-h* 'skin of the black antelope' (1.223). When the prior member has no accent at all, 1.223 will operate as in *sama-h bhā-gá-h a-syá* = *sama-bhāg-á-h* 'receiving an equal share'.

### 6.2.2 tatpuruṣ-é <sup>1</sup>túlya=artha-<sup>2</sup>tṛ-tíyā-<sup>3</sup>saptamī-<sup>4</sup>upamāna=<sup>5</sup>ávyaya-<sup>6</sup>dvi-tíyā-<sup>7</sup>kṛtyā-h

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [the prior member retains its original accent 1] if it consists of synonyms of *túlya*- 'comparable, similar' or [ends in 1.1.72] the third or seventh sUP triplets or serves as an object of comparison (*upa-māna-*°) or is an indeclinable (°-*ávyaya-*°) or [ends in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet or in a *kṛtya* [affix 3.1.1].

Exception to 1.223. (1) *túl-ya-h śvetá-h* = *túlya-śveta-h* 'similar whiteness'; *sa-dṛś-a-loh-i-ta-h* 'same redness' (2.1.68); (2) *śaṅkuláy-ā khaṇḍá-h* = *śaṅkulá-khaṇḍa-h* 'cut off with a pair of nippers'; (3) *akṣé-su śauṇḍa-h* = *akṣá-śauṇḍa-h* 'fond of gambling'; (4) *śastrí-iva śyām-ā* = *śastrí-śyām-ā* 'blue like the blade of a knife'; (5) *ná brāhmaṇad-h* = *á-brāhmaṇa-h* 'not a brahmin'; *nís-krān-ta-h kauśāmbi-ā* = *nís-kauś-āmbi-h* 'who has departed from Kauśāmbi'; (6) *muhūrtá-m sukhá-m* = *muhūrtá-sukha-m* 'momentary happiness'; (7) *bhoj-yá-m lavana-m* = *bhoj-yá-lavana-m* 'salt fit to be eaten' from *bhuḥj+NyāT* (3.1.124). *Kṛtya* affixes are dealt with in 3.1.95ff.

### 6.2.3 várṇa-h várṇe-ṣu=án-et-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1] if it is a color-word (*várṇa-h*) co-occurring [before 1.1.66] another color-word (*várṇe-ṣu*), excluding the word *éta-* 'variegated'.

*kṛṣ-ṇá-sāraṅga-* 'spotted black', but *kṛṣ-ṇ-ai-tá-h* 'shining black or black-spotted'.



#### 6.2.4 <sup>1</sup>gādhá-<sup>2</sup>lavaṇáy-oḥ pra-mā-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a measure (pra-mā-ṇ-e) [the prior member retains its original accent 1] when co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] gādhá- 'shallow, fordable' and lavaṇá- 'salt'.

*śám̐ba-sya gādhá-m* = *śám̐ba-gādhā-m* 'water as shallow as the depth of an oar'; similarly *ar-ītra-gādhā-m* 'as deep as the length of a pestle'; *gó-ḥ lavaṇá-m* = *gó-lavaṇa-m* 'as much salt as can be given to a cow'.

#### 6.2.5 dāyād-ya-m dāy-ā-d-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting an inheritance (dāyād-ya-m) [the prior member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] dāy-ā-dá- 'heir'.

*vidyá-y-āḥ dāy-ā-d-āḥ* = *vidyá-dāy-ā-d-a-ḥ* 'heir to knowledge, inheritor of knowledge'.

#### 6.2.6 prati-bandh-í <sup>1</sup>cirá-<sup>2</sup>kṛcchráy-oḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member 1] denoting obstruction or difficulty (prati-bandh-í) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-cirá- 'long' and °-kṛcchrá- 'difficult'.

*gám-ana-m ca yát cirá-m ca* = *gám-ana-cira-m* 'slowed down or delayed in departure'; similarly *gám-ana-kṛcchra-m* (2.1.57,72) 'an obstacle or difficulty involved in the departure'.

#### 6.2.7 pad-é=apa-deś-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a pretext (apa-deś-é) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °padá-.

*mūtra-pad-ena pra-sthi-tá-ḥ* 'started to go on the pretext of urinating'; similarly *uc-cār-á-pad-ena-* 'on the pretext of defecating', but *viś-ṇo-ḥ padám* = *viś-ṇu-padá-m* 'V.'s footprint'.

### 6.2.8 ni-vāt-é vāta-trā-ṇ-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting 'protection from the wind' (vā-ta-trā-ṇ-é) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °ni-vā-tá- 'sheltered from the wind'.

*kút-I evā ni-vā-tá-m* = *kút-I-ni-vā-ta-m* 'a hut sheltering from the wind', but *rāja-nivāt-é vas-a-ti* 'lives in the vicinity of the king'.

### 6.2.9 śārad-é ān-ārtav-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °śārad-ā- employed in a sense other than autumnal (ān-ārtav-e).

*rājju-śārada-m udaká-m* 'water freshly drawn from the well with a rope'; similarly *dṛśát-śārad-ā-h śák-tav-aḥ* 'freshly ground groats', but *parama-śāradá-* 'best autumnal (produce)'.

### 6.2.10 'adhvaryú-<sup>2</sup>kaṣāyay-or jā-t-au

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] denoting a genus (jā-t-au) [the prior member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °adhvaryú- 'n. of an officiating sacrificial priest' and °-kaṣāya-a 'decoction'.

*prác-y-ā-dhvaryu-* 'n. of an officiating priest of the Kāthá school'; *sarpir-maṇḍá-kaṣāya-* 'decoction made from the scum of melted butter', but *param=ā=dhvaryú-* 'the highest adhvaryú priest' and *parama-kaṣāyá-* 'best decoction'.

### 6.2.11 'sa-dṛś-a-<sup>2</sup>prāti-rūpay-oḥ sādṛśy-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sadṛś-a- 'resembling' and °-prāti-rūpa- 'image, likeness' to denote resemblance (sādṛśy-e).

*pi-tṛ-sa-dṛś-a-* 'resembling the father'; *mā-tṛ-prāti-rūpa-* 'an image of the mother' but *uttama-sa-dṛś-á-* 'highest likeness'.

### 6.2.12 dvig-aú pra-mā-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 2 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] a Dvigú compound (as a prior member) to denote a dimension (pra-mā-ṇ-e).

*saptá sám-ā-h pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syá* = *saptaṭṭ-samā+mātrāC* (5.2.37) = *sapta-samā+ṭṭ* (by a vārttika) 'aged seven years'; *prác-ya-é ca asaú saptā-samā-é ca* = *prácya-sapta-sama-* 'an eastern lad aged seven years'.

### 6.2.13 <sup>1</sup>gan-távya-<sup>2</sup>pāṇ-ya-m vāñij-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1] if it denotes (a locality) which is to be reached (gan-távya-°) or (an object) which is to be sold (°pāṇ-ya-m), co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-vāñij-á- 'merchant, trader'.

*mad-rá-vāñij-a-h* = *madr-é vāñij-á-h/madr-é ga-t-vá vy-dva-har-a-ti* 'a merchant carrying on trade in Madrá'; *gó-vāñij-a-h* 'cattle rancher', but *parama-vāñij-á-h* 'best merchant'.

### 6.2.14 <sup>1</sup>mātrā=<sup>2</sup>upa-jñā=<sup>3</sup>upa-kram-á=<sup>4</sup>chāy-é ná-puṁs-ak-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2] occurring in the neuter gender (ná-puṁs-ak-e) [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °mātrā 'measure', °upa-jñā 'invention', °upa-kram-á- 'initiation' and °-chāyā 'shadow' (2.4.2ff.).

*bhikṣā-y-āś tūl-ya-pra-mā-ṇa-m* = *bhikṣā-mātra-m* 'equivalent measure of alms'; *pāṇinā-śya upa-jñā* = *pāṇin-ó-pa-jña-m* 'invention of Pāṇinā'; *ādhyā-śya upa-kram-a-h* = *ādhy-ó-pa-kram-a-m* (2.4.21) *prāsādá-h* 'a mansion begun by the rich'; *īṣū-ṇ-ām chāyā* = *īṣu-cchāya-m* (2.4.22) 'shadow cast by a mass of arrows'.

### 6.2.15 <sup>1</sup>sukhá-<sup>2</sup>priyáy-or hi-t-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sukhá- 'happiness' and °-priy-á- 'dear' to denote 'beneficial' (hi-t-é).

*gám-ana-m sukhá-m* = *gám-ana-su-kha-m* 'pleasure consisting in going'; similarly *gám-ana-priy-a-m* 'beneficial for going'.

### 6.2.16 prī-t-au ca

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-sukhá- 'happiness' and °-priyá- 'dear' 15] also (ca) to denote 'pleasure' (prī-t-au).

The three words [su-khá-, priy-á-, prī-ti-] having the same significance, the use of [prī-ti-] here is to indicate the intensity of that feeling. *brāhmaṇ-á-su-kha-m pāya-sa-m* 'the milk pudding delightful to the brahmin'; *kanyā-priy-a-hṛ mṛd-āṅga-h* 'the drum delightful to the maiden'. But *rāja-sukhá-m* 'king's welfare or happiness' and *rāja-priy-á-m*.

### 6.2.17 svá-m svāmín-i

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member 1] denoting possession (svá-m) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-svāmín- 'possessor, owner'.

*gó-svāmin-* 'cattle owner'; *ásva-svāmin-* 'horse owner', *dhāna-svāmin-* 'owner of riches', but *parama-svāmin-* 'chief owner'.

### 6.2.18 páty-au=aís-var-y-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member bears its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-páti- 'master, chief' to denote 'ruler, chief' (aís-var-y-e).

*grhá-pa-ti-* 'head of the household'; *sénā-pa-ti-* 'army chief'; *nāra-pa-ti/nṛ-pa-ti-* 'king, ruler of men', but *vṛṣālī-pa-tī-* 'husband of a vṛṣālī'.

### 6.2.19 ná <sup>1</sup>bhū-<sup>2</sup>vāc=<sup>3</sup>cít=<sup>4</sup>didhiṣu

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2, with °pá-ti- 'master, ruler' 18 as a posterior member, the first members 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhū-° 'earth', vāc-° 'speech', cít-° 'thought' and didhiṣū- 'a widow remarried' do not (ná) [retain their original accent1].

*bhū-pa-tī/vāk-pa-tī/cit-pa-tī/didhiṣū-pa-tī-* 'king, ruler of earth/master of speech/controller of thought/husband of a remarried widow' respectively.

### 6.2.20 vā bhúv-ana-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 with °-pá-ti- 'master, chief' 18 as a final member, the first member 1 consisting of the nominal stem 4.1.1] bhúv-ana-° 'earth' optionally (vā) [retains its original accent 1].

*bhúv-ana-pa-ati-/bhuv-ana-pa-tí-* 'lord of the earth, king, emperor'.

### 6.2.21 <sup>1</sup>ā-śaṅká=<sup>2</sup>ā-bādhá-<sup>3</sup>néd-īyas-su sam-bhāv-an-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °ā-śaṅk-á- 'fear', °ā-bādh-á- 'obstacle, impediment' or °-néd-īyas- 'very near, nearer' to denote an assumption (sam-bhāv-an-e).

*gám-an-ā-śaṅk-a-m* 'apprehension about going'; *gám-an-ā-bādh-a-m* 'obstacle or impediment for going' and *gám-ana-ned-īyas-* 'imminent departure'; in all these cases it is an assumption and not an actual occurrence.

### 6.2.22 pūrv-e bhū-tá-pūrv-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pūva- 'preceding' to denote [something which had] occurred earlier (bhū-ta-pūrv-e).

*ādhyá-ḥ bhū-tá-pūrva-ḥ = ādhyá-pūrva-ḥ* (2.1.57,72) 'formerly rich'.

### 6.2.23 <sup>1</sup>sá-vidha-<sup>2</sup>sá-nīḍa-<sup>3</sup>sá-mar-yāda-<sup>4</sup>sá-veśa-<sup>5</sup>sá-deśe-ṣu sāmīp-y-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-sá-vidha-, °-sá-nīḍa-, °sá-mar-yāda-, °-sá-veśa- and °-sá-deśa- to denote 'proximity, neighborhood' (sāmīp-y-e).

*mad-rá-sa-vidha-m/°sa-nīḍa-m/sa-maryāda-m/sa-veśa-m/sa-deśa-m* 'in the vicinity or neighborhood of Madrá'.

### 6.2.24 ví-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 2 first members 1 consisting of nominal stem-class 4.1.1] beginning with ví-spaṣ-ṭa- 'evident, apparent' [retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] qualifying words (guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu: adjectives).

*ví-spaṣ-ṭa-kaṭu-ka-m* (2.1.4) 'evidently acid' (accent by 49 below); *ví-citra-lavaṇa-* 'variously salty'.

### 6.2.25 <sup>1</sup>śra-<sup>2</sup>jya=<sup>3</sup>avamá-<sup>4</sup>kan-<sup>5</sup>pāpá-vat-su bhāv-e karma-dhār-ay-é

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the first member 1 consisting of] an action noun (bhāv-e) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °śra- (5.3.60), °-jya- (5.3.61), °-avamá- 'lowest', °-kan- (5.3.64) and °-pāpá- 'evil, bad'.

*gám-ana-ér-e-ṣṭha*=/ °-ér-e-yas 'most/more excellent departure'; *gám-ana-jy-e-ṣṭha*/ °-jyā-yas- 'ibid.'; *gám-an-ā-vama-* 'last or final departure'; *gám-ana-kan-iṣṭha*/ °-kan-ṛyas- 'shortest/shorter departure'; *gám-ana-pāp-iṣṭha*/ °-pāp-ṛyas- 'most/more wicked departure'.

### 6.2.26 kumārā-s=ca

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25 the first member 1] kumārā- 'youth' [retains its original accent 1].

*kumār-í śram-aṇ-ā* = *kumārā+ÑiP+śram-aṇ-ā* = *kumārā+θ+śram-aṇ-ā* (2.1.70; 6.3.34) 'young female ascetic'.

### 6.2.27 ādī-ḥ práty-enas-i

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25] the initial syllable (ādī-ḥ) [of the first member 1 kumārā- 26 bears the (udātta) accent 1, when co-occurring before 4.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-práty-enas- 'the nearest or closest heir' (of a dead person).

*kúmāra-praty-enas-* 'a young heir (responsible for the debts of his deceased father)'.

## 6.2.28 pūge-ṣu=anya-tará-syām

[In a Karmadhārayá compound 25 the initial syllable 27 of the first member 1 *kumārā-* 'youth' 26 bears (the *udātta*) accent 1] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting a group of people (*pūge-ṣu*).

*kumāra-cātaka-/kumārā-cātaka-* 'a group of youths led by *Cātaka*' in the plural [°-*cātak-ā-h*]: *cātaka*+*Nya* (5.3.112)+*Jas* = *cātaka*+*θ*+*Jas* (2.4.62); this option also provides for the operation of 1.223: *kumāra-cātak-ā-h*.

## 6.2.29 <sup>1</sup>iK=anta=<sup>2</sup>kālā=<sup>3</sup>kapāla=<sup>4</sup>bhagāla=<sup>5</sup>śārāve-ṣu dvig-aú

In a Dvigú compound [the first member retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ), time words (°-*kālā*-°), °-*kapāla*- 'pot', °-*bhagāla*- 'skull' and °-*śārāva*- 'dish'.

*pāñca aratnāy-aḥ pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syá* (2.1.51) = *pāñc-ā-ratni-* 'measuring five cubits'; *pāñca mās-ā-h bhū-t-ā-h* = *pāñca-māsa-yaP* (5.1.82) = *pāñca-mās-ya-h* 'five months old'; *pāñca-su kapāle-ṣu sām-s-kr-ta-h* = *pāñca-ka-pāla-h puroḍāśā-h* (4.2.16) 'prepared in five pots'; similarly *pāñca-bhagāla-h* 'prepared in five skulls'; *pāñca-śārāva-h* 'prepared in five dishes'.

## 6.2.30 bahú=anya-tára-syām

[In a Dvigú compound 29 the first member 1] *bahú-* 'many' optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iK or time-words, °-*kapāla*-, °-*bhagāla*- or °-*śārāva*- respectively denoting 'pot/skull/dish' 29].

*bahv-aratni-/bahv-aratni* (8.2.4; 6.1.223); *bahú-mās-ya-/bahu-mās-yá-*; *bahú-kapāla-/bahu-kapālā-*; *bahú-bhagāla-/bahu-bhagālā-*; *bahú-śārāva-/bahu-śārāvā-*.

## 6.2.31 <sup>1</sup>dīṣ-ṭi=<sup>2</sup>vī-tas-ty-os=ca

[In a Dvigú compound 29 the first member 1 optionally 30 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] *dīṣ-ṭi-* and *vī-tas-ti-* 'measures of length'.

*pāñca dīṣṭay-aḥ pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syá* = *pāñca-dīṣ-ṭi-/pāñca-dīṣ-ṭf-* 'five *dīṣṭi*-s long'; similarly *pāñca-vī-tas-ti-/pāñca-vī-tas-tf-* 'five *vīṭasti*-s long'.

**6.2.32 sapta-m-í<sup>1</sup>sid-dhá-<sup>2</sup>sús-ka-<sup>3</sup>pak-vá-  
bandhé-ṣu=á-kāl-āt**

[The first member of a compound 1] excluding time-words (á-kāl-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamí) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-siddhá- 'prepared', °-sús-ka- 'dried', °-pak-vá- 'cooked', °-bandhá- 'tied'.

The compounds are derived by 2.1.41. It is a prior exception to 144 below. *sāmkāśy-é sid-dhá-ḥ* = *sāmkāśyá-sid-dha-ḥ* 'prepared in Sāmkāśyá; *ā-tap-á-sús-ka-ḥ* 'sun-dried'; *bhrāṣṭra-pak-va-ḥ* 'cooked in a frying pan'; *cakrá-bandha-ḥ* 'attached to the wheel'. But *pūrv-ā-hṇ-e-sid-dhá-ḥ* 'prepared in the forenoon'. Cf. 2 above.

**6.2.33 pári-<sup>2</sup>práti=<sup>3</sup>úpa=<sup>4</sup>áp-ā-ḥ<sup>1</sup>varj-yá-m-āna=<sup>2</sup>aho-rātra=  
ava-yavé-ṣu**

The preverb particles pári-°, práti-°, úpa-°, ápa-° [occurring as prior members of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 (final members)] denoting what is excluded (varj-yá-m-āna°) or parts of a day or of a night (°-aho-rātra-ava-yavé-ṣu).

*pári-tri-garta-m/ápa-tri-garta-m vṛṣ-tó devá-ḥ* (2.1.12) 'it rained outside (i.e., excluding) Trigarta'; *práti-pūrv-ā-hṇa-m* 'each forenoon'; *úpa-pūrv-ā-hṇa-m* 'near forenoon'; *práti-pūrva-rātra-m* 'each evening'.

**6.2.34<sup>1</sup>rājan-yà-<sup>2</sup>bahu-vac-ana-dvaṁdv-é ándhaka-vṛṣṇi-ṣu**

In a Dvaṁdvá compound constituted by names of warriors (rājan-yà-°) in the plural (°-bahu-vac-aná-°) [the first member retains its original accent 1] when referring to Ándhaka-s or Vṛṣṇi-s.

*śvāphalká-caitraka-rodhak-ā-ḥ* 'n.pr. of three Ándhaka warrior families'. *śíni-vāsudev-ā-ḥ* 'n.pr. of two Vṛṣṇi warrior families'; but *dvaipa-haimāyan-ā-ḥ* who are not warriors, although belonging to the Ándhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans; similarly *sam-karṣ-ana-vāsudev-aú* since this is a dual Dvaṁdvá or *vṛṣṇi-kumār-ā-ḥ* since it is a genitive Tatpuruṣá compound and *kuru-pañcāl-ā-ḥ* as they do not belong to the clans specified above.



### 6.2.35 sañ-khy-ā

[In a Dvañdvá compound 34 the first member 1] constituting a numeral word (sañ-khy-ā) [retains its original accent 1].

*ekā-daśa* 'eleven'; *dvā-daśa* 'twelve'; *trayā-daśa* '13'.

### 6.2.36 ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-anas=ca=ante-vās-ī

[In a Dvañdvá compound 34 the first member retains its original accent 1] if the constituent members of the compound denote names of pupils (ante-vās-ī) derived from their teacher's name (ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-ana-ḥ).

*āpīśala-sya āpatyam* = *āpīśala-i-ñ* (4.1.95) = *āpīśal-i-ḥ ā-cār-yā-ḥ: t-ēna pr-ó-ktam adh-īy-ate* = *āpīśal-i-áN+Jas* = *āpīśal-ā-ḥ, te ca pāṇinīy-ā-ś* = *āpīśalá-pāṇinīy-ā-ḥ* 'pupils of Āpīśali and Pāṇini'.

### 6.2.37 kártá-kaujapa=āday-aḥ

[In the class of Dvañdvá compounds 34] beginning with (°-ādáy-aḥ) kártá-kaujap-au 'descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa' [the first member retains its original accent 1].

*kṛtá-sya āpatya-m+kújapa-sya āpatyam* = *kṛta-áN+kujapa-áN+au* (4.1.114) = *kárt-á=kaujap-au*.

### 6.2.38 mahán <sup>1</sup>vrīhí=<sup>2</sup>apar-ā-hṇá=<sup>3</sup>gr̥ṣṭí=<sup>4</sup>iṣv-āsá-<sup>5</sup>jābālá-<sup>6</sup>bhārá-<sup>7</sup>bhārata-<sup>8</sup>hailihilá-<sup>9</sup>rauravá-<sup>10</sup>prá-vṛd-dhe-ṣu

[The first member of a compound 1] mahát- 'great' [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-vrīhí- 'rice', °-apar-ā-hṇá- 'afternoon', °gr̥ṣṭí- 'a cow which has calved for the first time', °iṣv-āsá- 'archer', °jābālá- 'n.pr. of a person', °bhārá- 'burden', °bhārata- 'descendant of Bharatá', °hailihilá- 'of a sporty or wanton woman', °rauravá- 'n.pr. of a hell', °prá-vṛd-dha- 'grown'.

*mahán vrīhí-ḥ* = *mahá-vrīhi-ḥ* (3.46) 'long-grained rice'; similarly: *mah-á-par-ā-hṇa-* 'a late hour in the afternoon'; *mahá-gr̥ṣṭi-* 'a primiparous cow'; *mah-é-ṣv-āsa-* 'great archer'; *mahá-jābāla-* 'n.pr. (= elder Jābāla)'; *mahá-bhāra-* 'heavy load'; *mahá-bhārata-* 'the Great Epic of the descendants of Bharatá'; *mahá-hailihila-* 'great Hailihila'; *mahá-raurava-* 'n.pr. of a hell'; *mahá-pra-vṛd-dha-* 'greatly overgrown'.

### 6.2.39 kṣullaká-s=ca vaiśva-dev-é

[The first member 1 mahát- 'great' 38] as well as (ca) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] kṣullaká- 'small insignificant' [of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-vaiśva-devá- 'consecrated to the universal gods (viśve-devā-s).

*kṣullaká-vaiśva-deva-m* 'n.pr. of a small oblation consecrated to the Viśve Dev-ā-s';  
*mahá-vaiśva-deva-m* 'n.pr. of a more elaborate offering to Viśve Dev-ā-s'.

### 6.2.40 úṣṭra-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sādī-<sup>2</sup>vāmy-óḥ

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] úṣṭra- 'camel' [occurring as a first member in a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sādín- 'rider' and °-vāmí 'mare'.

*úṣṭra-sād-in-* 'camel rider'; *úṣṭra-vāmi* 'camel mare'. Kāśikā notes these forms as neuters ending in °-sādi, °-vāmi while Siddhānta-Kaumudī has °-sād-in-, °-vām-f.

### 6.2.41 gaú-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sād-á-<sup>2</sup>sād-í-<sup>3</sup>sārathi-ṣu

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] gó- 'cow/bull' [as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-sād-á-, °-sād-ín- 'rider' and °-sārathi- 'charioteer'.

*gó-ḥ sād-á-ḥ/gá-m sād-áy-a-ti vā* = *gó-sād-a-/gó-sād-in-* 'cattle rider'; *gó-sārathi-* 'cattle charioteer'. The question whether *sād-i* or *sād-in-* is the form occurring in this and the above rules is open to question. If *sād-i*, it is to be derived from *sada+iñ* (4.1.95) and if *sād-in-*: *sad+Nini* (3.2.78).

### 6.2.42 <sup>1</sup>kurú-gārha-pat-a-<sup>2</sup>rik-ta-guru=<sup>3</sup>á-sū-ta-jar-at-ī= <sup>4</sup>á-sī-lā-dṛ-ḍha-rūp-ā-<sup>5</sup>pāré-vaḍavā-<sup>6</sup>taittilá-kadrū-ḥ- <sup>7</sup>pānya=kambala-ḥ=dāsī-bhārā-ṇ-ām ca

[The first members of the following compounds 1] kurú-gārha-pata-, rík-ta-guru/rik-tá-guru-, á-sū-ta-jar-at-ī, á-sī-lā-dṛ-ḍha-rūp-ā, pāré-vaḍavā, taittilá-kadr-ū, pāṇ-ya-kambala- and the class of compounds beginning with dāsī-bhāra- [retain their original accent 1].

*kurú-ṇ-ām gārha-pat-á-m* = *kurú-gārha-pat-a-m* 'headship of the Kurú clan';  
*rik-ta-ḥ/rik-tá-ḥ gurú-ḥ* = *rik-ta-guru-/rik-tá-guru-* (1.208) 'indigent teacher';

*á-sū-t-ā jār-at-I* = *á-sū-ta-jarat-I* 'a woman who has become old without bearing children'; *á-sū-l-ā dṛ-dhā-rūp-ā* = *á-sū-la-dṛ-dha-rūp-ā* 'a woman of an unpleasant but strong figure'; *pāré vādavā iva* = *pāré-vadavā* 'like a mare on the opposite side'; *taittilā-n-ām kadr-ū-h* = *taittilā-kadr-ū* 'a soma vessel of Taittila(?)'; *paṇ-ya-kambala-* 'a blanket of a definite size and fixed price' as a n.pr.; in other senses: *paṇ-ya-kambalā-* 'a blanket for sale'. *dāsy-āḥ bhārā-h* = *dāśī-bhāra-h* 'the burden of a dāśī'; *devā-hū-ti-* 'invocation of the gods'.

### 6.2.43 caturthī tād-arthe

[The first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when it ends in 1.1.72] the fourth sUP triplet (caturthī) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 (a posterior member)] denoting (something) intended for what the prior member signifies (tād-arth-e).

*yūpā-ya dāru* = *yūpa-dāru* 'wood intended for the purpose of a sacrificial post';  
*kuṇḍalā-ya hiraṇya-m* = *kuṇḍalā-hiraṇya-m* 'gold intended for the purpose of earrings'.

### 6.2.44 ārth-e

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 43 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ārtha- 'object, purpose' (as a posterior member).

*mā-tr-é idam* = *mā-tṛ+ārtha-m* = *mātr-ārtham* (8.2.4) 'meant for the mother';  
 similarly *devā-tā+ārtha-m* = *devātārtha-m* 'intended for the gods'.

### 6.2.45 Kt-é ca

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the fourth sUP triplet 43 retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Ktá.

*gó-bhyah, hi-tá-m* = *gó-hi-ta-m* 'beneficial to cattle'; similarly *gó-rakṣ-i-ta-m* 'reserved for cattle'.

### 6.2.46 karma-dhāray-é=á-niṣṭhā

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the first member 1 consisting of a nominal stem 4.1.1] not (ending in 1.1.72) affixes denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhá (1.1.26: Ktá, KtávatU) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45].

*šreni-kr-t-ā-h* (2.1.59) 'made into rows'; but *šreny-ā kr-tā-m šreni-kr-tā-m* (144) 'made with rows'; so also *kr-tā-m ca tad ā-kr-ta-m ca =kr-t-ā-kr-tā-m* 'made and unmade'.

### 6.2.47 á-hī-n-e dvi-tīyā

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72] the second sUP triplet (dvi-tŕy-ā) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45] when not signifying separation (a-hŕ-n-e).

*kaṣṭā-m śri-tā-h* = *kaṣṭā-śri-ta-h* (2.1.24) 'fallen into misfortune'; *grāma-m ga-tā-h* = *grāma-ga-ta-h* 'gone to the village', but *kāntāra-m at-ta-tā-h* = *kāntār-ā-t-tā-h* 'passed beyond the wood'. Exception to 144 below.

6.2.48 tṛ-tīyā kār-maṇ-i

[The first member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (t<sub>g</sub>-t<sub>f</sub>y-ā) [retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45] used in the passive construction (kár-man-i) [= denoting the object].

*ahí-nā ha-tá-h* = *ahí-ha-ta-h* 'stung by a serpent'; *nakh-áir nír-bhin-na-h* = *nakhá-nir-bhin-na-h* 'torn by the nails' but *ráth-ena yá-tá-h* = *ratha-yá-tá-h* 'has gone by car'. Constraint on 2 above.

**6.2.49 gá-ti-r án-antara-h**

A member of the gáti-class (1.4.60) [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktá 45 to denote the object 48] without intervention (án-antara-h).

*prá-kṛ-ta-* '(something) was commenced'; *abhy-úd-dhṛ-ta-* '(something) was lifted up'; *sam-ud-ā-hṛ-ta-* 'was talked to/addressed (someone)' but *pra-kṛ-tā-h káta-m devadattā-h* 'Devadattā started making a mat' (3.4.71).

**6.2.50** tá=ād-au ca N-IT-i křt-i=á-t-au

[A member of the gáti-class 49 occurring as the first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when occurring immediately 49 before 1.1.66] a kft [affix 3.1.1] beginning with phoneme /t/, excluding [the affix 3.1.1] tu, with /N/ as IT-marker.

*prá+kr̥+tṣN* = *prá-kar-tṣ* ‘producer’; *prá+kr̥+tum̐N* = *prá-kar-tum* ‘to begin producing’ but *prá+kr̥+tṣC* + *pra-kar-tṣ-* ‘doer’ and *á+gam+tuN* = *á-gán-tu-* ‘accidental’. Prior exception to 139 below.

### 6.2.51 *távai ca=ánta-s=ca yugapát*

[A member of the gáti-class 49 occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring immediately 49 before 1.1.66 a final member ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *távai* [which bears the udátta accent] on its final (*ánta-s=ca*) accent simultaneously (*yugapát*).

*ánu+i+távai* = *ánv-e-tavai* ‘to follow’; *dpa-bhāṣ-i-tavai* ‘to speak incorrectly’; exceptions to 139 below.

### 6.2.52 *án-iK=anta-ḥ=áñc-a-t-au va-praty-ay-é*

[A member of the gáti-class 49] not ending in a vowel phoneme denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u) [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66] the expression °-añc- followed by affix *va* (= *KviN* 2.2.59).

*prá+añc+KviN* = *pr-á-ñc-* ‘turned eastwards’; similarly *pár-á-ñc-* ‘turned away, averted’ but *prati+añc+KviN* = *praty-áñc-* ‘turned westwards’; *ánu+añc+KviN* = *anv-áñc-* ‘going after, following’.

### 6.2.53 *¹ní=²ádhi-ī ca*

[The gáti members 49] *ní-°* and *ádhi-°* also (*ca*) [as prior members of a compound retain their original accent 1 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 °-añc followed by the affix *va* 52].

Exception to 52 above: *ní+añc+KviN* = *ny-áñc-* ‘turned downwards’; *ádhi+añc+KviN* = *ádhy-añc-* ‘tending upwards’ but *adh-I-c-á* (1.222).

### 6.2.54 *īṣát=anya-tará-syām*

The indeclinable *īṣát* ‘a little’ [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

*īṣát-kadāra-ḥ* (2.2.7) ‘slightly tawny’, alternating with *īṣat-kadārá-ḥ* (1.223) but *īṣát+bhid+KHaL* = *īṣad-bhéd-am* (139) ‘fragile’.

### 6.2.55 hiranya-pari-mā-ṇa-m dhān-e

[The first member of a compound 1] denoting a quantity of gold (hiranya-pari-mā-ṇa-m) [retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-dhāna- ‘riches’.

*dv-aú suvárṇ-au pari-mā-ṇa-m a-syá = dvi-suvarṇá-m* (2.1.51); *tád evá dhānam = dvi-suvarṇá-dhana-m/dvi-suvarṇa-dhaná-m* ‘wealth consisting of two measures of gold’. In the case of a Bahuvrīhi compound *dvi-suvarṇa-* ‘owner of two measures of gold’ the prior member retains its accent and when the fresh Bahuvrīhi compound is generated the same option operates: *dvi-suvarṇa-dhana-/dvisuvarṇa-dhaná-*.

### 6.2.56 prathamá-ḥ=á-cira=upa-sam-pat-t-au

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] prathamá- ‘first, foremost’ [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54] while denoting recent acquisition (ácira=upa-sam-pat-t-au).

*prathamá-ś ca vaiyākaraṇá-ś ca = prathamá-vaiyākaraṇa-ḥ/ prathama-vaiyākaraṇá-ḥ* ‘a beginner in the study of grammar’ but *prathama-vaiyākaraṇá-h*. ‘first/foremost among grammarians’.

### 6.2.57 k-atará- k-atam-aú karmadhāray-é

In a Karmadhārayá compound [the nominal stems 4.1.1] k-atará- ‘which of two?’ and k-atamá- ‘which of many?’ [occurring as first members of a compound retain their original accent 1 optionally 54].

*k-atará-kāṭha-ḥ/k-atara-kāṭhá-ḥ* (2.1.63) ‘which of you two is an adherent of Kāṭhá school?’; similarly *k-atamá-kāṭha-ḥ/k-atama-kāṭhá-ḥ*.

### 6.2.58 árya-ḥ <sup>1</sup>brāhmaṇa-<sup>2</sup>kumāray-oh

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] árya- ‘noble, Aryan’ [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-brāhmaṇá- ‘brahmin’ and °-kumārá- ‘youth’.

*árya-brāhmaṇa-/árya-brāhmaṇá-* ‘a noble brahmin or one belonging to the Aryan race’; *árya-kumāra-/árya-kumārá-* ‘a noble youth or one belonging to the Aryan race’.

### 6.2.59 *rājā ca*

Also (ca) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *rājan-* [occurring as a first member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-*brāhmaṇá-* 'brahmin' and °-*kumārā-* 'youth' 58].

*rāja-brāhmaṇa-/rāja-brāhmaṇá-* 'a brahmin king'; *rāja-kumāra-/rāja-kumārā-* 'royal prince'.

### 6.2.60 *ṣaṣṭhī prāty-enas-i*

[The first nominal stem 4.1.1 *rājan-* 'king' 58 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth SUP triplet [in a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *prāty-enas-* 'heir-apparent, representative, regent'.

*rāja-prāty-enas-/rāja-prāty-enás-* 'viceroys' (= *rājñ-as+prāty-enas-*) but *rājā ca asaú prāty-enás ca* = *rāja-prāty-enás-* 'a regent king'.

### 6.2.61 *Kt-e nitya=arth-é*

[Before 1.1.66 (a posterior member of a compound) ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] *Ktá* [the first member retains its original accent 1 optionally 54] when denoting the sense of 'always, constantly' (*nitya=arth-é*).

*nitya-pra-has-i-ta-/ni-tya-pra-has-i-tá-* 'always laughing'; similarly *sa-ta-tá-pra-has-i-ta-/sa-ta-ta-pra-has-i-tá-* 'ibid', but *muhūrta-pra-has-i-tá-* 'laughing for an instant'.

### 6.2.62 *grāma-ḥ śīlpín-i*

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] *grāma-* 'village' [occurring as a prior member of a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 54 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting an artisan (*śīlpín-i*).

*grāma-nāpita-/grāma-nāpitá-* 'village barber' but *grāma-rathyá* 'village street' and *parama-nāpitá-* 'chief barber'.

### 6.2.63 *rājā ca pra-śaṁsā-y-ām*

[The nominal stem 4.1.1] *rājan-* ‘king’ [occurring as a prior member in a compound retains its original accent 1 optionally 5 4] also (ca) when denoting the sense of praise (*pra-śaṁsā-y-ām*).

*rāja-nāpita-/rāja-nāpitā-*: (a) as a Karmadhāraya compound: *rājā ca asaú nāpita-ś* ca ‘barber (having the quality of a king)’; (b) as a genitive Tatpuruṣa: *rājñi-ah nāpitā-h* ‘royal or king’s barber’.

### 6.2.64 *ādī-r udātta-h*

The initial (*ādī-h*) syllable [of the first member of a compound 1] bears the *udātta* accent.

This is a governing rule [*adhi-kār-ā*] covering the section beginning here and extending up to 91 inclusive below. The words [*ādī, udātta*] respectively recur up to and inclusive of 91 and 136 below.

### 6.2.65 <sup>1</sup>*saptamī-*<sup>2</sup>*hār-iṇ-au dharm-y-è=ā-har-aṇ-e*

[The initial syllable 64 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the *udātta* accent 64 if it ends in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (*saptamī-* °) or denotes the name of a collector of taxes (° = *hār-iṇ-au*) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting ‘what is lawful’ (*dharm-y-è*), excluding [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *hār-aṇa-* ‘fodder given to an animal’.

*stūp-e-śāṇa-h* (2.1.44; 6.3.9,10) ‘n. of a tax: a whetstone presented at a reliquary as part of a local custom’; *mūkuṭ-e-kāreṣāṇa-m* ‘n. of a tax for a royal diadem’; *hāl-e-dvi-pad-ik-ā/hāl-e-tri-pad-ik-ā* ‘names of various types of taxes’; *yājñik-ā-śva-* ‘a horse presented to a sacrificer as his dues’; *vaśyākaraṇa-hastin-* ‘an elephant presented to a grammarian’, but *vāḍava-har-aṇā-m* ‘fodder given to a mare’.

### 6.2.66 *yuk-t-é ca*

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the *udātta* accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting (someone) appointed (*yuk-t-é* to look after the object denoted by it).

*śśva-ballava-* ‘horse groom’; *gō-maṇinda-/gō-saṁ-khya-* ‘cowherd’.



### 6.2.67 vibhāṣā=ádhy-akṣ-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ádhy-akṣ-a- 'supervisor'.

*ásu-ā-dhyakṣa/ásu-ā-dhyakṣá-* 'overseer in charge of horses'.

### 6.2.68 pápa-m ca śilp-in-i

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] pápa- 'evil, bad' [optionally 67 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting an artisan (śilp-in-i).

*pāpa-nāpita-/pāpa-nāpitá-* 'a bad or inefficient barber'.

### 6.2.69 <sup>1</sup>gotrá=<sup>2</sup>antevāsi(n)=<sup>3</sup>māṇavá-<sup>4</sup>brāhmaṇé-ṣu kṣép-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting patronymics (gotrá- °) or names of pupils (°-ante-vās-in- °) or student (°-māṇava- °) or (°-brāhmaṇe-ṣu) to imply a pejorative sense (kṣép-e).

1. *jāṅghā-vāts-ya-ḥ* = *yó jāṅghā-dānd-m dá-dā-mi ahám iti vāts-ya-ḥ sām-pad-ya-te* 'a descendant of Vatsá who boasts of making a gift of his shanks'; *bhāryā-sauśruta-ḥ* 'hen-pecked descendant of Suśruta'; 2. *kúmāri-dāks-ā-ḥ* 'pupils of Dāksi desiring to win maidens'; *ódana-pānin-ty-ā-ḥ* 'who study Pāṇini with the sole purpose of gaining a rice plate'; 3. *bhikṣā-māṇava-* 'one who becomes a student for the main purpose of seeking alms'; 4. *dāsī-brāhmaṇa-* 'a brahmin infatuated with a slave girl'.

### 6.2.70 áṅgā-n-i mair-ey-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] denoting the constituent elements (áṅgā-n-i) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-mair-eya- 'a kind of liquor'.

*gúḍa-maireya-* 'liquor prepared from molasses'; *mádhya-maireya-* 'liquor made from honey', but *parama-maireyá-* 'best liquor'.

### 6.2.71 bhak-ta=ā-khy-ās tād-arthe-ṣu

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] denoting an item of food (bhak-ta=ā-khy-ās) [co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1] (signifying a receptacle to contain it: tād-arthe-ṣu) [bears the udātta accent 64].

*bhikṣā-karṣa-* 'an alms-bowl to receive food'; *śrāṇā-karṣa-* 'a vessel for containing rice gruel'.

### 6.2.72 <sup>1</sup>gó-<sup>2</sup>bīḍāla-<sup>3</sup>simhá-<sup>4</sup>saindhavé-ṣu upa-mā-n-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-gó- 'cow/bull', °-bīḍāla- 'cat', °-simhá- 'lion' and °-saindh-avá- 'a horse from the Sindhu region', serving as objects of comparison (upa-mā-n-e).

1. *dhān-ya-m gaúr iva* = *dhān-ya-gav-a-* (*TdC* 5.4.92) 'grain arranged in the shape of a cow/bull'; 2. *bhikṣā-bīḍāla-* 'alms arranged in the shape of a cat'; 3. *tṛṇa-simha-* 'grass or hay arranged in the shape of a lion'; 4. *śák-tu-saindhava-* 'barley meal arranged in the shape of a horse'.

### 6.2.73 ak-e jīv-ik-ā=arth-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-aka- (7.1.1) when the compound denotes a means of livelihood (jīv-ik-ā=arth-é).

*dānta-lekh-aka-* 'professional painter of teeth (2.2.17); *nákha-lekh-aka-* 'manicure'.

### 6.2.74 prác-ām krīḍá-y-ām

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in the affix 3.1.1 °-aka- 73] to denote a sport in the Eastern country (prác-ām krīḍá-y-ām).

*údālaka-puṣpa-bhañj-ik-ā* (2.2.17 q.v.).

### 6.2.75 áN-i ní-yuk-t-e

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udátta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] áN to denote a functionary (ní-yuk-t-e).

*chát-tra-dhār-a-* 'parasol-bearer'; *kāmaṇḍalu-grāh-a-* 'bearer of the kamaṇḍalu'.  
Exception to 3.1.3.

### 6.2.76 śīlp-in-i ca á-kṛÑ-ah

And (ca) in a compound denoting an artisan (śīlpín-i) [the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 bears the udátta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix áN 75] except that derived with verbal base kṛÑ- 'do' (VIII 10).

Exception to 3.1.3. *tántu-vāya-* = *tantu+ve+áN* (3.2.1) 'weaver'; *túnna-vāya-* 'a tailor'; *vāla-vāy-a-* 'hair weaver or dresser' but *kumbha-kār-á-* 'potter'; *ayas-kār-á-* 'blacksmith'.

### 6.2.77 saṁjñā-y-ām ca

Also (ca) in a compound denoting a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [the first member 1 bears the udátta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 áN 75 except that derived from the verbal stem kṛÑ (VIII 10) 76].

*tántu-vāy-a-h* = *kṛṇa-h* 'silk-worm or any worm which builds a cocoon', but *ratha-kār-á-* 'n.pr. of a brahmin'. Exception to 3.1.3.

### 6.2.78 gó-tánti-yáva-m pāl-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of compounds 1] gó- 'cow/bull', tán-ti- 'cord, string' and yáva- 'barley' [bears the udátta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pālá- 'guardian, protector'.

*gó-pāl-a-* 'cowherd'; *tánti-pāl-a-* 'a guardian of calves tied to a long cord by means of smaller strings'; *yáva-pāl-a-* 'guardian of a barley field'.

### 6.2.79 Nín-i

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] Nínī.

*púṣpā-n-i hár-a-ti* = *púṣpa+hr+Nínī* (3.2.81) = *púṣpa-hār-in-* 'repeatedly plucking flowers'.

### 6.2.80 upa-mā-nam śabda=arthā-pra-kṛ-t-au=evá

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1] serving as an object of comparison (*upa-mā-na-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Nínī 79] and solely (*evá*) denoting sound by itself (*śabd-ā-rthā-pra-kṛ-t-au*: without the aid of preverbs).

*úṣtra-h iva króś-a-ti* = *uṣtra+kruś+Nínī* = *úṣtra-kroś-in-* 'making a noise like a camel'; *dhvāṅkṣa-h iva rau-ti* = *dhvāṅkṣa+ru+Nínī* = *dhvāṅkṣa-rāu-in-* 'cawing like a crow'; but *gardabhā-h iva úc-car-a-ti* = *gárdhabha+úc-car+Nínī* *gardabh-o-c-cār-ín-* 'braying like a donkey'.

### 6.2.81 yúk-ta=ā=roh-i(n)=āday-as=ca

[The initial syllable 64 of the first members of compounds 1] beginning with *yúk-t-ā-roh-in-* 'who mounts an animal which is harnessed' also (*ca*) [bears the udātta accent 64].

Besides final members ending in affix Nínī this class includes many others with various types of affixes.

### 6.2.82 <sup>1</sup>dīrghá-<sup>2</sup>kāśá-<sup>3</sup>túṣa-<sup>4</sup>bhrāṣṭra-<sup>5</sup>vaṭa-m j-é

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a long (*dīrgha-*° = vowel 1.2.28) or *kāśá-* 'n. of a herb', *túṣa-* 'bran', *bhrāṣṭra-* 'frying pan' and *vaṭa-* 'bunyan or Indian fig tree' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ja- [bears the udātta accent 64].

*kuty-ām jā-tá-h* = *kuṭī+jan+Dá* (3.2.97) = *kúṭī-ja-h* 'born in a hut'; similarly *sāmī-ja-* 'produced in the Śamī tree'; *kāśa-ja-/túṣa-ja-/vaṭa-ja-* 'produced in the kāśa grass/bran/banyan tree'.

### 6.2.83 ant-y-āt pūrva-m bahv-ác-aḥ

The penultimate syllable (ant-y-ā pūrva-m) [of a (poly-syllabic) first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-ja- 82].

*upa-sára-ja-* 'born from impregnation or covering (said of animals)'; *mandúra-ja-* 'born in a stable', but *dag-dha-já-n-i tñān-i* 'grass grown on burnt ground'.

### 6.2.84 grām-e á-ni-vas-ant-aḥ

[The initial syllable 64 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-grāma- not denoting a place of residence' (á-ni-vas-ant-aḥ).

*īndriya-grāma-* 'group of sense organs'; *vāṇig-grāma-* 'a company of merchants', but *dākṣi-grāma-* 'a village where descendants of Dakṣa reside'.

### 6.2.85 ghóṣa=ādi-ṣu

[The initial syllable 64 or a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ghóṣa- 'a settlement of herdsmen'.

*dākṣi-ghoṣa-* 'a settlement of herdsmen belonging to the descendants of Dakṣa'; similarly *dākṣi-hṛda-* 'n.pr. of a lake'.

### 6.2.86 chātrí=āday-as śālā-y-ām

[The initial syllable 64 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with chātr-ín- 'pupil, student' [as first members of compounds 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-śālā 'hall (of residence)'.

*chāt-tr-iṅ-śālā* 'residence hall for pupils', alternating with *chāt-tr-i-śāla-m* (2.4.25).

### 6.2.87 pra-sth-é=<sup>1</sup>á-vṛd-dha-m <sup>2</sup>á-karkī=ādī-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pra-sthá- 'plain or level country' (as a final member of a compound) [the initial syllable of the first member 1] excluding [nominal stems 4.1.1 of] the vṛddhá-type (1.1.73-75) and the class of [nominal stems] beginning with karkí- ° 'sign of Cancer' [bears the udātta accent 64].

*índra-prastha-*, *kúṇḍa-pra-stha-* ‘names of localities’, but 1. *māhaki-pra-sthá-*, 2. *karkī-pra-sthá-* ‘names of localities’.

### 6.2.88 *mālā=ādī-n-ām ca*

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem °-*pra-sthá-* ‘level country’ as a final member of a compound 87], the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when constituting the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *mālā-* ° ‘garland’.

Exception to the constraint on vṛddhā-type of 87 above. *mālā-pra-stha-*, *śālā-pra-stha-* ‘names of localities’.

### 6.2.89 *á-<sup>1</sup>mahat=<sup>2</sup>nava-m nágar-e=án-udīc-ām*

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*nágara-* (as a final member of a compound) [the initial syllable 64 of the first members 1] excluding [the nominal stems 4.1.1] *mahát-* ‘great’ and *náva-* ‘new’ [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting cities excluding those of the North (*án-udīc-ām*).

*súhma-nagara-m*, *púṇḍra-nagara-m* ‘names of cities’, but 1. *mahā-nagará-m*, *nava-nagará-m*; 2. *nadī-nagarám*, *kāntī-nagará-m* ‘names of cities in the North’.

### 6.2.90 *árm-e ca a-varṇá-m dvy-ác try-ác*

[Before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*árma-* ‘ruins’ (as a posterior member of a compound) [the initial syllable 64 of the first member 1 consisting of a nominal stem 4.1.1] containing two or three syllabics (dvy-ác, try-ác) and [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class /a/ [excluding *mahá(t)* and *náva-* 89 bears the udātta accent 64].

*dāt-t-ā-rma-*, *gúp-t-ā-rma-*, *kúkkuṭ-ā-rma-* ‘names of localities’; but *kapiñjal-ā-rmá-* (4 syllabics), *bṛhad-armá-* (not ending in phoneme /a/), *mah-ā-rmá*, *nav-ā-rmá-* ‘names of localities’.

### 6.2.91 *ná <sup>1</sup>bhū-tá=<sup>2</sup>ádhi-ka-<sup>3</sup>saṁ-jīvá-<sup>4</sup>madrá=<sup>5</sup>ásma(n)=<sup>6</sup>kájjala-m*

[The initial syllable 64 of first members of compounds 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] *bhū-tá-* ° ‘past’, *ádhi-ka-* ° ‘in excess’, *saṁ-jīvá-* °

‘living together’, mad-rá-° ‘n. of a locality’, áśman-° ‘rock’ and káj-jala-° ‘collyrium’ does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64].

Exception to 90 above. *bhūt-ā-rmā-m*, *adhi-k-ā-rmā-m*, *saṁ-jñ-ā-rmā-m*, *madr-ā-rmā-m*, *aśm-ā-rmā-m*, *kaj-jal-ā-rmā-m* ‘names of localities’.

## 6.2.92 ānta-ḥ

The final (ānta-ḥ) syllable [of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á-] heading this section and extending up to and including 110 below. The word [ānta-ḥ] will recur in each of them with [pūrva-padá-m 1].

## 6.2.93 sarvá-m guṇa-kārtsn-y-é

[The final syllable 92 of the first member 1] sarvá- ‘all’ [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting ‘fulness of quality’ (guṇa-kārtsny-é).

*sarvá-śveta-ḥ* ‘all white’ but *parama-śvetá-ḥ* ‘brightest white’; but when quality is not in question: *sarva-sauvarṇá-* ‘all made of gold’; similarly when fulness is not in question: *sarve-ś-ām śveta-tara-ḥ* = *sarva-śvetá-ḥ* ‘whiter than all’.

## 6.2.94 saṁjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>girí-<sup>2</sup>ni-kāyáy-oḥ

In a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [the final syllable 92 of the prior member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-girí- ‘hill, mountain’ and °-ni-kāy-á- ‘mass, group’.

*añjaná-giri-* (3.117) ‘n.pr. of a mountain’; *sāpiṇḍí-ni-kāy-a-* ‘n.pr. of a locality inhabited by Sāpiṇḍi-s’; similarly *mauṇḍí-nikāya-* ‘n.pr. of a locality inhabited by Mauṇḍi-s’; but *brāhmaṇa-ni-kāy-á-* ‘a group of brahmins’.

## 6.2.95 kumāry-āṁ váyas-i

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 4.1.1 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kumār-í ‘maiden’ for denoting age (váyas-i).

*vṛd-dhá-kumārī* ‘old maid’; *jarát-kumārī* ‘aging maiden’.

### 6.2.96 udak-é=á-keval-e

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-udaká- ‘water’ for denoting a mixture (á-keval-e).

*gudá-miśra-m udaká-m* = *gud-ò-daka-m* (8.2.6)/*gud-ó-daka-m* ‘water mixed with molasses’ but *uṣṇá-m udaká-m* = *uṣṇ-o-daká-m* ‘hot water’.

### 6.2.97 dvig-aú krát-au

[The final syllable 92 of a first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] consisting of a Dvigú compound to designate a sacrifice (krá-t-au).

*gargá-tri-rātr-ā-h* ‘n.pr. of a Vedic sacrifice lasting three days’, but *rātri-m ati-krān-tá-h* = *ati-rātr-á-h* ‘who has passed the night’ (5.4.87).

### 6.2.98 sabhā-y-ām nápuṁsak-e

In a compound in neuter gender (ná-puṁsak-e) [the final syllable 92 of the first member bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-sabhā ‘assembly’.

*go-pālá-sabha-m* ‘an assembly of cowherds’; *strí-sabha-m* ‘an assembly of women’, but *rāja-sabhā* ‘royal assembly’.

This rule operates only under the situation described in 2.4.23-24 for obligatory neuter gender and not to 25 where it is optional: so *ram-aṇīya-sabhā-m* ‘lovely assembly’ has the accent according to 1.223.

### 6.2.99 púr-e prác-ām

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-púra- ‘city’ with reference to those situated in the East (prác-ām).

*lalátá-pura-m*, *kāñcí-pura-m*, *śivadattá-pura-m*, *kāñí-pura-m* ‘names of cities in the East’, but *śiva-purá-m* ‘name of a city situated elsewhere’.

### 6.2.100 <sup>1</sup>á-riṣ-ṭa-<sup>2</sup>gaudá-pūrv-e ca

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] á-riṣ-ṭa-° and gaudá-° also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-púra- ‘city’ 99].



*a-riṣ-tá-pura-m*, *gaudá-pura-m* 'names of cities'; the significance of [°-pūrv-e] in this rule is to extend the operation to prior members headed by [ářiṣṭa-, gaudá-] also: *ariṣṭa-śri-tá-pura-m*, *gauda-bhṛt-yá-pura-m*.

### 6.2.101 ná <sup>1</sup>hāstiná-<sup>2</sup>phála-ka-<sup>3</sup>mārdey-ā-ḥ

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *hāstiná-*, *phála-ka-* and *mārdeyá-* does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-púra- 'city' 99].

This rule blocks the operation of 99 with reference to cities situated in the East:  
*hāstina-purá-m*, *phala-ka-purá-m*, *mārdeya-purá-m*.

### 6.2.102 <sup>1</sup>kuśūla-<sup>2</sup>kūpa-<sup>3</sup>kumbhá-<sup>4</sup>śāla-m bīl-e

[The final syllable 92 of the first member of a compound 1 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *kuśūla-* ° 'granary', *kūpa-* ° 'well'; *kumbhá-* ° 'jar' and *śālā* 'hall' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bila- 'hollow, aperture, hole' [bears the udātta accent 64].

*kuśulá-bila-m* 'empty space in a granary'; *kūpá-bila-m* 'excavated portion or hollow of a well'; *śālá-bila-m* 'space within a hall'.

### 6.2.103 dik=śabd-ā-ḥ <sup>1</sup>grāma-<sup>2</sup>jana-padá=<sup>3</sup>ā-khyā-na-<sup>4</sup>cānarāṭe-ṣu

[The final syllable 92 of the prior member of a compound 1] consisting of direction words (dik=śabd-dā-ḥ) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-grāma- 'village', °-janapadá- 'inhabited locality', °-ā-khyā-na- 'narration' and °-cānarāṭa- 'n.pr. of a locality'.

1. *pūrv-é-ṣukāma-śamI/apar-é-ṣu-kāma-śamI* (8.2.6) 'n.pr. of a village (grām-e)'; 2. *pūrvá-pañcāl-ā-ḥ* 'name of an inhabited region (janapad-é)'; 3. *pūrvá-yāyāta-m* 'first part of a narrative on Yayāti' (ā-khyā-n-e); 4. *pūrvá-cānarāṭa-m* 'eastern half of Cānarāṭa'.

The first three expressions beginning with [grāma-] denote the domain while the fourth refers to itself'.

### 6.2.104 ā-cār-yà=upa-sarj-anas=ca=ante-vāsī

[The final syllable 92 of direction words 103 functioning as first words in compounds 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] indicating names of pupils (ante-vāsī) derived from those of their preceptors (ācāryà=upa-sarj-ana-ḥ).

*pūrvā-pānin-īy-ā-ḥ* 'earlier pupils of Pāṇini', but *pūrva-pānin-īyā-m vyākāraṇa-m* 'pre-Pāṇinian grammar'.

### 6.2.105 ut-tara-pada-vṛd-dh-aú sarvá-m ca

[The final syllable 92 of direction words 103 and the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sarvá-* 'all' [functioning as first members of compounds 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 nominal stems 4.1.1] as posterior members undergoing a vṛddhi (1.1.1) replacement (uttara-pada-vṛddh-aú) (of the initial syllable 7.3.10,12,13).

*pūrvā-pāñcāla-ka-* 'eastern P. locality', *sarvá-pāñcāla-ka-* 'the whole P. country' where the posterior member undergoes vṛddhi replacement of its initial syllable; but *sarva-bhās-ā* (°*bhās+aC* 3.1.134), *sarva-kār-aka-* (°*kṛ+NvuL* 3.1.133) do not come under (7.3.10).

### 6.2.106 bahu-vrīh-aú víśva-m saṁjñā-yām

In a Bahuvrīhī compound deriving a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [the final syllable 92 of the first member 1] *víśva-* 'all, universal' [bears the udātta accent 64].

*viśvá-deva-* n.pr. 'concerning all gods' but *viśve ca te dev-ā-ḥ* = *viśva-dev-ā-ḥ*; and as an adjective *viśve dev-ā-ḥ ya-sya* = *viśva-deva-*; *viśva-m mitra-m ya-sya* = *viśva-mitra-* but *viśvá-mitra-* n.pr. of a Vedic seer'.

### 6.2.107 <sup>1</sup>udára=<sup>2</sup>ásva=<sup>3</sup>īṣu-ṣu

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound forming a proper name 106 the final syllable 92 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-udára- 'stomach', °-ásva- 'horse' and °-īṣu- 'arrow'.

1. *vṛka-sya iva udára-m a-syá* = *vṛk-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. of Bhīma, second of the Pāṇḍava brothers'; *dāma udár-e a-syá* = *dām-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. of Kṛṣṇa'. 2. *hári-r ásva-ḥ a-syá har-y-ásva-ḥ* (8.2.4) 'n.pr. of a person'; 3. *suvarṇa-pañkh-ā-ḥ īṣav-aḥ a-syá* = *suvarṇa-pañkh-ē-ṣu-/suvarṇa-pañkh-ē-ṣu-* (8.2.6).

## 6.2.108 kṣép-e

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound forming a proper name 106 the final syllable 92 of the first member 1 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1 °-udāra- 'stomach'; °-ásva- 'horse' and °-īṣu- 'arrow' 107] to denote a pejorative sense (kṣép-e).

1. *kunḍá+udāra-* = *kunḍ-ó-dara-*, *ghaṭ-ó-dara-* 'n.pr. (pot-bellied)'; 2. *kaṭuk-á-éva-*, *spand-i-t-á-éva-* 'n.pr.'; 3. *calācal-é-ṣu-/calācal-é-ṣu-* (8.2.6), *anighāt-é-ṣu-/anighāt-é-ṣu-* 'n.pr.'

## 6.2.109 nadí bándhu-n-i

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 the final syllable 92 of the prior member 1 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] defined by the t.t. nadí (1.4.3) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring before 1.1.66 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-bándhu- 'kin'.

*gārgī-bandhu-* 'who has Gārgī as a kinswoman', but *brāhma-bandhu-* 'who has a brahmin as a kinsman'.

## 6.2.110 niṣṭhā=upa-sarg-á-pūrva-m anya-tará-syām

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 the final syllable 92 of a first member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26) and preceded by preverbs (*upa-sarg-á-pūrva-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*).

*prá-dhau-ta-m mūkha-m yá-śya* = *pra-dhau-tá-mukha-/pra-dhau-ta-mukhá-* (167) alternating with *prá-dhauta-mukha-* (169) 'whose face has been washed'.

## 6.2.111 uttara-pada=ādīḥ

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 138 below) the initial syllable of the final member (*uttara-pada=ādī-ḥ* of a compound) [bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [*adhi-kār-á*] and the expression [*uttara-pada=ādī*] will recur in each of the following rules in this section.

### 6.2.112 kárṇa-ḥ <sup>1</sup>várṇa-<sup>2</sup>lákṣaṇ-āt

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-kárṇa- 'ear' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting a color (várṇa-°) or a mark (°-lákṣaṇ-āt).

1. *śukl-aú kárṇ-au yá-sya* = *śukla-kárṇa-* 'white-eared'.
2. *dātra-m kárṇ-e yá-sya* = *dātrā-kárṇa-* (3.115) '(an animal) branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear'; but *sóbhan-au kárṇ-au yá-sya* = *su-karṇá-* (172).

### 6.2.113 <sup>1</sup>saṁjñā=<sup>2</sup>aúpam-yay-os=ca

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106] forming a name (saṁjñā-°) or resemblance (aúpam-y-e) [the initial syllable of the posterior member 111 °-kárṇa- 112 bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *mañí-ḥ kárṇ-e yá-sya* = *mañi-kárṇa-ḥ* 'n.pr.'; 2. *gór iva kárṇ-au yá-sya* = *go-kárṇa-ḥ* 'whose ears resemble those of a cow'; similarly *khara-kárṇa-* 'camel-eared'.

### 6.2.114 <sup>1</sup>kaṇṭhá-<sup>2</sup>prṣṭhá-<sup>3</sup>grīvā-<sup>4</sup>jáṅgha-m ca

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 constituting either a name or a resemblance 113, the initial syllable of the final members consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kaṇṭhá- 'throat', °-prṣṭhá- 'back', °-grīvā 'neck' and °-jáṅghā 'thigh' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *śítī-ḥ kaṇṭhá-ḥ a-syá* = *śíti-kaṇṭha-ḥ* 'n.pr. (white-faced)'; so also *nīla-kaṇṭha-* 'n.pr. of Śiva'. *khára-sya iva kaṇṭhá-ḥ yá-sya* = *khara-kaṇṭa-ḥ* 'camel-throated'.
2. *kāṇḍa-prṣṭha-*, *nāka-prṣṭha-* proper names; 3. *su-gríva-*, *nīla-gríva-*; 4. *nārī-jáṅgha-*, *tāla-jáṅgha-* proper names.

When indicating resemblance (aúpamya-): 1. *go-prṣṭha-*, *aja-prṣṭha-*; 2. *go-gríva-*, *aśva-gríva-*; 3. *eṇī-jáṅgha-*, *go-jáṅgha-*.

### 6.2.115 śṛṅga-m ava-sthá-y-ām ca

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 106 constituting a name or resemblance 113] as well as (ca) 'age' (ava-sthá-y-ām) [the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-śṛṅga- 'horn' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. age: *ud-ga-ta-śṛṅga-* 'whose horns are just jutting out'; *dvy-aṅgula-śṛṅga-* 'whose horns are two digits long'; 2. name: *ṛśya-śṛṅga-* 'n.pr. of a sage'; 3. aúpamya: *go-śṛṅga-* 'cow-horned'.

### 6.2.116 náÑ-aḥ=<sup>1</sup>jár-a-<sup>2</sup>már-a-<sup>3</sup>mi-trá-<sup>4</sup>mṛ-t-á-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the posterior members 111 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-jára- ‘aging’, °-mára- ‘dying’, °-mitrá- ‘friend’ and °-mṛ-tá- ‘dead’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the privative particle náÑ.

This is a prior exception to 172 below. *a-jára-/a-mára-/a-mitra-/a-mṛ-ta-* ‘not aging or declining/immortal/foe, enemy/not dead (mfn.), ambrosia (n.)’ respectively.

### 6.2.117 só-r <sup>1</sup>man-<sup>2</sup>as-ī=a-<sup>1</sup>lóma(n)=<sup>2</sup>uṣás-ī

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-man- (3.2.74) and °-as- (Uṇ-ādi ásuÑ), excluding [the nominal stems] lóman- ‘hair’ and uṣás- ‘dawn’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] sú-°.

*sóbh-ana-m̐ kárma yá-sya* = *su-kár-man-* ‘virtuous, performing good deeds’;  
*sóbh-ana-ḥ dhárma-ḥ yá-sya* = *su-dhárman-* (5.4.124) ‘well maintaining’. 2.  
*sóbh-ana-m̐ yásah̐ yá-sya* = *su-yás-as-* ‘renowned, famous’, but  
*su-lomán-/s-ū-sás-* (172) ‘possessing beautiful hair/beautiful dawn’.

### 6.2.118 krátu=āday-aḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the final member 111 belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-krátu- ‘intelligence’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117].

*su-krátu-* ‘skillful, intelligent, wise’; *su-dṛṣ-ī-ka-* ‘handsome’; *su-prát-ī-ka-* ‘lovely, beautiful’.

### 6.2.119 ādi=udāttám dvy-ác chándas-i

In the Chándas [the initial syllable of the final member 111 of a Bāhuvrīhi compound 106] which is dissyllabic (dvy-ác) and bears the udātta accent on its first syllable (ādy-udāttá-m) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117].

*sóbh-ana-ḥ áśva-ḥ yá-sya* = *sú+áśva-h* = *sv-áśva-ḥ* ‘owner of a good horse’; but  
*sóbh-an-au bāhú yá-sya* = *su-bāhú-* (172) ‘having handsome arms’. Prior exception to 172.

### 6.2.120 <sup>1</sup>vīrá-<sup>2</sup>vīr-y-aù ca

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 106 the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-vīra- 'hero' or vīr-yà- 'strength, power' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle sú-° 117 in the Chāndas 119].

*su-vīra-* 'rich in heroes'; *su-vīr-ya-* 'powerful, strong'. By 1.213 *vīra+yaT* = \**vīr-ya-* should have the accent on its initial syllable, and would thus come under the preceding rule, but its inclusion in this rule implies that contrary to 1.213 it has the svarita accent on its final syllable.

### 6.2.121 <sup>1</sup>kūla-<sup>2</sup>tīra-<sup>3</sup>tūla-<sup>4</sup>mūla-<sup>5</sup>śālā=<sup>6</sup>ākṣa-<sup>7</sup>samā-m avyayī-bhāv-é

In an Avyayībhāva compound [the initial syllable of the final members 111 consisting of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kūla-, °-tīra- 'bank, shore', °-tūla- 'cotton', °-mūla- 'root', °-śālā 'hall, mansion', °-ākṣa- 'axle' and °-samā- 'equal' [bears the udātta accent 64].

*kūla-sya/tīra-sya sam-īpā-m* = *upa-kūla-m/upa-tīra-m*, 'near the bank'; *pari-mūla-m* 'around the roots'; *pari-śālā-m* 'around the hall'; *su-sāma-m* 'very evenly'; *up-ā-kṣa-m* 'near the axle'; but *kumbhā-sya samīpām* = *upa-kumbhā-m* 'near the pitcher'.

### 6.2.122 <sup>1</sup>kaṁśa-<sup>2</sup>manthā-<sup>3</sup>śūrpa-<sup>4</sup>pāyyà-<sup>5</sup>kāṇḍa-m dvig-aú

In a Dvigú compound [the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of nominal stems 4.1.1] °-kaṁśa- 'vase', °-manthā- 'mixed drink', °-śūrpa- 'winnowing basket', °-pāyyà- 'n. of a measure' and °-kāṇḍa- 'section' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *dvā-bhyām kaṁśā-bhyām krī-tā-h* = *dvi+kaṁśa+TīthaN-Ø* (5.1.25,28) = *dvi-kāṁśa-h* 'bought with two kaṁśa-s'. Similarly 2. *dvi+mantha+thaK-Ø* (5.1.19,28) = *dvi-mántha-* 'purchased with 2 mantha-s'; 3. *dvi+śūrpa+aÑ-Ø* (5.1.26,28) = *dvi-śūrpa-* 'bought with 2 śūrpa-s'; 4. *dvi+pāyya+thaN-Ø* (5.1.18,28) = *dvipāyya-* 'purchased with 2 pāyya-s'; 5. *dv-ē kāṇḍ-e pra-mā-ṇa-m a-syā* = *dvi+kāṇḍa+mātrāC-Ø* (5.2.37+vārt) = *dvi-kāṇḍa-* 'measuring 2 kāṇḍa-s' but *parama-kāṇḍā-*.

### 6.2.123 tatpuruṣ-é śālā-y-ām ná-puṁs-ak-e

In a Tatpuruṣá compound in the neuter gender (nápuṁsake) [the initial syllable of the final member 111] °śālā- 'hall, mansion' (2.4.25) [bears the udātta accent 64].

*brāhmaṇa-śāla-m/ksatriya-śāla-m* 'the hall or mansion of brahmins/warriors' but *ḍṛ-ḍhā-śāla-m brāhmaṇa-kulā-m* 'the brahmin family has a permanent hall of residence' which is a Bahuvrīhī compound; similarly *brāhmaṇa-śālā* f. 'brahmins' hall of residence'.

### 6.2.124 kanthā ca

[In a neuter Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the posterior member 111] °-kanthā 'city' [bears the udātta accent 64].

*sauśami-kántha-m/āhvara-kántham* (20) 'names of cities'.

### 6.2.125 ādi-s=cihaṇa=ādī-n-ām

[In a neuter Tatpuruṣá compound 123 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-kanthā 'city' 124] the initial syllable (ādi-ḥ) [of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with cihaṇa-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

The repetition of the word [ādi-ḥ] here while it was already recurring from 111 is to indicate that it is the initial syllable of the first members which bears the accent.  
*cihaṇa-kantha-m/māḍara-kantha-m/vaṭṭula-kantha-m* 'names of various cities'.

### 6.2.126 <sup>1</sup>cela-<sup>2</sup>khēṭa-<sup>3</sup>kāṭuka-<sup>4</sup>kāṇḍa-m garhā-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final members 111] °cela- 'clothes', °-khēṭa- 'grass', °-kāṭuka- 'sharp, bitter' and °-kāṇḍa- 'arrow' [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting censure (garhā-y-ām).

1. *putrā-s cela-m iva* = *putra-cēla-h* (2.1.56) 'bad son';
2. *upānat-khēṭa-m* 'a miserable shoe';
3. *dadhi-kāṭu-ka-m* 'stale or sharp curds';
4. *bhūta-kāṇḍa-m* 'harmful being'; but *parama-celā-m*.

### 6.2.127 *cīra-m upa-mā-na-m*

[In a Tatpuruṣā compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-*cīra-* 'rag, tatter', serving as an object of comparison (*upa-mā-na-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64].

*vās-tra-m cīra-m iva* = *vas-tra-cīra-m* 'rag-like cloth, tattered cloth' but *parama-cīrā-m*.

### 6.2.128 <sup>1</sup>*palalā-<sup>2</sup>sūpa-<sup>3</sup>śāka-m miśr-é*

[In a Tatpuruṣa compound 123] denoting a mixture (*miśr-e*) [the initial syllable of the final members 111] °-*palalā-* 'a kind of sweetmeat', °-*sūpa-* 'sauce, soup' and °-*śāka-* 'vegetable' [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *guḍa-pālala-m* 'sweetmeat mixed with molasses'; 2. *māla-ka-sūpa-ḥ* 'sauce or soup mixed with radishes'; 3. *mudga-śāka-m* 'vegetables mixed with moong beans'.

### 6.2.129 <sup>1</sup>*kūla-<sup>2</sup>sūda-<sup>3</sup>sthalā-<sup>4</sup>karṣ-ā-ḥ saṁjñā-y-ām*

[In a Tatpuruṣa compound 123 the initial syllable of the final members 111] °-*kūla-* 'bank', °-*sūda-* 'dried post', °-*sthalā-* 'ground' and °-*kārṣa-* 'labor' [bear the udātta accent 64] when deriving names (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

1. *dākṣi-kūla-m/deva-sūda-m/dāṇḍāyana-sthāl-I/dākṣi-kārṣa-ḥ* 'names of villages'.

### 6.2.130 *ā-karmadhāray-e rāj-yà-m*

[In a Tatpuruṣa compound 123] excluding a Karmadhārayā [the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-*rāj-yà-* 'kingdom' [bears the udātta accent 64].

*brāhmaṇā-n-ām rājya-m* = *brāhmaṇa-rājya-m* 'a brahmin kingdom'; but *parama-rāj-yā-m*.

### 6.2.131 *vārgya=āday-as=ca*

[In a Tatpuruṣa compound 123 excluding a Karmadhārayā 130 the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *vārg-ya-* 'partisan' [bears the udātta accent 64].



The *vārg-ya*-class is a sub-member of the *diś-* class (4.3.54) after which affix [yàT] is introduced in which [varga-] occurs as the next entry. *vāsudeva-vārg-ya-/arjuna-vārg-ya-* ‘a partisan of Vāsudeva/Arjuna’ but *parama-varg-yá-* ‘best or most prominent partisan’.

### 6.2.132 put-rá-ḥ puṁ-bhyáh

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-putrá- ‘son’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] masculine (puṁ-bhyáh) [nominal stems 4.1.1].

*kaunaṭi-pútra-/dāmaka-pútra-* ‘son of Kaunaṭi/Dāmaka’ but *gārgi-putrá-* ‘son of Gārgi (f.)’.

### 6.2.133 ná=<sup>1</sup>ā-cār-yà-<sup>2</sup>rāja(n)=<sup>3</sup>ṛtv-fj-<sup>4</sup>sām-yuk-ta- <sup>5</sup>jñā-tí=ā-khyā-y-ām

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111 °-put-rá ‘son’ 132] does not (na’) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1] ā-cār-yà- ‘teacher, preceptor’, rājan- ‘king’, ṛtv-fj- ‘n. of an officiating priest’, sām-yuk-ta- ‘wife’s kinsfolk’ and jñā-tí- ‘kin’ as well as their synonyms (°-ākhyā-y-ām).

Exception to 132 above. 1. *ācārya-putrá-/upādhyāya-putrá-* ‘preceptor’s son’; 2. *rāja-putrá-/īśvara-putrá-* ‘prince’; 3. *ṛtv-ik-pdutrā-/yājñika-putrá-* ‘son of a priest’; 4. *sām-yuk-ta-putrá-/śyāla-putrá-* ‘son of wife’s brother’; 5. *jñāti-putrá-/pitṛvya-putrá-/mātula-putrá-* ‘paternal/maternal cousin’.

### 6.2.134 cūrṇá-ādī-n-i=á-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111 consisting of the nominal class 4.1.1] beginning with °-cūr-ṇá- ‘flour, meal’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the sixth sUP triplet, excluding words denoting animate objects (á-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ).

*mudga-cūr-ṇa-m* ‘moong bean flour’; *masūra-cūr-ṇa-m* ‘lentil flour’, but *matsya-cūr-ṇá-m*.

### 6.2.135 śāt ca kāṇḍa-ādī-n-i

[The initial syllable of the final members 111] consisting of any of the six [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-kāṇḍa- ‘arrow’ [= 126 above, °-cīra- ‘rag’ 127, °-palala- ‘kind of sweetmeat’ 128, °-sūpa- ‘sauce, soup’ 128, °-śāka- ‘vegetable’ 128 and °-kūla- ‘bank’ 129] also [bears the udātta accent 64].

126: when censure is not implied: *darbha-kāṇḍa-m/śara-kāṇḍa-m* ‘stalk of dhoop grass/reed’; 127: when not an object of comparison: *kuśa-cīra-m* ‘rag made of K. grass’; 128: when not denoting a mixture: *tila-pālala-m* ‘sesame cake’; *mudga-sūpa-ḥ* ‘moong-bean soup’; *mūlaka-śāka-m* ‘radish’; 129. *nadī-kūla-m* ‘river-bank’.

The constraints [garhá 126, upamāna 127, miśrá 128, samjñá 129] do not apply in this rule so that the operations of 126-29 are extended by this rule to situations not restricted by these constraints.

### 6.2.136 kuṇḍá-m vána-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the initial syllable of the final member 111] °-kuṇḍá- ‘bowl’ [bears the udātta accent 64] when denoting a forest (vána-m).

*darba-kúṇḍa-m* ‘n.pr. of a forest (literally a forest of dhoop grass)’; but *mṛt-kuṇḍá-m* ‘earthen bowl’.

### 6.2.137 pra-kṛ-ty-ā bhagāla-m

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the final member 111] °-bhagāla- ‘skull’ and its synonyms retain their original accent (pra-kṛ-ty-ā).

*kumbhī+bhagāla-m/°-kapāla-m/°-naḍāla-mn* ‘skull serving as a bowl’. The word [pra-kṛ-ty-ā] will recur in the subsequent rules up to 143 below.

### 6.2.138 śīte-r nitya=a=bah-v=aC=bahuvrīh-aú=á-bhasat

In a Bahuvrīhī compound [the final member 111] consisting of an obligatory (nitya-°) non-polysyllabic (°-á-bahv-aC) [nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding °-bhasád- ‘pudendum’ [retains its original accent 137 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] śīti-° ‘white’.

*śīti-pāda-* ‘white-footed’; *śīti-kākṣa-* ‘white-shouldered’, but *darś-anśya-pāda-* ‘possessing handsome legs’, *śīti+kakud* (a→∅ 5.4.146) = *śī-ti-kakud-* ‘white-humped’ and *śī-ti-bhasad-* ‘having a white pudendum’.

### 6.2.139 <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kār-aka=<sup>3</sup>upa-pad-ât kṛt

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 123 the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72] a kṛt (3.1.93ff.) [affix 3.1.1 retains its original accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a gá-ti particle (1.4.60), kār-aka (1.4.23) or an upa-padá (3.1.92).

1. gáti: *pra+kṛ+LyuT* = *pra-kár-āṇa-* 'production'; *pra+kṛ+NvuL* = *pra-kār-aka-* 'producer'.
2. kāraka: *idhmá-m prá-vṛśc-ya-te y-éna* = *idhma+pra+vraśc+LyuT* = *idhma-pra-vrāśc-ana-* 'axe'; *stamb-é rām-a-te* = *stamb-e+ram+aC* (3.2.13) = *stamb-e-ram-á-* 'taking pleasure in a clump of grass'.
3. upapada: *ṣat+kṛ+KHaL* = *ṣat-kár-a-* (3.3.126) 'doing little'.

### 6.2.140 ubh-é vānas-pāti-ādi-ṣu yugapát

In the class of compounds beginning with vānas-pāti- both (ubh-é) [=the prior 1 and final 111 members simultaneously retain their original accents 140].

*vān-as-pá-ti-* 'lord of the forest'; *bṛhát-ām pá-ti-h* = *bṛh-as-pá-ti-h* 'n.pr. of the preceptor of gods'; *tanú-ná-pāt* 'n.pr.'; *śúna iva śépha-h a-syá* = *śún-aḥ-śépha-h* 'n.pr.' The word [Tatpuruṣá 123] does not recur here as the gāṇa-list consists of Bahuvrīhi-s also.

### 6.2.141 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

[In a Dvaṁdvá compound composed of] names of divinities (devatā-dvaṁdv-é) also (ca) [both 140 first 1 and final 111 members retain their original accents 137 simultaneously 140].

*īndrā-sóm-au* 'Indra and Soma'; *īndrā-varuṇ-au* 'Indra and Varuṇa'.

### 6.2.142 ná=uttara-pad-é=ánudātta=ād-au=á-<sup>1</sup>prthiví-<sup>2</sup>rudrá-<sup>3</sup>pūṣá(n)=<sup>4</sup>manthí-ṣu

[In a Dvaṁdva compound consisting of names of divinities 141 both first 1 and final 111 members] do not (ná) [bear their original accents 137 simultaneously 140 when the posterior member 111] begins with an ánudātta syllable, excluding °-prthiví 'Earth Goddess', °-rudrá-, °-pūṣán- 'names of divinities' and °-manthín- 'sacred beverage'.

*īndra+agní* = *indr-a-gní*, *īndra-vāyú*, etc., but *dyāvā-prthi-vy-aú*, *sómā-rudr-aú*, *īndrā-pūṣaṇ-aú*, *śukrá-manthín-au*.

### 6.2.143 ánta-ḥ

[In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this quarter [pādā]] the final syllable (ánta-ḥ) [of the final member of a compound 111 bears the udātta accent 64].

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and recurs in each of the subsequent rules to the end of the section.

### 6.2.144 <sup>1</sup>tha=<sup>2</sup>átha-<sup>3</sup>GHaÑ-<sup>4</sup>Ktá=<sup>5</sup>áC=<sup>6</sup>aP=<sup>7</sup>itra-<sup>8</sup>Ká-ṇ-ām

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-tha-, °-átha-, °-GHaÑ, °-Ktá-, °-áC-, °-aP-, °-itra- and °-Ká- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a gáti, kāraka or upapadá- 139].

General exception to 139 above.

1. tha: *su+ni+KthaN* = *su-ni-thá-* 'who guides well'; this is a uNādi affix. Similarly *ava-bhṛ-thá-* 'purification of the sacrificer'.
2. átha (uNādi): *ā-vas-athá-* 'dwelling place, residence'; *upa-vas-athá-* 'day of fasting'.
3. GHaÑ: *pra-bhid+GHaÑ* = *pra-bhed-á-* 'splitting'; *kāṣṭha-bhed-á-* 'splitting wood'.
4. Ktá: *dūr-ād-ā-ga-tá-* 'arrived from afar' (2.1.39) = (*dūr-āt+ā-ga-ta-* 49); *vi+śuṣká-* (1.206) = *vi-śuṣ-ká-* 'dried variously'; *ā-tapa-śuṣ-ká-* (2.1.32) 'sun-dried'.
5. áC: *prá+kṣi+áC* = *pra+kṣáy-a-* (1.201) = *pra-kṣay-á-* 'excellent residence'; *pra+jī+aC* = *pra+jáy-a-* (1.202) = *pra-jay-á-* 'excellent instrument of conquest'.
6. aP: *prá+lū+aP* = *pra-lav-á-* 'chip, fragment'; *pra+sū+aP* = *pra-sav-á-* 'begetting'.
7. itra: *prá+lū+itra* = *pra-lav-itrá-* 'cutting, reaping'; *pra-sū+itra-* = *pra-sav-itrá-* 'begetting, generating'.
8. Ká: *gā-m vārṣ-a-ti* = *gō+vṛṣ+Ká* = *go-vṛṣ-á-* 'bull' while *vṛṣ-a-* by itself has udātta accent on its initial syllable (1.203).

But *sú stu-tá-m* where *sú* is a karma-pra-vac-anfya (1.4.94) and not a gáti.

### 6.2.145 <sup>1</sup>sú=<sup>2</sup>upa-mā-n-āt Ktá-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-Ktá [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the particle *sú-*° or a word denoting its object of comparison (*upa-mā-n-āt*) [consisting of either a gáti, kāraka or upapadá 139].

*su-kṛ-tá-* 'well-done'; *su-pī-tá-* 'well drunk'. Exception to 49. *vṛkair iva āva-lup-ta-m* = *vṛk-ā-va-lup-tá-m* 'rushed upon (a prey) as by wolves' (2.1.32;

exception to 48). *śaśa-plu-tā-m* 'jumped like a hare'; *śirha-vi-nard-i-tā-m* 'roared like a lion'. Exceptions to 48 above.

### 6.2.146 *saṁjñā-y-ām ān-ā-ci-ta=ādī-n-ām*

In proper names (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [the final syllable of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 145], excluding the class of derivatives beginning with *ā-ci-ta* 'collected, heaped up' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a gāti, kāraka or upapadā 139].

1. *saṁ-bhū-tā-* 'n.pr. of Rāmāyaṇa'; *upa-hū-tā-* 'name of Śākalya'; *pari-jag-dhā-* 'name of Kauṇḍinya'. Exception to 49 above.
2. *dhanuḥ-khā-t-ā* 'name of a river'; *kuddala-khā-t-ā-m nāgara-m*; *hasti-mṛd-i-t-ā bhūmi-h* 'name of a locality'; exceptions to 48 above. But *ā-ci-ta* 'heaped, piled'; *ā-sthā-p-i-ta-* 'established', etc.

### 6.2.147 *pra-vṛd-dhā-ādī-n-ām ca*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-*pra-vṛd-dhā-* 'extended, grown, strong' [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 145 bears the udatta accent 64].

*pra-vṛd-dhā-m yāna-m* 'extended (of a vehicle)', *pra-vṛd-dhā-h vṛṣalā-h* 'strong (of a V.)'; *khātva-m ā-rū-dha-h* = *khatv-ā-rū-dhā-h* (2.1.26) 'low, vile'; *kavi-śas-tā-* 'praised by wise men'. Exceptions to 48-49 above.

### 6.2.148 *kārak-āt=<sup>1</sup>dattā=<sup>2</sup>śru-tāy-or evā āśīṣ-i*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Ktā 145 consisting of] °-*da-t-tā-* 'given' and °-*śru-tā* 'heard' only (*evā*) [bears the udātta accent 64 to denote a name 146] when expressing benediction (*āśīṣ-i*).

*dev-ā-h enā-m de-yās-uh* = *deva-dat-tā-h*. 'n.pr. of a person (as god-given)'; *viṣṇu-r enām śrū-yā-t* = *viṣṇu-śru-tā-h* 'n.pr. of a person (as one listened to by V.)'. But *devā-pāl-i-ta-* (48) 'protected by gods'; similarly *dev-aiḥ khā-t-ā* = *devā-khā-t-ā*.

### 6.2.149 ittham-bhūt-éna kṛ-tá-m iti ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 Kṛtá 145, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148 bears the udātta accent 64] also (ca) when the compound means 'done by one in that particular condition' (ittham-bhūt-éna).

*sup-t-éna prā-lap-i-ta-m* = *sup-ta-pra-lap-i-tá-m* 'uttered during sleep';  
*pra-mat-t-éna gī-tá-m* = *pra-mat-ta-gī-tá-m* 'sung while intoxicated, drunken song'. Exceptions to 48.

### 6.2.150 ana-ḥ <sup>1</sup>bhāva-<sup>2</sup>kārma-vac-ana-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-ana-, denoting a state (bhāva-°) of action or the object (°-kārma-vac-ana-ḥ 3.3.116) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148, bears the udātta accent 64].

*odana=bhoj-aná-m* 'eating of boiled rice'; *payah=p-ā-ná-m* 'drinking milk' (gen. Tat. comp.); *rāja-bhoj-an-ā-ḥ śālay-aḥ* 'rice eaten by royalty'; *rāj-ā-cchād-anā-n-i vāsāms-i* 'costumes worn by royalty' (3.3.113). But *danta=dhāv-ana-m* (*LyuT* 3.3.117) 'tooth-brush'; *nī-dárs-ana-m* 'indication'. Cf. 2.3.65.

### 6.2.151 <sup>1</sup>man-<sup>2</sup>KṛtiN=<sup>3</sup>vyā-khyā-na-<sup>4</sup>śáy-ana=<sup>5</sup>ās-ana- <sup>6</sup>sthā-na-<sup>7</sup>yāj-aka=<sup>8</sup>ādi-<sup>8</sup>krī-t-ā-ḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72] °-man-, °KṛtiN- and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-vyā-khyā-na- 'explanation, commentary', °-śáy-ana 'lying down'; °-ās-ana- 'sitting down', °-sthā-na- 'place' and the word-class beginning with °-yāj-aka- 'sacrificer' and °-krī-tá- 'bought' [bears the udātta accent when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a kāraka 148].

1. man: *rātha-sya vārtma* = *ratha-vart-mán-* 'chariot road'; 2. KṛtiN: *pāṇin-e-ḥ kṛ-ti-ḥ* = *pāṇini-kṛ-ti-ḥ* 'Pāṇini's work'; 3. *chānd-as-aḥ vy-a-khyāna-m* = *chando-vy-ā-khyānā-m* 'a gloss or commentary on Chāndas'; 4. *rāj-ā-śáy-ana-m* = *rāja-śay-aná-m* 'royal bedstead'; 5. similarly *rāj-ā-sanā-m* 'royal throne'; 6. *gāv-ām sth-ā-na-m* = *go-sthānā-m* 'cow-pen'; exceptions to 150; 7. *brāhmaṇa-yāj-aká-* 'brahmin sacrificer' (2.2.9); 8. *go-krī-tá-* 'bought with a cow/bull', exception to 48 above. All are exceptions to 139 above. Cf. 2.3.65.

### 6.2.152 saptamy-āḥ púnya-m

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] °-púnya- 'merit' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the seventh sUP triplet (saptamy-āḥ).

*ved-é púnya-m* = *veda-punyá-m* 'merit accruing from a study of the Vedá'. Exception to 2 above.

### 6.2.153 <sup>1</sup>ūná=artha-<sup>2</sup>kalahá-m tṛ-tīya-y-āḥ

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] denoting the sense of 'less by' (ūná-artha-°) and the word °-kal-ahá- 'strife' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the third sUP triplet (tṛ-tīyā-y-āḥ).

Exception to 2 above. 1. *mās-ena ūná-m* = *mās-o-ná-m* 'less by a māsa (in weight)'; 2. *vāc-ā kalahá-h* *vāk-kalahá-h* 'verbal strife', *asf-bhih kalahá-h* = *asi-kalahá-h* 'fighting with swords'.

According to interpretation [ūná] stands also for its synonyms, while some take [°-artha-°] stands for itself: *māsa-vi-kalá-* 'less by a māsa (in weight)' and *dhāny-ā-rthá* = *dhāny-ena ártha-h* 'wealth through grains'.

### 6.2.154 miśrá-m ca=án-upa-sarga-m á-saṁ-dh-au

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] °-miśrá- 'mixed with' [bears the udātta accent 64 when] not [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (án-upa-sarga-m), [but co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the third sUP triplet 153] and not signifying an alliance (á-saṁ-dh-au).

*guḍa-miśrá-/tila-miśrá-* 'mixed with molasses/sesamum' (exception to 2 above) but *brāhmaṇa-miśra-h* *rājā* 'a king who allies himself with brahmins' and *guḍá-sam-miśra-* (2) 'mixed well with molasses'.

### 6.2.155 náÑ-ah guṇa-prati-ṣedh-é <sup>1</sup>sam-pād-í(n)=<sup>2</sup>arhá-<sup>3</sup>hi-tá=<sup>4</sup>álam-arth-ā-s taddhit-ā-h

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72] taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affixes 3.1.1] signifying 'fit for that' (sam-pād-ín-° 5.1.99), 'deserving it' (°-arhá- 5.1.63), 'good for it' (°-hitá-° 5.1.5) or 'capable of effecting it' (°-álam-arth-ā-h 5.1.101)

[bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] the privative particle náñ-°, negating their quality (guṇa-prati-ṣedh-é).

1. sam-pād-in: *kārṇa-veṣṭakā-bhyām sam-pād-i mukha-m* = *kārṇa-veṣṭaka+thañ* (5.1.99) = *kārṇa-veṣṭak-ika-m*, ná *kārṇa-veṣṭak-ika-m* = *a-kārṇa-veṣṭak-iká-m* 'unfit for earrings (said of a face)'; 2. arhá: *chēda-m árha-ti* = *chēda+thaK* (5.1.63) = *chaid-iká-h*; ná *chaid-iká-h* = *a=chaid-iká-h* 'not deserving mutilation'; 3. hitá: *vatsé-bhyo hi-tá-h* = *vatsá+cha* (5.1.5) = *vats-íya-h*, ná *vats-íya-h* = *a-vats-íya-h* 'not good or suitable for calves'; 4. álam-artha: *sām-tāpā-ya prā-bhav-a-ti* = *sām-tāpā+thañ* (5.1.101) = *sām-tāp-ika-h*; ná *sām-tāp-ika-h* = *a-sām-tāp-iká-h* 'unable to warm up or heat'. All are exceptions to 2 above.

### 6.2.156 'yá-²yàT-os=ca á-tad-arth-e

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 taddhitá 155 affixes 3.1.1] °-yá-, °-yàT-, not signifying 'serve its purpose' (á-tad-arth-e) also (ca) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náñ to negate these qualities 155].

*pāśa-n-ām sam-āh-á-h* = *pāśa+ya+TāP* = *pāś-y-á*, ná *pāś-y-á* = *a-pāś-y-á* 'not a collection of nooses'; *dānte-ṣu bhāv-a-m* = *danta+yāT* = *dānt-ya-m*, ná *dānt-ya-m* = *a-dant-yá-m* 'not dental'. Exceptions to 2 above, but *pād-ā-rthám udaká-m* = *pāda+ydāT* = *pād-ya-m*, ná *pād-ya-m* = *á-pād-ya-m* (2) (5.4.25).

### 6.2.157 'áC=²K-aú=á-śak-t-e

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-áC- and °-Ká- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náñ to negate these qualities 155] to denote incapacity (á-śak-t-au).

1. áC: *a-pac-á-* (3.1.134) 'incapable of cooking'; *a-jay-á-* (3.3.56) 'incapable of winning'.
2. Ká: *a-vi-kṣip-á-* (3.1.135) 'incapable of throwing asunder'. But *á-pac-a-* 'not cooking'.

### 6.2.158 ā-kroś-é ca

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] °-áC- and °-Ká- 157 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle náñ-° 155] also (ca) to denote an intention to abuse (ā-kroś-é).



1. *āC*: *a-path-ā-* 'unable to read, illiterate'; 2. *Kā*: *a-vi-likh-ā-* (3.1.135) 'incapable of writing, ignorant, illiterate', both indicating abuse. Exception to 2 above.

### 6.2.159 *saṁ-jñā-y-ām*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111] denoting a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when signifying contempt 158 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle *nāñ-* ° 155].

*a-deva-dat-tā-h* 'does not deserve to be called Deva-dat-tā'.

*a-yajña-dat-tā-h* 'unfit to be called Yajña-dat-tā'.

### 6.2.160 <sup>1</sup>*kṛt-ya*=<sup>2</sup>*uka*=<sup>3</sup>*iṣṇúC*-<sup>4</sup>*cāru*=*āday-aḥ*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. *kṛtya* (3.1.95ff.) and °-*uka*- (3.2.154), °-*iṣṇúC*- (3.2.136ff.) and the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-*cāru*- 'beautiful, charming' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle *nāñ-* ° 155].

1. *kṛtya*: *nāñ+kṛ+tāvya-* = *a-kar-tavyā-* 'not to be done'; similarly *a-kar-aṇyā-*; 2. *uka*: *nāñ+ā+gam+ukañ* (3.2.154) = *an-ā-gam-ukā-* 'not accidental'; 3. *iṣṇú*: *an=alam-kar-iṣṇú-* 'not decorating or adorning'; 4. *nāñ+cāru-* = *a-cāru-* 'unpleasant'; *nā sādhu-h* = *a-sādhu-h* 'improper, unfit'. Exceptions to 2 above.

### 6.2.161 *vibhāṣā* <sup>1</sup>*tṛN*=<sup>2</sup>*ánna*-<sup>3</sup>*tīkṣ-ṇá*-<sup>4</sup>*śúci-ṣu*

[The final syllable 143 of the last member of a compound 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-*tṛN*- and the expressions °-*ánna*- 'food', °-*tīkṣ-ṇá*- 'sharp' and °-*śúci*- 'pure' optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the privative particle *nāñ-* ° 155].

1. *tṛN*: *nāñ+kṛ+tṛN* = *a-kar-tṛ/ā-kar-tṛ-* (2) 'non-agent'.  
2. *an-anná-/án-anna-* 'rice or food not deserving of its name, inedible'; 3. *a-tīkṣ-ṇá-/á-tīkṣ-na-* 'not sharp, bland'; 4. *a-śúci-/á-śúci-* 'impure'.

### 6.2.162 *bahuvrīh-aú*=<sup>1</sup>*idám*=<sup>2</sup>*etád*=<sup>3</sup>*tád*-*bhyaḥ* <sup>1</sup>*prathamá*-<sup>2</sup>*pūr-aṇay-oḥ* *kriyā-gaṇ-an-é*

In a *Bahuvrīhí* compound [the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-*prathamá*- 'first' and an ordinal (°-*pūr-aṇay-oḥ*) [bears the udātta ac-

cent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the pronominal stems 4.1.1] *idám-*° ‘this’, *etád-*° ‘this’ and *tád-*° ‘that’ to indicate the number of times the action takes place (*kriyā-gaṇ-an-é*).

*idam-prathamā-* ‘(some action) of which this is the first’; *etad-dvi-tīryā-* ‘(an action) of which this is the second occurrence’; *tat-tṛ-tīryā-* ‘(an action) of which that is the third occurrence’.

### 6.2.163 *saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ stána-h*

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-*stána-* ‘breast, udder’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (*saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ*).

*dv-au stán-au yá-sy-ā-h* = *dvi-stan-ā* ‘possessing two breasts or udders’; *catuḥ-stan-ā* ‘having four udders’. Exception to 1 above.

### 6.2.164 *vibhāṣā chāndas-i*

In the domain of Chāndas [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 of a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 °-*stána-* ‘breast, udder’] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a number-word 163].

*dvi-stan-ā/dvī-stan-ā; catuḥ-stan-ā/catúḥ-stan-ā.*

### 6.2.165 *saṁjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>mitrá=<sup>2</sup>ajínay-oḥ*

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-*mitrá-* ‘friend’ and °-*ajína-* ‘hairy skin of an antelope’ [bears the udātta accent 64] to derive proper names (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

*devā-h mitrá-m yá-sya* = *deva-mitrā-h; vṛka-m ajína-m a-syá* = *vṛk-ā-jīná-* ‘both proper names’; when not deriving names: *priy-ā-mitra-* ‘to whom friends are dear’ and *mah-ā-jīna-* ‘who has a large hairy skin of an antelope’.

### 6.2.166 *vy-av-ā-y-ín-aḥ=ántaram*

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-*ántara-* ‘intervening’ [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting the object of intervention (*vy-av-ā-y-ín-aḥ*).

*vāstra-m āntara-m ā-sya* = *vastr-ā-ntarā-m* 'separated by a covering cloth', but  
*ātmā* = *sva-bhāv-ā-h āntara-h ā-sya* = *ātm-ā-ntara-h* 'of a different nature'.

## 6.2.167 múkha-r̥n sva=aṅgá-m

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-múkha- 'face' denoting a limb of one's body (sv-ā-ṅgá-m) [bears the udātta accent 64].

*gaurá-m múkha-m ā-sya* = *gaura-mukhá-h* 'white-faced'; *bhadrá+múkha-* = *bhadra-mukhá-* 'auspicious-faced', but *dīrghá+múkha-* = *dīrghá-mukh-ā śālā* 'a hall (of residence) with a tall entrance'.

## 6.2.168 ná=<sup>1</sup>á-vy-aya=<sup>2</sup>dik=śabdá-<sup>3</sup>gó-<sup>4</sup>mahát-<sup>5</sup>sthū-lá-<sup>6</sup>muṣṭí-<sup>7</sup>prthú-<sup>8</sup>vatsé-bhyaḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-múkha- 'face' denoting a limb of one's body 167] does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] 1. indeclinables (á-vy-aya-°), 2. direction-words (°-dik=śabdá-°), 3. gó-° 'cow, bull', 4. mahát-° 'big', 5. sthū-la- 'gross, heavy', 6. muṣṭí-° 'fist', 7. prthú-° 'wide' and 8. vatsa- 'calf'.

1. *ucc-añ múkha-m ā-sya* = *ucca-añ-mukha-h* 'having the face turned upwards'; 2. *prāñ-mukha-* 'having the face turned eastwards'; 3. *gó-mukha-* 'cow-faced'; 4. *mahá-mukha-* 'big-faced'; 5. *sthū-lá-mukha-* 'heavy-faced'; 6. *muṣṭí-mukha-* 'possessing a fist-like face'; 7. *prthú-mukha-* 'wide-faced'; 8. *vatsá-mukha-* (1) 'calf-faced'.

## 6.2.169 <sup>1</sup>niṣṭhā=<sup>2</sup>upa-mā-n-āt=anya-tará-syām

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-múkha- 'face' 167 does not 168] optionally (anya-tará-syām) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26) or an expression denoting an object of comparison (°-upa-mā-n-āt).

*pra-kṣāl-i-ta-mukhá-* (167)/*pra-kṣāl-i-tá-mukha-* (110)/*prá-kṣāl-i-ta-mukha-* (49) 'whose face has been washed'.

*simhá-sya múkham iva múkham ā-sya* = *simha-mukhá-h/simhá-mukha-h* 'lion-faced'.

**6.2.170** <sup>1</sup>jā-ti-<sup>2</sup>kālā-<sup>3</sup>sukhá=ādi-bhyaḥ=án-ā-cchād-an-āt  
Ktá-ḥ=á-<sup>1</sup>kṛ-ta-<sup>2</sup>mi-ta-<sup>3</sup>prati-pan-n-ā-ḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °Ktá-, excluding °-kṛ-tá- 'done, made', °-mi-tá- 'measured' and °-prati-pan-ná- 'promised' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting genus (jā-ti-°) excluding one denoting a cover (án-ā-cchād-an-āt), time-words (°-kālā-°) and the class of [nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with sukhá-° 'happiness, pleasure'.

1. jā-ti: *sāraṅga-jag-dhā-* 'who has eaten an antelope'; *palāṇḍu-bhaks-i-tā-* 'who has eaten onions'.
2. kālā: *māsa-jā-tā-* 'born a month ago'; *sam-vat-sara-jā-tā-* 'born a year ago'.
3. *sukha-jā-tā-* 'whose birth has been pleasant'; *duhkha-jā-tā-* 'whose birth has been unpleasant'.

Exceptions: *putrá-jā-ta-* 'to whom a son has been born' since *putrá-* is not a genus-word. *vās-ana-chan-na-* 'cloth-covered'; *kūṇḍa-m kṛ-tā-m y-éna* = *kūṇḍa-kṛ-ta-* 'by whom a kūṇḍa has been made'; similarly *kūṇḍa-mi-ta-* 'by whom a kūṇḍa has been measured' and *kūṇḍa-prati-pan-na-ḥ* by whom a kūṇḍa has been promised'.

**6.2.171** vā jā-t-é

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-jā-tā- 'born' optionally (vā) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 denoting genus-names, time-words or the word-class beginning with sukhá-° 170].

1. *danta-jātā-/dānta-jā-ta-* 'whose teeth have emerged'; 2. *māsa-jā-tā-/māsa-jā-ta-* 'born a month ago'; 3. *su-kha-jā-tā-/su-khā-jā-ta-* 'whose birth has been pleasant'.

**6.2.172** <sup>1</sup>nāN-<sup>2</sup>súbhyām

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles] náN-° and sú-°.

1. *á-vid-ya-m-ān-ā-ḥ yáv-ā-ḥ a-syá* = *a-yavá-ḥ* 'destitute of barley'; 2. *su-yavá-* 'abounding in barley'.

### 6.2.173 kaP-i pūrva-m

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the last member 111 ending in 1.1.72 the samāsāntā 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1] kaP [and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náÑ and sú 172 bears the udātta accent 64] on the syllable [preceding 1.1.66] kaP (kaP-i pūrva-m).

*a-kumār-f-ka-* 'denuded of maidens'; *su-kumār-f-ka-* 'abounding in maidens'.

### 6.2.174 hrasvá=ant-e ánt-y-āt pūrva-m

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111 ending in 1.1.72 samāsāntā 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1 kaP 173] preceded by a short vowel (hrasv-ā-nt-e) [before 1.1.66 kaP], the syllable before 1.1.66 that short vowel (ánt-y-āt pūrva-m) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles náÑ-° and sú-° 172].

*a-vrīhi-ka-* 'destitute of rice'; *su-māsa-ka-* 'rich in māsa beans'.

### 6.2.175 bahó-r náÑ-vát=ut-tara-pada-bhūmn-i

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bahú-° 'many' [has the same udātta accent 64 as when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] náÑ (172-74, 116) when expressing the abundance of the posterior member (ut-tara-pada-bhūmn-i).

116. *bahu-jár-a-* 'very old'; *bahu-már-a-* 'frequently dying'; *bahu-mītra-* 'teeming with friends'; *bahu-mṛ-ta-* 'where many have died'.

172. *bahu-yavá-* 'abounding in large quantities of barley'.

173. *bahu-kumār-f-ka-* 'teeming with maidens'.

174. *bahu-vrīhi-ka-* 'extremely rich in rice'.

But *bahú-su mánah a-syá* = *bahú-manas-* 'mindful of many'; since it does not qualify the posterior member.

### 6.2.176 ná guṇá=āday-aḥ=ava-yav-āḥ

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final member 111, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1 bahú-° 'many' 175 and comprising the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-guṇá-, and denoting an integral part (of something else: *ava-yav-ā-ḥ*) does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 on the final syllable 143].

*bahú-guṇ-ā rájju-h* 'rope consisting of many strands'; *bahv-ākṣara-m padā-m* (8.2.4) 'a polysyllabic expression'; but *bahu-guṇā-* 'possessing many qualities' (172).

### 6.2.177 upa-sarg-āt sva=aṅgám dhruvá-m á-parśu

[In a Bahuvrīhi compound 162 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting an unchanging (dhruvá-m = constant) limb of one's body (sv-ā-ṅgá-m), excluding [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pársu- 'side' [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb particle (upa-sarg-āt) [bears the udātta accent 64].

*sa-ta-tá-m yá-sya pra-ga-tám pṛṣṭhá-m sá-h* = *pra-pṛṣṭhá-h* 'having a protuberant back'; similarly *pra+udará-* = *pr-o-dará-* 'big-bellied'. Exceptions: *dars-aníya-lálata-* 'possessing a fine forehead' (not preceded by a preverb); *prá-śákha-h vṛkṣa-h* 'a tree with high branches', since a branch is not covered by sv-ā-ṅgá; *úd-bāhu-* 'whose hand is raised' since this is not a natural stable position.

### 6.2.178 vána-m sam-ās-é

In a compound (sam-ās-é) [the final syllable 143 of the posterior member 111] °-vána- 'forest, wood' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb particle 177].

By using the expression [sam-ās-é] the governing role of Bahuvrīhi comes to an end, and we are now concerned with compounds in general. *pra-vaṇá-* = *prá-kṛṣ-ṭa-m/pra-ga-tá-m vā vána-m a-syá/prá-kṛṣ-ṭa-m/pra-ga-tá-m vā vána-m* realized either as a Bahuvrīhi or a Tatpuruṣa compound: 'possessing an excellent forest/an excellent forest'. Similarly *nir-vaṇá-* (retroflexion by 8.4.5).

### 6.2.179 antáh

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-vána- 'forest, wood' 178 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] antár-° 'within'.

*antar-vaṇá-* (8.4.5) 'a region situated within a forest'.

### 6.2.180 ánta-s=ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-ánta- 'end, edge' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb particle 177].

*prá+ánta-* = *pr-ā-ntá-* 'edge, extremity'; *pary-antá-* 'circumference'.

### 6.2.181 ná <sup>1</sup>ní-<sup>2</sup>ví-bhyām

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 °-ánta- 'end, edge' 180] does not (ná) [bear the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 177] ní-° or ví-°.

*ní+ánta-* = *ny-ánta-* (8.2.4) 'proximity'; *vy-ánta-* 'separated, remote'. Exception to 180 above.

### 6.2.182 páre-r <sup>1</sup>abhito-bhāv-í-<sup>2</sup>maṇḍalá-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting something possessing two opposite sides (*abhi-to-bhāv-í-*°) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-maṇḍalá- 'circle' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] *pari-*°.

*pári+kūla-* = *pári-kulá-* 'lying on both sides of the banks', so also *pari-tīrā-*; *pari-maṇḍalá-* = *parí-tas=maṇḍalá-m* 'circumference'.

### 6.2.183 pr-á-t=á-sva=aṅga-m saṁjñā-y-ām

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting an object excluding the limbs of one's body (*á-sv-ā-ṅga-m*) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] *prá-*° to derive a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

*prá+kōṣṭha-* = *pra-kōṣṭhá-m* 'courtyard, quadrangle'; *pra-grhá-m* 'front part of the house'; *pra-dvārā-m* 'place before the door', but *prá-hasta-m* 'open hand', *prá-pada-m* 'division of a verse into four quarters without reference to the sense'. Exceptions to 2 above.

### 6.2.184 nir-udaká=ādī-n-i ca

[In the class of compounds 178] beginning with *nir-udaká-* 'arid or dry land, desert' [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64].

*nir-ulapá-/nir-upalá-* 'grassland, free from stones or rocks'; *niṣ-kāla-ká-ḥ* = *niṣ-krān-ta-ḥ kāla-k-āt* 'one who has shaved his hair, an ascetic'. In the case of *Bahuvrīhi* and *Prādi-Tatpuruṣas* this rule is an exception to 1 and 2 above, but where an *Avyayi-bhāva* is involved it is already covered by 1.223.

## 6.2.185 abhē-r múkha-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-múkha- 'face' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] = abhí-°.

*abhí+múkha-m* = *abhi-mukhá-m* 'facing, confronting'; exception to 177.

## 6.2.186 áp-āt=ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-múkha- 'face' 185 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ápa-° also (ca).

*apa-mukhá-m* 'having the face averted'. The composition in 185-86 is either a Bahuvrīhī or a Prādi-Tatpuruṣā type and is an exception to both 1 and 2 above; when regarded as Avya-yī-bhāvá, 1.223 applies yielding the same result.

## 6.2.187 <sup>1</sup>sphíga-<sup>2</sup>pū-ta-<sup>3</sup>vīṇā-<sup>4</sup>āñjas=<sup>5</sup>ádharma(n)=<sup>6</sup>kukṣí-<sup>7</sup>sīra-nāma-<sup>8</sup>nāma ca

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last members 111] °-sphíga- 'hip, buttock', °-pū-ta- 'ibid', °-vīṇā- 'Indian lute', °-āñjas- 'unguent', °-ádharma- 'road', °-kukṣí- 'stomach', a word signifying 'plough' (sīra-nāma) and °-nām-an- 'name' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ápa-° 186].

*apa-sphígá-* 'with malformed buttocks'; *apa-pūtá-* 'having badly formed hips'; *apa-vīṇá-* 'without a Vīṇā'; *ap-ā-ñjás-* 'without unguent'; *ap-ā-dhván-* 'bad or wrong road'; *apa-kukṣí-* 'malformed belly'; *apa-sīrá-/apa-halá-* 'possessing a poor plough'; *apa-nāmán-* 'bad name'. In the case of [°-ádharma-] when 5.4.85 does not apply the present rule operates, while in the former case we have *ápa+ádharma+áC* = *ap-ādhv-á-*.

## 6.2.188 ádhe-r upari-sthá-m

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] denoting something above (upari-sthá-m) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ádhi-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

*ádhi+dánta-* = *adhi-dantá-* = *adhy-ā-rū-dhá-ḥ dándta-ḥ* 'redundant tooth'.



### 6.2.189 <sup>1</sup>áno-r á-pra-dhā-na-<sup>2</sup>kán-īyas-ī

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] which is subordinate (á-pra-dhā-na) and [nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kán-īyas- 'younger' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ánu-°.

*ánu-gata-h jyeṣṭha-m* = *anu-jyeṣṭhá-h* 'following the seniormost'; but *anu-ga-tá-h kánīyān* = *ánu-kanīyas-* 'younger following the senior', since the posterior member is not subordinate.

### 6.2.190 púruṣas=ca anv=ā-diṣ-ṭa-h

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-púruṣa- 'person' who has been mentioned previously (anv-ā-diṣ-ṭa-h) [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177 ánu-° 189].

*anv-ā-diṣ-ṭa-h púruṣa-h* = *anu-puruṣá-h* 'afore-mentioned person'. But *anu-ga-ta-h púruṣa-h* = *ánu-puruṣa-h* 'follower'.

### 6.2.191 áte-r á-<sup>1</sup>kṛt-<sup>2</sup>pad-é

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] not [ending in 1.1.72] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] (3.1.93ff.) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-padá- 'foot' [co-occurring after 1.1.68 the pre-verb 177] áti-° [bears the udātta accent 64].

1. *aty-anṅkuśá-h(nāga-h)* 'an elephant, beyond or past the elephant hook, uncontrollable'; *ati-kaśá-h(aśva-h)* 'beyond the whip, unmanageable (of a horse)'; 2. *ati-pad-á(śak-var-I)* '(of a meter) too long by a foot'. But *áti-kār-aka-(NvuL)* 'good k.'

### 6.2.192 né-r á-ni-dhā-n-e

[In a compound 178 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] ní-° to denote 'not hiding' (á-ni-dh-ā-n-e).

*ni-mūlá-m* (3.4.34) 'down to the roots'; *nī-tṛṇá-m* 'down to the grass', but *ní-hi-tā vác* = *ní-vác-* 'whisper' f.; 'one who whispers' mfn.

### 6.2.193 práte-r aṁśú=āday-as tatpuruṣ-é

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [the final syllable 143 of the last members 11 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with °-aṁśú- 'ray' [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] práti-°.

*prati-ga-tá-h aṁśú-h* = *praty-aṁśú-h* (2.2.18) 'refracted ray'; *prati-janá-* 'foe, adversary'. But *prati-ga-t-á-h aṁśav-aḥ a-syá* = *práty-aṁśú-h* 'whose rays are refracted'.

### 6.2.194 úp-āt <sup>1</sup>dvy-ác=<sup>2</sup>ajína-m á-gaura-āday-aḥ

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] consisting of two syllables (dvy-ác-°) and the [nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ajína- 'hairy skin of an antelope', excluding the word-class beginning with °-guará- [bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] úpa-°.

*upa-ga-tá-h devá-m* = *upa-devá-h* 'who has taken refuge in God' but *úpa-gaura-* = *úpa-ga-ta-h gaurá-m* and *upa-ga-tá-h soma-h a-syá* = *úpa-soma-h*.

### 6.2.195 só-r ava-kṣép-a-ṇ-e

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 177] sú-° to denote censure (ava-kṣép-a-ṇ-e).

*su-sthaṇḍilá-m* 'beautiful place' (said with envy and censure) in the phrase: *iḥá khálu idánīm su-sthaṇḍil-é su-sphī-tá-bhyām su-praty-ava-si-t-á-h ās-svá* 'here, in this beautiful place, returning from abroad, sit down with your fattened limbs now'.

### 6.2.196 vibhāṣā=ut-pucch-é

[In a Tatpuruṣá compound 193] ut-pucchá- [the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] optionally (vibhāṣā) [bears the udātta accent 64].

*ut-krān-tá-h pucch-āt* = *ut-pucchá-h/út-puccha-h* 'gone beyond the tail', but *úd-asta-m puccha-m a-syá* = *út-puccha-h* 'who has raised the tail'.

### 6.2.197 <sup>1</sup>dvi-<sup>2</sup>trí-bhyām <sup>1</sup>pád-<sup>2</sup>dát=<sup>3</sup>mūrdhá-su bahuvrīh-aú

In a Bahuvrīhī compound [the final syllable 143 of the posterior members 111] °pád- 'foot', °-dát- 'tooth' and °-mūrdhán- 'head' [optionally 196 bears the udātta accent 64].

*dv-aú pād-aú a-syá* = *dvi-pād/dvī-pād* (5.4.140) 'biped'; similarly *tri-pād/trī-pād* 'three-footed, tripod'.

*dvi-dát-/dvī-dat-* (5.4.141) 'having two teeth or tusks'; *tri-dát-/trī-dat-* 'possessing three teeth'.

*dvi-mūrdhán-/dvī-mūrdhan-* 'two-headed'; *tri-mūrdhán-/trī-mūrdhan-* 'three-headed', but *dvi+mūrdhan+ṢÁC* = *dvi-murdh-á-* (5.4.115, 6.4.144). This shows that samāsānta affixes are not obligatory in all cases.

### 6.2.198 sakthá-m ca=á-kra=ant-āt

[In a Bahuvrīhī compound 197 the final syllable 143 of the last member 111] °-sakthá- (5.4.113 = °-sakthi+ṢÁC) [optionally 196 bears the udātta accent 64 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a nominal stem 4.1.1] not [ending in 1.1.72 the syllable] °kra- (á-kra=ant-āt).

*gaura-sakthá-/gaurá-saktha-* 'having white thighs', but *cákra-saktha-* 'bow-legged'.

### 6.2.199 pára=ādi-s=chándas-i bahulá-m

In the domain of Chándas the initial syllable of the final member (pár-ā-di-h) [bears the udātta accent 64] variously (bahulá-m).

*añji-sakthá-m á=labh-e-ta* 'one should sacrifice an animal whose thighs are anointed'; *ṛju-báhu-* 'straight-armed'; *vāk-pāti-* 'master of speech'; on the other hand: *tri-cakrá-* 'three-wheeled'; *marúd-vṛd-dha-* 'rejoicing in the Maruts'; *dīvo-dāsa-* 'n.pr. of sage Bharadvāja'.

### 6.3.1 á-luK=udttara-pad-é

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 24 below) luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replacement [of sUP triplets 2.4.71 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member of a compound] does not (á-luK) take place (before 1.1.66) the final member (uttara-pad-é).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kārá]; the first word recurs in subsequent rules up to 24 below, while the second word [uttara-pad-é] recurs throughout this pādā.

### 6.3.2 pañcamy-āḥ stoká=ādi-bhyaḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound, luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) does not replace 1] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 the first members denoted by the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with stoka-° ‘a little’.

*stok-āt + muk-tá-ḥ = stokān-muk-tá-ḥ* (2.1.39) ‘hardly liberated’;  
*antik-ād-ā-ga-tá-ḥ* ‘arrived from near’.

### 6.3.3 ‘ójas=²sáhas=³ámahas=⁴támas-as tṛ-tṛya-y-āḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound, luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) does not replace 1] the third sUP triplet [introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] ój-as-° ‘strength’, sáh-as-° ‘power’, ámbh-as-° ‘water’ and tám-as-° ‘darkness’.

*ój-as-ā+kr-tá = ój-as-ā-kr-ta-* (2.1.32) ‘done with strength; *sáh-as-ā-kr-ta-* ‘done forcibly’; *ámh-as-ā-kr-ta-* ‘made or produced with water’; *tám-as-ā-kr-ta-* ‘done with or by darkness’. (accent by 2.2).

### 6.3.4 mán-as-as=samjñā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound  $\emptyset^1$  does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] mán-as-° ‘mind, thought’ when deriving a proper name (samjñā-y-ām).

*mán-as-ā-datt-ā/mán-as-ā-gup-t-ā* ‘n.pr. of persons’, but *máno-dat-ta-* ‘mentally given’.

### 6.3.5 ā-jñā-y-in-i ca

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound  $\emptyset^1$  does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member *mán-as-*° ‘mind, thought’ 4] when that final member is *ā-jñā-y-in-* ‘able to know, capable of knowing’.

*mán-as-ā+ā-jñā-y-in-* = *mán-as-ā-jñā-y-in-* ‘who is able to know through the mind, mentally perceptive’.

### 6.3.6 āt-mán-as=ca pūr-aṇ-e

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1 consisting of] an ordinal (*pūr-aṇ-e*) [luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) does not replace 1 the third sUP triplet 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] *āt-mán-* ‘self, soul’.

*āt-mán-ā-pañca-ma-h* ‘fifth with oneself’.

### 6.3.7 vai-y-ā-kar-aṇa=ā-khyā-y-ām caturthy-āḥ

[Before a final member of a compound  $\emptyset^1$  does not replace 1] the fourth sUP triplet (*caturthy-āḥ*) [introduced after 3.1.2 the first member *āt-mán-*° ‘self’ 6] to denote a technical term in grammar (*vai-y-ā-kar-aṇa=ā-khyā-y-ām*).

*āt-man-e-padā-m/āt-man-e-bhāṣā* ‘the middle voice’.

### 6.3.8 pára-sya ca

[Before a final member of a compound  $\emptyset^1$  does not replace 1 the fourth sUP triplet 7 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] *pára-*° ‘another’ also (*ca*) [to denote a technical term in grammar 7].

*para-smai-padā-m/para-smai-bhāṣā* ‘active voice’.

### 6.3.9 <sup>1</sup>haL=<sup>2</sup>aT=ant-āt saptamy-āḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

[Before a final member of a compound  $\emptyset^1$  does not replace 1] the seventh sUP triplet (*saptamy-āḥ*) [introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (*haL-*°) or in short *a(T)* to derive a name (*saṁjñā-y-ām*).

1. *haL-anta*: *yudh-f-ṣṭhira-/gav-f-ṣṭhira-* ‘names or persons’; *tvac-f-sāra-* ‘bamboo’.

2. aT=anta: *áraye-tilaka-* ‘wild sesamum’.

### 6.3.10 *kāra-nāmn-i ca prác-ām hál=ād-au*

[Before a final member of a compound 1] beginning with a consonant (*hál=ād-au*) [luK (0<sup>1</sup>) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 8 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member denoting] a tax (*kāra-nāmn-i*) in the eastern region (*prác-ām*).

*káp-e-sāṇa-h* ‘tax raised on wells’; *ḍṛ-sād-i-māṣa-k-ā-h* ‘tax raised on millstones’;  
*hal-é-dvi-pad-ik-ā* ‘tax raised on ploughshares’ etc.

### 6.3.11 *mádhy-ād gur-aú*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] °-gurú- ‘heavy’ [luK (0<sup>1</sup>) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] *mádhy-a-* ‘center, middle’.

*mádhya-guru-* ‘heavy in the middle or center’.

### 6.3.12 *á-<sup>1</sup>mūrdha(n)=<sup>2</sup>mastak-āt sva=aṅg-āt á-kām-e*

[Before 1.1.66 a member of a compound 1] excluding °-kāmá- ‘love’, [luK (0<sup>1</sup>) does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or short a(T) 9] denoting a limb of one’s body (*sv-ā-ṅg-āt*) other than *mūrdhán-°* ‘head’ and *mástaka-°* ‘head, skull’.

*kanṭh-é kálá-h a-syá* = *kanṭh-é-kála-h* ‘black-throated, n.pr. of Śívá; *úr-as-i lómān-i a-syá* = *úr-as-i-loman-* ‘hairy-chested’; but *múkh-e kāmá-h a-syá* = *múkh-a-kāma-h* ‘face-loving’; *angúl-au trā-ṇá-h* = *aṅgúli-trā-ṇa-h* ‘thimble’; *jāṅghā-y-ām válí-h* = *jāṅghā-vali-h* ‘a fold in the thigh’; *mūrdhán-i śíkhā a-syá* = *murdhá-śíkhā-h/mástaka-śíkhā-* ‘having a tuft on the head’.

### 6.3.13 *bandh-é ca vibhāṣā*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] °-bandhá- ‘arrangement, formation’ [0<sup>1</sup> does not 1] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or short vowel a(T) 9].

*hást-e-bandha-/hastá-bandha-* ‘formation in the shape of a hand’;  
*cakr-é-bandha-/cakrá-bandha-* ‘bow-legged’; but *gúp-t-au bandhá-h* =  
*gúp-ti-bandha-h* ‘imprisonment, incarceration’.

### 6.3.14 tatpuruṣ-é kṛt-i bahulá-m

In a Tatpuruṣá compound [before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. kṛt (3.1.93ff.) [luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) does not 1] variously (bahulá-m) [replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member].

*stamb-é rá-m-a-te* = *stamb-é+ram+áC* (3.2.13) = *stamb-e-ram-á-h* ‘delighting in a clump of tall grass’; similarly *karṇ-e jáp-a-ti* = *kárñ-e-jap+áC* = *karṇ-e-jap-á-h* ‘informer, tale-bearer’, but *kúru-ṣu cár-a-ti* = *kuru-car+Ta-* (3.2.16) = *kuru-car-á-* ‘moving/grazing in the Kúru region’.

### 6.3.15 <sup>1</sup>prā-vṛṣ= <sup>2</sup>śarád-<sup>3</sup>kālá-<sup>4</sup>dív-āñ j-é

[Before the 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-já- ‘born’ [luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) does not 1 replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] *prā-vṛṣ-*° ‘rainy season’, *śarád-*° ‘autumn’, *kālá-*° ‘time’ and *dív-*° ‘day, heaven’.

*pra-vṛṣ-i jā-tá-h* = *prā-vṛṣ-i+jan+Dá* (3.2.97) = *prā-vṛṣ-i-já-h* ‘born in the rainy season’; similarly: *śarad-i-já-/kāl-e-já-/div-i-já-* ‘born in autumn/time or season/heaven’.

### 6.3.16 vibhāṣá <sup>1</sup>varṣá-<sup>2</sup>kṣará-<sup>3</sup>śará-<sup>4</sup>vár-āt

[Before 1.1.67 the final member of a compound 1 °-já- ‘born’ 15, luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first members] *varṣá-*° ‘rainy season’, *kṣará-*° ‘cloud’, *śará-*° ‘reed’ and *vára-*° ‘enclosure’.

*varṣ-e-já/varṣa-já-* ‘born in the rainy season’; *kṣar-e-já/kṣara-já-* ‘cloud-born’; *śar-e-já/śara-já-* ‘born in a bed of reeds’; *vare-já/vara-já-* ‘born in an enclosure’. All these are generated with affix *Ḍa* (3.2.97).

### 6.3.17 <sup>1</sup>GHA-<sup>2</sup>kālá-<sup>3</sup>tane-ṣu kāla-nāmn-aḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (1.1.22: °-taraP, °-tamaP), and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-kālá- ‘time’ and [nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-tana- [luK (∅<sup>1</sup>) 1 optionally 16 does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member ending in 1.1.72 a consonant or the short vowel a(T) 9] denoting a time-word (*kāla-nāmn-aḥ*).

1. *pūrv-ā-hṇ-é-tare/pūrv-ā-hṇá-tare* ‘a little later in the morning’ (4.3.23);  
*apar-ā-hṇé-tam-e/apar-ā-hṇá-tam-e* ‘extremely late in the evening’.
2. *pūrv-ā-hṇé-kāl-e/pūrv-ā-hṇá-kāl-e* ‘in the forenoon period’.
3. *pūrv-ā-hṇ-é-tan-e/pūrv-ā-hṇá-tan-e* ‘matitudinal, belonging to the morning’.  
But *rātri-tarā-y-ām* ‘later in the night’.

### 6.3.18 <sup>1</sup>śayá-<sup>2</sup>vāsá-<sup>3</sup>vāśi-*ṣu=á-kāl-āt*

[Before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-śay-á- ‘lying down’, °-vās-á- and °vās-ín- ‘inhabitant’ [luK (0<sup>1</sup>) 1 optionally 16 does not replace 1 the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] when not denoting a time-word (á-kāl-āt).

*kh-e śe-te = kh-e/kha+ēt+áC* (3.2.15) = *kh-e-śay-á-/kha-śay-á-* ‘reclining or floating in the air’; *grām-e-vāsa-/grāma-vāsa-* ‘residence in the village’; *grām-e úś-i-tum śīla-m a-syá = grām-e/grāma+vas+Ními* (3.2.78) *vrata-m a-sya* (3.2.80) = *grām-e-vās-ín-/grāma-vās-ín-* ‘habitually residing in the village/or as an act of vow’. But *pūrv-ā-hṇa-śay-á-* ‘sleeping in the morning or forenoon’; the constraint on the prior member ending in a consonant or short vowel /aT/ (9) holds here: *bhūmi-śay-á-* ‘lying on the bare ground’.

### 6.3.19 ná=<sup>1</sup>ín=<sup>2</sup>sid-dhá-<sup>3</sup>badh-nā-ti-*ṣu*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] °-ín- and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] °sid-dhá- and (derivatives of the verbal stem) bandh- ‘bind, tie, fix, fasten’ (IX 37) [non-replacement by luK (= á-luK) 1 of the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member] does not (ná) take place.

*sthaṇḍile śáy-ana-śīla-h = sthandila+0<sup>1</sup>+ēt+Ními* (3.2.78,80) = *sthaṇḍila-śáy-ín-* ‘who sleeps on the bare ground habitually or in observance of a vow’.  
*śāmkāśy-e sid-dhá-h = śāmkāś-ya-sid-dha-h* ‘made or prepared in S.’; *cakr-é bad-dhá-h = cakrá-bad-dha-h* ‘built in the form of a wheel (said of a stanza)’.

### 6.3.20 sth-é ca bhāśā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-sthá- ‘situated in’ [non-replacement by luK 1 of the seventh sUP triplet 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member does not 19] also (ca) [take place 19] in the spoken language (bhāśā-y-ām ‘current speech’).

*same-e tiṣṭh-a-ti = sama+0<sup>1</sup>+sthā+Ká* (3.2.77) = *sama-sth-á-h* ‘being level’;  
*vi-ṣam-e tiṣṭh-a-ti = viṣama-sth-á-* ‘standing uneven’; *parvata-sthá-* ‘standing



on the hill'. Exception to 14 above, but which explains *hyd-i-sthā-* 'situated in the heart' by the expression [bahulā-m] there. In *Chāndas ā-kha-r-e-sthā-* 'abiding in a hole'.

### 6.3.21 *ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ=ā-kroś-é*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) does not replace 1] the sixth sUP triplet (*ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ*) [introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] when denoting an insult (*ā-kroś-é*).

*caurā-sya+kūla-m* = *caurasya-kulā-m* 'family of a thief', but *brāhmaṇa-kulā-m* 'the family of a brahmin'.

### 6.3.22 *putr-é anya-tará-syām*

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] -put-rá- 'son' [luK does not replace 1 the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 a first member] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [to denote an insult 21].

*dāsy-āḥ-putrá-/dāsī-putrá-* 'son of a slave girl' but *brāhmaṇī-put-rá-* 'son of a brahmin lady'.

### 6.3.23 *ṛT-o<sup>1</sup>vid-y-ā-yoní-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ*

[Before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) does not replace 1 the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 the first member ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel *ṛ(T)* and expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity (*vid-y-ā-yoní-sam-bandhe-bhyaḥ*).

*hot-u-ḥ-putrá-/hot-u-r-ante-vās-ín* 'son/pupil of the Hotṛ-priest' but *guru-putrá-* 'preceptor's son'.

### 6.3.24 *vibhāṣā<sup>1</sup>svásṛ=²páty-oḥ*

[Before 1.1.66 the posterior members of a compound 1] '-svásṛ- 'sister' and °-pá-ti- 'husband, spouse' [non-replacement by luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) takes place] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [of the sixth sUP triplet 21 introduced after 3.1.2 a prior member ending in 1.1.72 short vowel *ṛ(T)* and expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity 23].

*māt-ú-ḥ svásā* = *māt-u-ḥ-ṣvasā/māt-u-ḥ-svasā* (8.3.85)/*māṭṛ-ṣvasā* 'maternal aunt'; *duhit-ú-ḥ pāti-ḥ* = *duhit-u-ḥ-pāti-/duhitṛ-patf-* 'daughter's husband, son-in-law'.

### 6.3.25 āṇāÑ ṛT-aḥ=dvaṁdv-é

In a Dvaṁdvá compound constituted by [nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ṛ(T) [expressing kinship through the pursuit of knowledge or consanguinity 23] the element āṇāÑ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.53 of the prior member before 1.1.66 the posterior member 1].

*hó-tā ca pó-tā ca = hotṛ+potṛ+au = ho-t-ān-pot-ār-au = ho-t-āḥ-po-tār-au* (8.2.7;6.4.11); *pitā-putr-au* (22) since [puḍtrá-] recurs here from above. But *pitā ca pitā-mahá-é=ca = pitṛ-pitā-maháu* 'father and grand-father'.

Since the substitute element is [ān] and not a member of the siglum [aÑ of 1.1.51] that rule does not operate here.

### 6.3.26 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

In a Dvaṁdvá compound consisting of names of divinities (deva-tā-dvaṁdv-e) [the substitute element āṇāÑ 25 replaces the stem-final 1.1.53 of the prior member before 1.1.66 the posterior member 1] also (ca).

*indra+várūṇa+au = indr-ān+várūṇa+au = indr-āḥ-várūṇ-au* (8.2.7) 'Indra and Varuṇa'; similarly *indrāsóm-au, indr-ā-bṛh-as-pá-i-i*.

### 6.3.27 īT=agné-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sóma-<sup>2</sup>várūṇay-oh

[The substitute element long vowel] ī(T) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member] agní-° 'n. of a divinity' [before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-sóma- and °-várūṇa-° 'names of divinities' [in a deva-tā-dvaṁdvá compound 26].

*agní+sóma+au = agn-ī-śóm-au; agn-ī-várūṇ-au.*

### 6.3.28 iT=vṛd-dh-au

[The substitute element short vowel] i(T) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the first member agní-° 27 before 1.1.66 a final member 1 of a deva-tā-dvaṁdvá compound 26] undergoing a vṛd-dhi (1.1.1) replacement.

*agn-ī-várūṇ-au devá-t-e a-syáḥ = āgni-várūṇ-ī* 'consecrated to the divinities Agni and Varuṇa' (4.2.24 āÑ+ÑP 4.1.15). Similarly *āgni-mārut-á-*.

### 6.3.29 dív-aḥ=dyāvā

The substitute morpheme *dyāvā* [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the first member of a *devatā-dvaṁdvā* compound 26] *dív-*° ‘heaven’ [before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

*dív+kaśām-ā* = *dyāvā-kaśāmā/dyāvā-bhām-i* ‘Heaven and Earth’.

### 6.3.30 divása-s=ca pṛthivy-ām

[In a *devatā-dvaṁdvā* compound 26, before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-*pṛthivī* the substitute morpheme *divas-*, in addition to (ca) [*dyāvā* 29 replaces the first member *div-*° 29].

*dyāús=ca pṛthivī ca* = *divás-pṛthivī/dyāvā-pṛthivī* ‘Heaven and Earth’.

### 6.3.31 uṣāsā=uṣás-aḥ

[In a *Dvaṁdvā* compound constituted by names of divinities 26] the substitute morpheme *uṣāsā* [replaces the first member] *uṣás-*° ‘dawn’ [before 1.1.66 the final member 1].

*uṣás+nákta+Dā* (7.1.39) = *uṣāsā-nákt-ā* ‘dawn and night’. Similarly *uṣāsā-súrya-m* ‘dawn and sun’.

### 6.3.32 mātára-pitár-au udīc-ām

The expression *mātára-pitár-au* ‘mother and father’ is introduced [as a *Dvaṁdvā* compound 25] according to Northern Grammarians.

The element [arāṆ] replaces the stem-final of the first member according to Northern Grammarians’ cf. RV *mātára-pitārā* (5.6.7). According to other grammarians: *mātā-pitár-au*.

### 6.3.33 pitārā-mātārā ca=chándas-i

In the domain of *Chándas* the expression *pitārā-mātārā* is introduced [as a *Dvaṁdvā* compound 25].

The substitute element [arāṆ] replaces the stem-final of the prior member before the final member, while the *sUP* triplet introduced at the end of the compound is replaced by *ā* (7.3.39). Elsewhere *mātā-pitár-au*.

**6.3.34 striy-āḥ puṁ-vát=bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁsk-āt an-ūṆ**  
**sa-mā-ná=adhi-kar-aṇ-e striy-ām á-<sup>1</sup>pūr-aṇ-ī-<sup>2</sup>priyā=ādi-ṣu**

A feminine-denoting [nominal stem 4.1.1] which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense (bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁsk-āt) is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát), provided it does not [end in 1.1.72 the feminine affix 4.1.66] °-ūṆ and co-occurs [before 1.1.66 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a feminine affix (striy-ām 4.1.3ff.) having the same frame of reference (sa-mā-ná=adhikar-aṇe), excluding ordinals (°-pūr-aṇ-ī-°) and the class of words beginning with °-priy-ā 'dear'.

*darś-anīyā bhār-yā a-syā = darś-anīya-bhār-ya-* 'whose wife is beautiful', but *khātīvā-bhār-ya-* since the word *khātīvā* has no masculine counterpart. Similarly *dronī-bhar-ya-* (*dronī* having no masculine counterpart in the sense of cattle fodder or a wooden trough or tub in which cattle are fed). But *brahma-bandh-ū-bhār-ya-* where the prior member ends in °-ūṆ, and similarly *kalyāṇī pañca-mī yā-sām t-ā-h = kalyāṇī-pañcam-ā-h rātray-aḥ* 'group of five nights (of which the fifth is auspicious)'; *kalyāṇī priy-ā yā-sya = kalyāṇī-priy-a-h*; when the frame of reference is not the same: *kalyāṇy-āḥ mātā = kalyāṇī-mā-tā*.

**6.3.35 tasiL=ādi-ṣu ā kṛtvásuC-aḥ**

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense is treated like a masculine, provided it does not end in 1.1.72 the feminine affix °-ūṆ 34 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with °-tasiL (5.3.7) and ending with °-kṛtvásuC (5.4.17).

The affixes referred to are: *tasiL* (5.3.7-9), *traL* (10), *dā* (15), *dāṇm* (18-19), *rhiL* (20), *thāL* (23), *thāmu* (24), *thā* (26), *ástāti* (27), *atásuC* (28), *āti* (34), *enaP* (35), *ác* (36), *āhi* (37), *ási* (39), *tiL*, *tātiL* (41), *dhā* (42), *dhyamuṆ* (44), *dhamuṆ* (45), *pāśaP* (47), *aN* (48), *Ña* (50), *KaN* (51), *ākīñiC* (52), *cāraT* (53), *rūpya* (54), *tamaP*, *isthaN* (55), *taraP*, *īyasuN* (57), *rūpaP* (66), *kalpaP*, *désya*, *desīyaR* (67), *jātīyaR* (69), *ká* (70-96), *akáC* (71), *kaN* (75), *tháC* (78), *ghaN*, *iláC* (79), *adáC*, *vuC* (80), *rā* (88), *DupáC* (89), *ṢtaráC* (90), *ḌataráC* (92), *ḌatamáC* (93), *dhaṆ* (101), *dha* (102), *yāT* (103), *cha* (105), *āN* (107), *tháK* (108), *ikáK* (110), *Ñya* (112), *ÑyaT* (114), *TéñyaN* (115), *āN*, *aṆ* (117), *yaṆ* (118), *vuN* (5.4.1), *kha* (7), *āmu* (11), *āmu* (12), *kṛtvásuC* (17). Of these affixes the following are principally involved: *traL*, *tasiL*, *taraP*, *tamaP*, *cāraT*, *jātīyaR*, *kalpaP*, *désya-*, *desīyaR*, *rūpaP*, *pāśaP*, *tháK*, *thāL*, *dā*, *rhiL*, *tiL*, *tātiL*.

*tá-syāḥ = tá-tas*; *tá-syām = tá-tra* respectively denoting 'thence' and 'in that there' etc.

### 6.3.36 <sup>1</sup>KyáÑ=<sup>2</sup>mān-ín-os=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem which has a masculine counterpart in the same sense is treated like a masculine, provided it is not ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affix ũÑ 34 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-KyáÑ [and final member 1] °-mān-ín- 'believing, being of opinion'.

1. *énI+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *éta+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *etā-yá-te* 'acts like a hind' (3.1.11); similarly *éyení iva ā-car-a-ti* = *éyená+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *éyenā-yá-te* 'behaves like a she-hawk'.
2. *daré-aníyā-ā-m imám mán-ya-te ayám* = *daréaníyā+man+Níni* (3.2.82) = *daré-aníyā-mān-ín-* 'who deems her as beautiful or worth seeing'.

### 6.3.37 ná ká=upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] containing the phoneme /k/ as penultimate is not (ná) [treated like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1].

*pác-ik-ā bhār-yā a-syá* = *pác-ik-ā-bhār-ya-* 'whose wife is a cook'; *pác-ik-ā-kalp-ā* 'not quite a cook'; *pác-ik-ā+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *pácikā-yá+a+te* = *pác-ik-ā-yá-te* (1.97) 'acts like a cook', *pác-ik-ā-mān-ín-I* (36).

### 6.3.38 <sup>1</sup>saṁjñā=<sup>2</sup>pūraṇy-os=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] signifying either a name (saṁjñā-°) or an ordinal (°-pūr-āṇy-oḥ) is also (ca) [not treated 37 like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

1. *dat-tā bhār-yā a-syá* = *dat-tā-bhār-ya-ḥ* 'whose wife is Dattā'.
2. *pañca-m-f bhār-yā a-syá* = *pañcamf-bhār-ya-* 'having a fifth wife'.

### 6.3.39 vṛd-dhi-ni-mit-tá-sya ca taddhitá-sya á-rak-ta-vi-kār-e

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34 ending in 1.1.72] a taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affix 3.1.1] which operates a vṛddhi replacement (of the initial syllable of that stem 7.2.117-18), excluding those signifying color (°-rak-tá-° 4.2.1) or transformation (°-vi-kār-é 4.3.134) [is not 37 treated like the corresponding masculine 34 before 1.1.66 the final member 1].

*mathurā-y-ām bhāv-ā* = *mathurā+áN* (4.3.53) + *ÑiP* (4.1.5) = *māthur-f bhār-yā*

*a-syá* = *māthurī-bhār-ya-h* ‘whose wife is a resident of Mathurā’; but *kaṣāy-ṇa rak-t-ā* = *kāṣāy-ī bhāt-ik-ā a-syá* = *kāṣāy-ā bhāt-ik-ā* ‘whose mantle is colored or dyed red’; so also *lohā-sya vi-kār-ā-h* = *loha + āN* (4.2.134) + *NTP* (4.1.15) = *lauh-ī ṣā a-syá* = *lauh-ā + ṣa-* = *lauh-ē-ṣa-* ‘(a cart) having a metal pole’.

### 6.3.40 sva=aṅg-āt=ca īT-aḥ=ā-mān-in-i

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34] signifying a part of one’s body (sv-ā-ṅg-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel ī(T) [having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34 is not 37 treated like a masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] excluding °-mān-in- ‘being of opinion, believing’.

*dīrghā-keśī bhār-yā a-syá* = *dīrghā-keśī-bhār-ya-h* ‘whose wife has long hair’, but *paṭu-ī bhār-yā a-syá* = *paṭu-bhār-ya-h* ‘whose wife is clever’; so also *dīrghā-keśī-m iyám ayám mán-ya-te* = *dīrgha-keśa-mān-in-* ‘who deems her as having long hair’.

### 6.3.41 jāte-s=ca

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem 34 having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34] signifying genus (jāte-ḥ) also (ca) [is not 37 treated as a masculine 34 before 1.1.66 a final member 1, excluding °-mān-in- ‘being of opinion, believing’ 40].

*kath-ī bhār-yā a-syá* = *kath-ī-bhār-ya-h* ‘whose wife belongs to the K. recension of YV’, but *kath-ī-m ātmān-am mán-ya-te* = *katha-mān-in-ī* ‘who considers herself as a student of K. recension’.

### 6.3.42 puṁ-vát <sup>1</sup>karma-dhārayá-<sup>2</sup>jāṭīya-<sup>3</sup>deśīya-ṣu

[A feminine-denoting nominal stem having a masculine counterpart in the same sense 34] is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát) in a Karmadhārayá compound or [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-jāṭīya(R) and °-deśīya(R).

This is an exception to the preceding five rules 37-41.

1. exception to 37: *pāc-ik-ā vṇdār-ik-ā* = *pāc-aka-vṇdār-ik-ā* ‘an excellent cook’; similarly *pāc-aka-jāṭīya-/°-deśīya-*.
2. exception to 38: *dat-tā vṇdār-ik-ā* = *dat-ta-vṇdār-ik-ā* ‘excellent Dattā’; so also *dat-ta-jāṭīya-/°-deśīya-*. *pañcama-vṇdār-ikā/°jāṭīyā/°-deśīyā*.
3. exception to 39: *sraughna-jāṭīyā/deśīyā*.
4. exception to 40: *dīrgha-keśa-vṇdār-ikā/°jāṭīya/°deśīyā*.
5. exception to 41: *kāṭha-vṇdār-ikā/°jāṭīyā/°deśīyā*.

### 6.3.43 <sup>1</sup>GHA-<sup>2</sup>rūpa-<sup>3</sup>kalpa-<sup>4</sup>célaṬ-<sup>5</sup>brúva-<sup>6</sup>gotrá-<sup>7</sup>matá-<sup>8</sup>haté-ṣu Ñyaḥ=án-eka=aC-aḥ hrasvá-ḥ

A short (hrasva-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the feminine 4.1.3 affix 3.1.1] Ñī occurring at the [end of 1.1.52] of a polysyllabic (án-eka-aC-aḥ) stem [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (1.1.22: taraP, tamaP), and rūpaP (5.3.66), kalpaP (5.3.67), and [the final members 1] °-célaṬ (2.126), °-brúva- ‘calling one’s self by a name without a title to it’, °-gotrá- ‘lineage’, °-ma-tá- ‘considered’ and °-ha-tá- ‘destroyed, struck down’.

*brāhmaṇī-tarā/°tamā=brāhmaṇī+ taraP/tamaP*, on the same basis:  
*brāhmaṇī-rūpā/°kalpā; brāhmaṇī-cel-ī/°bruvā/°go-trā, °ma-tā/°ha-tā.*

### 6.3.44 nady-āḥ séṣa-sya=anya-tarā-syām

[A short vowel 43] optionally (anya-tarā-syām) [replaces the stemfinal 1.1.52 of] a feminine stem (nady-āḥ) not ending in Ñī or a monosyllabic feminine ending in °-ī (séṣa-sya: 1.4.3-4) [before 1.1.66 the affixes denoted by 1. the t.t. GHA, rūpaP, kalpaP, and final members 1 °-célaṬ, °-brúva-, °-gotrá-, °-ma-tá- and °-ha-tá- 43].

*brahma-bandhū+taraP/tamaP = brahmabandhū+tarap/tamaP* etc. Similarly:  
*brahma-bandhū/°bandhu- + cel-ī/°bruvā/°gotrá/°ma-tā, °ha-tā.* Likewise:  
*strī/strī+taraP/tamaP/rūpaP/kalpaP+ṬāP;*  
*strī/strī+celī/bruvā/gotrā/ma-tā/ha-tā.*

### 6.3.45 uK=IT-as=ca

[A short vowel 43 optionally 44 replaces the stem-final of a feminine stem derived with an affix 3.1.1 with a marker containing vowels] denoted by the siglum uK (=u, ṛ, ḷ) as IT [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. GHA and rūpaP, kalpaP and final members 1 °-célaṬ, °-brúva-, °-gotrá-, °-ma-tá- and °-hatá 43].

*śra+IyasUN+ÑīP+taraP+ṬāP = śre-yas-I/śré-yas-i+tarā/tamā/°rūpā/°kalpā;*  
*śre-yas-I/śre-yas-i+celī/°bruvā/°gotrá/°ma-tā/°ha-tā´.*

### 6.3.46 āT=mahát-aḥ <sup>1</sup>sa-mā-ná=adhi-kar-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>jatīyay-oḥ

The substitute long vowel āT replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52] of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] mahát-° ‘great’ [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1] having the same frame of reference (sa-mā-na=adhi-kar-aṇa-°) and [the affix 3.1.1] °-jatīyaR (5.3.69).

*mahān devā-h* = *mahát+θ<sup>1</sup>+devā+sU* = *maha-ā-devā-h* = *mahā-devā-h* ‘the Great God Śiva’; so also *mahā-brāhmaṇā-* ‘great brahmin’; *mahā-bala-* ‘possessed of great strength’; *mahā-jatīya-* ‘moderately large’; *mahā-bhāratā-* ‘the great epic dealing with the deeds of Bharata’s descendants’. But *mahát-aḥ pu-trā-h* = *mahat-putrā-h* ‘son of a great person’ (absence of same frame of reference).

### 6.3.47 dvy-āṣṭan-aḥ saṁkhyā-y-ām á-<sup>1</sup>bahuvrīhi=²aśtīy-oḥ

[The substitute long vowel ā(T) 46 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52] of dví-° ‘two’ and aṣṭán-° ‘eight’ [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] consisting of a numeral (saṁ-khyā-y-ām), excluding a Bahuvrīhi compound or [before 1.1.66] °-aśtī- ‘eighty’.

*dv-au ca dáśa ca* = *dví+dáśa* = *dvā-daśa* ‘12’ (accent by 2.35). Similarly *aṣṭā-daśa* ‘eighteen’.

Exceptions: (a) bahuvrīhi compound: *dv-au va tráya-aḥ vā a-smín* = *dvi-tr-ā-h* (5.4.73) ‘consisting of two or three’; (b) °aśtī-: *dví+aśtī-* = *dvy-ásṭi-* ‘82’.

### 6.3.48 tré-s tráyaḥ

The substitute morpheme tráyas- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 of the numeral 47] trí-° ‘three’ [before 1.1.66 a final member 1 consisting of number words excluding a Bahuvrīhi compound or °aśtī- ‘eighty’ 47].

*trí+dáśan* = *tráyas+dáśan+sU* = *tráyo-daśaθ* (1.68; 8.2.7) ‘thirteen’; *tráyo-vimśat* ‘33’, but *tráyo vā dáśa vā a-smín* = *tri-daś-ā-h* (5.4.73) ‘consisting of three or ten’; *try-ásṭi-* ‘83’.

### 6.3.49 vibhāṣā catvārimśat-pra-bhṛ-t-au sarvé-ṣām

[Before 1.1.66 numerals 47] beginning with °-catvārimśat- ‘40’ [other than in a Bahuvrīhi compound or °-aśtī- ‘80’ 47] operations introduced for all (sarvé-ṣām dví-°, aṣṭán- 47 and trí-° 48) take place optionally (vibhāṣā).

*dví-°/dvā+catvārimśat-* ‘42’; *trí-°/tráyas-°+catvārimśat-* ‘43’; *aṣṭá-°/aṣṭā-°+pañcāśat-* ‘85’.



### 6.3.50 h̥ḍaya-sya h̥ḍ=¹lekhá-²yàT=³áN-¹lās-é-ṣu

The substitute morpheme h̥ḍ- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 ] h̥ḍaya- ‘heart’ [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] consisting of °-lekhá- ‘line, scratch, furrow’, and [affixes 3.1.1] °-yàT- and °-áN- and the expression °-lās-á- ‘jumping, palpitating’.

*h̥ḍayam likh-á-ti* = *h̥ḍ+likh+áN* (3.2.1) = *h̥ḍl-lekh-á-h* (8.4.60) ‘anxiety’;  
*h̥ḍaya-sya priy-á-h* = *h̥ḍ+ya-h* (4.4.95) ‘dear to the heart’; *h̥ḍ+áN* = *h̥ḍrd-á-* (4.3.120) ‘relating to the heart’; *h̥ḍaya-sya lās-á-h* = *h̥ḍl-lās-á-* ‘palpitation’.

### 6.3.51 vā ¹śoká-²ṢyaÑ-³róge-ṣu

[The substitute morpheme h̥ḍ- 50] optionally (vā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 h̥ḍaya- ‘heart’ 50 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-śoká- ‘sorrow’, [the affix 3.1.1] ṢyaÑ (5.1.123) and °-róga- ‘disease’.

*h̥ḍaya-sya śoká-h* = *h̥ḍt+śoká-h* = *h̥ḍc-choká-h* (8.4.40,63) *h̥ḍaya-śoká-h* ‘heart-ache’; *sú-h̥ḍaya+ṢyaÑ* = *saú-h̥ḍayθ-ya-/saú-h̥ḍrd-ya-* (7.3.19) ‘amity, friendship’; *h̥ḍaya-sya róga-h* = *h̥ḍaya-roga-h/h̥ḍrd-roga-h* ‘heart disease’.

### 6.3.52 pādā-sya padā=¹ājí=²ātí=³gá-⁴úpa-ha-te-ṣu

The substitute morpheme padā- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] pādā- ‘foot’ [before 1.1.66 final members 1] °-ājí- ‘who goes’, °-ātí ‘who goes’, °-gá- ‘ibid.’ and °-úpa-ha-ta- ‘struck by’.

*pādā-bhyām āj-a-ti/āt-a-ti/gácch-a-ti* = *padā+aj/at+tiN* (*uN-ādi*)  
*pad-āj-i-/pad-āt-i-*, *padā+gam+Da* (3.2.48 vārt.) = *pada-gá-* ‘foot-soldier, infantryman’. Similarly *pād-éna úpa-ha-ta-h* = *pad-ó-pa-ha-ta-h* ‘kicked by the foot’ (accent by 2.2 and 1.161).

### 6.3.53 pād yàT-i=á-tad-arth-e

The substitute morpheme pād- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] pādā- ‘foot’ 52 [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yàT (4.4.83) except when denoting the sense of ‘suitable for it’ (á-tad-arth-e).

*pād-aú vídh-ya-ti* = *pādā+yàT* = *pād+yàT* = *pād-ya-* ‘piercing the foot’, but  
*pād-ārthá-m udaká-m* = *pādā+yàT* = *pādθ-ya-m* (5.4.25) ‘meant for the foot’.

### 6.3.54 <sup>1</sup>himá-<sup>2</sup>kāṣi-<sup>3</sup>há-ti-ṣu ca

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādā- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-himá- 'snow', °-kāṣ-in- 'rubbing' and °-há-ti- 'stroke' also (ca).

*pādā-sya himá-m* = *pád+himá-m* = *pad-dhimá-m* (8.4.68) 'chill or coldness in the foot'; *pād-āu kās-i-tum śīla-m a-syá* = *pád+kāṣ+ĀN* (3.2.78) = *pat-kāṣ-in-* 'pedestrian'; *pādā-bhyām han-yá-te* = *pādā-bhyām+han+KtiN* : *há-ti-h* = *pád+há-ti* = *pád-dha-ti-h* (2.2) 'foot-path, trail'.

### 6.3.55 ṣc-aḥ ś-é

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādā- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-śás- (5.4.43) to denote a quarter of an ṣc- (RV verse).

*pādā+śás* = *pád+śás* = *pac-cháh* (8.4.40,55,63) *gāyatrī-m śás-a-ti* 'praises the Gāyatrī verse quarter by quarter' but *pāda-śáh kārṣāpaṇa-m dá-dā-ti* 'donates a kārṣāpaṇa quarter by quarter'.

### 6.3.56 vā <sup>1</sup>ghóṣa-<sup>2</sup>miśrá-<sup>3</sup>śábd-ṣu

[The substitute morpheme pád- 53] optionally (vā) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 pādā- 'foot' 52 before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-ghós-a- 'sound, noise', °-miśr-á- 'mixed' and °-śábd-a- 'sound'.

*pādā-sya ghóṣ-a-h/śábd-a-h* = *pāda-ghoṣ-áh/°-śabd-á-h* or *pad-ghoṣ-á-h/ pac-chabd-á-h* (8.4.40,55,63) 'sound of foot-steps'; *pād-éna miśr-á-h* = *pādā-miśr-a-h/pán-miśr-a-h* (2.1.31; 8.4.45) 'mixed with quarter(s)'.

### 6.3.57 udaká-sya udá-ḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

The substitute morpheme udá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] udaká- 'water' [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] when deriving a name (saṁjñā-y-ām).

*udaká-sya meghá-h* = *uda-meghá-h* (*tá-sya ápatya-m* = *aúda-megh-i-*) (4.1.95) 'father of Aúdameghi'; *udaká-m vāh-a-ti* = *udá+vāh+āN* (3.2.1) = *uda-vāh-á-h* (*tá-sya ápatya-m* = *aúda-vāh-i-h*) 'father of Aúdvāhi'. In both cases the basic form is inferred from the names of sons. When not signifying names: *udaka-meghá-* 'rain-cloud' and *udaka-vāh-á-* 'water-carrier'.

### 6.3.58 <sup>1</sup>péṣam-<sup>2</sup>vās-á-<sup>3</sup>vāh-ana-<sup>4</sup>dhí-ṣu

[The substitute phoneme udá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- ‘water’ 57 before 1.1.66 final members 1] °-péṣam ‘grinding in’, °-vās-á- ‘living in’, °-vāh-ana- ‘carrier’ and °-dhí- ‘receptacle’.

*udak-éna pi-ná-ṣ-ti* = *udá+piṣ+NamūL* (3.4.38) = *uda-péṣ-am pi-ná-ṣ-ti* ‘grinds with water’; *udaká-sya vās-á-h* = *uda-vās-á-h* ‘living in water, aquatic’; similarly *uda-vāh-aná-* ‘water-carrier’; *udaká-m dhīyá-te a-smín* = *uda+dhā+Kí* = *uda-dh-í-h* (3.3.93) ‘sea, ocean’.

### 6.3.59 eka-háL=ād-au pūr-ay-i-távy-e=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute morpheme udá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- ‘water’ 37] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] beginning with a single consonant (*eka-háL-ād-au*) denoting (something) to be filled up (*pūr-ay-i-távy-e*).

*udaká-sya kumbhá-h* = *uda-kumbhá-h* ‘water-jug or jar’; but *udaka-sthalá-m* ‘water cauldron’ (beginning with a conjunct consonant) and *udaka-parvatá-h* (which is not something to be filled up). Option provides for alternate forms such as *udaka-kumbhá-h* without the substitute phoneme replacing the prior member.

### 6.3.60 <sup>1</sup>manthá=<sup>2</sup>odaná-<sup>3</sup>sáktu-<sup>4</sup>bindú-<sup>5</sup>vájra-<sup>6</sup>bhār-á-<sup>7</sup>hār-á-<sup>8</sup>vīvadhá-<sup>9</sup>gāh-é-ṣu ca

[The substitute morpheme udá 57 optionally 59 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 udaká- ‘water’ 57] also (*ca*) [before 1.1.66 the final members 1] °-manthá- ‘mixed beverage’, °-odaná- ‘rice’, °-sáktu- ‘barley meal’, °-bindú- ‘drop’, °-vájra- ‘water-jar’, °-bhār-á-, °-hār-á- ‘carrier’, °-vīvadhá- ‘carrying pole or yoke’ and °-gāh-á- ‘plunger’.

*udak-éna manthá-h* = *udá-mantha-h* ‘beverage mixed with water’; similarly *ud-aú-dana-* ‘rice boiled with water’; both alternating with *udaká-mantha-h* and *udak-aú-dana-h*. Likewise *udaká-sya bindú-h* = *udaka-bindú-h/uda-bindú-h* ‘drop of water’; similarly *udaka-vájra-/uda-vájra-* ‘water jet’; *udaka-bhār-á-/°-hār-á*, *uda-bhār-á-/°-hār-á* ‘water carrier’; *udaka-vīvadhá/uda-vīvadhá-* ‘yoke or pole for transporting water’; *udakám gāh-a-te* = *udaká-/udá+gāh+áN* (3.2.1) = *udaka-gāh-á-h/uda-gāh-á-h* ‘plunger, diver’.

### 6.3.61 iK-ah=hrasvá-ḥ=á-Ñy-ah gālava-sya

A short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.72] vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) (of a first member) not [terminating in 1.1.72] the feminine affix Ñī (= ÑīP, ÑīṢ, ÑīN) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] according to the grammarian Gālava.

*grāma-m náy-a-ti* = *grāma+θ<sup>1</sup>+nI+KviP* = *grāma-ñf-ḥ, tá-sya put-rá-ḥ* = *grāma-ñI-/grāma-ñi- 'putrá-ḥ* 'son of a village headman'; *brahma-bandhū-putrá-/brahma-bandhu-putrá-* 'son of a nominal brahmin' but *gārg-ya+ÑīP* = *gārg-θθ+I* (4.148,150) = *gārg-I, tá-syāḥ putrá-ḥ* = *gārgī-putrá-ḥ* 'son of Gārgī'.

### 6.3.62 éka taddhit-é ca

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1] or (ca) a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1] (4.1.76ff.) [a short vowel replaces the stem-final 1.1.72 vowel 61] of éka-° 'one' (in the feminine with TāP 4.1.4).

*eka-syāḥ ā-ga-tā-m ekā+rūpya-m* = *eka-rūpya-m* (4.3.81) 'descended from the same woman'; *eka-māya-m* (4.3.82) 'consisting of one (f.)'; *eka-tvā-m/ekā-tā* (5.1.19) 'one-ness'; *eka-kṣīrā-m* = *eka-syāḥ kṣīrā-m* 'milk of one and the same cow' = *eka-dug-dhā-m*.

### 6.3.63 <sup>1</sup>Ñī=<sup>2</sup>āP-oh <sup>1</sup>saṃjñā-<sup>2</sup>chāndas-oh=bahulá-m

[A short vowel 61] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52 of the feminine affixes 4.1.3] Ñī and āP [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1] in the domain of names or of Chāndas.

1. domain of names: *revāty-āḥ putrá-ḥ* = *revati-putrá-ḥ* n.pr. (son of Revātī), but *nāndī-m kār-o-ti* = *nāndī+kr+Tā* (3.2.21) = *nāndī-kar-á-ḥ* 'speaker of the prologue (in a stage play)'; *śilāy-āḥ vāh-a-ḥ* = *śilā-vah-á-ḥ* n.pr., but *lómakāy-āḥ gṛh-á-m* = *lomaka-gṛh-á-m* (2.2.8) n.pr.
2. domain of Chandas: *kumārī-m dá-dā-ti* = *kumāri-dā-* 'bestower of a daughter'; *urvi-dā* 'bestower of the earth' but *phālgunī-paurṇamāśī* = *phālgunī ca asaú paurṇamāśī ca* 'full-moon night in the month of Phālguna'. *ajā-y-āḥ kṣīrā-m* = *ajā-kṣīrā-m* 'goat's milk' but *ūrṇā-y-āḥ sūtra-m* = *ūrṇā-sūtrā-m* 'woolen fiber'.

### 6.3.64 tv-é ca

[A short vowel 61 variously 63 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 feminine affixes Ñī and āP 63 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] tvā (5.1.119) also (ca) [in the Chāndas 63].

*ajā-y-āḥ bhāv-d-ḥ* = *ajā-tvā-m/ajā-tvā-m* 'condition of being a she-goat', but *rohini-tvām* 'the state of being Róhini'. Since there is no possibility of deriving a name with this affix, examples occur only in the domain of Chandas.

### 6.3.65 <sup>1</sup>īṣṭa-kā=<sup>2</sup>īṣṭ-kā-<sup>3</sup>mālā-n-āṁ <sup>1</sup>citā-<sup>2</sup>tūla-<sup>3</sup>bhār-ī-ṣu

[A short vowel 61 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 feminine affix āP 63 of the first members] *īṣṭa-kā-*° 'brick', *īṣṭ-kā-*° 'a kind of reed' and *mālā-*° 'garland' [respectively 1.3.10, before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-ci-tā- 'piled', °-tūla- 'clump', and °-bhār-īn- 'bearer'.

*īṣṭa-kā-bhis*=*ci-tā-ḥ* = *īṣṭa-ka-ci-ta-ḥ* (2.1.32) 'piled with bricks'. *īṣṭ-kā-y-ās tūla-m* = *īṣṭ-ka-tūlā-m* 'clump of reeds'; *mālā-m bhār-tum śīla-m a-syāḥ mālā+bhṛ+ñi* (3.2.78)+*ñiP* (4.1.5) = *mālā-bhār-īn-ī* (*kan-yā*) 'maiden habitually wearing a garland'.

### 6.3.66 KH-IT-i=án-a-vy-aya-sya

[A short vowel 61 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of a first member] excluding indeclinables (*án-a-vy-aya-sya*) [before 1.1.66 posterior members 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] with marker KH as IT.

The affixes with KH as IT are: KHáC (3.2.38), KHAMuÑ (3.4.25), KHaL (3.3.126), KHáŚ (3.2.28), KHīṣṇúC (3.2.57), KHukaÑ (3.2.57) and KHyuN (3.2.56).

*kālī-m ātmāna-am mán-ya-te* = *kālī+θ<sup>1</sup>+man+KHáŚ* (3.2.83) = *kālī+muM+man+áŚ* (67) = *kālī-m+man+ŚyaN+á* (3.1.69)+*TaP* = *kālī-m-man-y-á* 'who considers herself as dark'; the intervention of [muM] does not block this operation according to Kāśikā, while Bhaṭṭoji suggests that replacement precedes the augmentation. In the case of indeclinables: *doṣā-man-yā-m āhaḥ* 'day passing for night'; *divā-man-y-á rātri-ḥ* 'night passing for day'.

### 6.3.67 <sup>1</sup>árus=<sup>2</sup>dviṣát=<sup>3</sup>áC=anta=sya muM

[The infixed increment] muM is inserted [after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *árus-* 'wound', *dviṣ-át-* 'hostile, foe, enemy' and those [ending in 1.1.72] in a vowel (*áC=anta-sya*) [excluding indeclinables 66, before 1.1.66 an affix with marker KH as IT 66].

*áruḥ tud-á-ti* = *arus+tud+KháŚ* (3.2.35) = *aru-m-s+tud+Śá+á* = *aruθ-tud-á-ḥ* (8.2.23) 'painful, hurting the wound'; *dviṣ-ánt-am tāp-á-y-a-ti* = *dviṣ-át+tāp-i+KHáC* (3.2.39) = *dviṣ-a-muM-t+tāp-á-* = *dviṣ-a-n-θ-tāp-á-* (4.94; 8.4.65) 'chastising the enemy'; *kālī-m-man-y-á* (66).

### 6.3.68 iC-aḥ=éka=aC-aḥ=am-pratyaya-vát=ca

[Before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1 ending in 1.1.72 an affix 3.1.1 with marker KH as IT 66] the increment [am] is inserted [after 1.1.67] a monosyllabic prior member (éka=aC-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel phoneme denoted by the siglum iC (= all vowels excluding phoneme class a), and this increment functions like the [affix 3.1.1] [am] (of sUP).

*gá-m ātmán-am mán-ya-te* = *go+θ<sup>1</sup>+man+KHáŚ* (3.2.83) = *go+am+man+ŚyaN+aŚ* = *gā-m+man-y-á-ḥ* 'thinking oneself a cow'; similarly *striy-am-man-y-á-* 'thinking oneself a woman' (4.8), but with a polysyllabic stem: *lékhā iva bhrūr-a-syāḥ* = *lékhā-bhrū-ḥ* 'whose eyebrow is like a line' yields: *lekḥā-bhru-m-man-y-á-* (66).

### 6.3.69 <sup>1</sup>vāca-m-yam-á-<sup>2</sup>pura-m-dar-áu

The expressions *vāca-m-yam-á-* and *pura-m-dar-á-* are introduced [with increment /am/ which functions like the affix /am/ 68].

*vāc-am yācch-a-ti* = *vāc+θ<sup>1</sup>+yam+KHáC* (3.2.40) = *vāc-am+yam-á-* 'who restrains his speech as an act of religious observance'; *púr-am dār-áy-a-ti* = *pur+am+dṛ+ÑiC+KHáC* (3.2.41) = *pur-am-dṛ+θ+á* (4.51) = *pur-am-dar-á-* 'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.

### 6.3.70 kār-é <sup>1</sup>sat-yá=<sup>2</sup>agadáśya

[Before the final member 1] °-kār-á- 'agent, doer' [the infixed increment *m̐M* 67 is inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first members] *sat-yá-* 'truth' and *agadá-* 'drug, medicine'.

The expression [kār-á-] is derivable either by itself with affix *GHāÑ* or as a posterior member of a *kṛt* compound (3.2.1): *satyám kar-ó-ti* = *satya+m̐M+kṛ+dÑ* (3.2.1) = *satya-m-kār-á-ḥ/satyáśya kār-á-ḥ* 'ratification'; similarly *a-gada-m-kār-á-ḥ* 'physician'.

### 6.3.71 <sup>1</sup>śyená-<sup>2</sup>tilá-sya pāt-é Ñ-e

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhita 4.1.76ff. affix 3.1.1] °Ña- (4.2.58) [introduced after 3.1.2 the final member 1] °-pāt-á- [the infixed increment *m̐M* 67 is inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first members] *śyená-* 'falcon' and *tilá-* 'sesamum'.

*śyená-sya pāt-áḥ a-syám kṛdā-y-ām* = *śyena-pāt-a+Ña+ṬāP* (4.1.4) *śyaína+m̐M+pātθ-a+ṬāP* = *śyaína-m-pāt-ā mṛga-y-á* 'hunting with a falcon, falconry'. Similarly *tañā-m-pāt-ā* 'a game in which sesamum seeds are thrown'.

### 6.3.72 *rātre-ḥ kṛt-i vibhāṣā*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1 ending in 1.1.72] a *kṛt* (3.1.93) [affix 3.1.1, the infixed increment *muM* 67] is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) [inserted after the last vowel 1.1.47 of the first member] *rātri-* ° ‘night’.

*rātr-au car-a-ti* = *rātri+car+Tá* (3.2.16) = *rātri+muM+car-á-* = *rātri-m-car-á-/rātri-car-á-* ‘nocturnal wanderer’, but *rātri-m-many-á-* (KHaŚ 3.2.53) [66].

### 6.3.73 *na-lop-áh náÑ-aḥ*

[Before 1.1.66 a final member 1] *lopa* (Ø) replaces the phoneme /n/ of the privative particle *náÑ*.

*náÑ+brāhmaṇá-ḥ* = *á-brāhmaṇa-ḥ* (2) ‘non-brahmin’.

### 6.3.74 *tá-smāt=nyṭ=aCi*

After that (*tá-smāt*) [= Ø replacement of phoneme /n/ of *náÑ* 73 before 1.1.66 a final member 1 beginning with 1.1.51] a vowel (*aC-i*), [the initial increment 1.1.46] *nyṭ* is inserted at the beginning [of the final member 1].

*náÑ+ásva-* = *Ø+ásva-* (73) = *á+n-aśva-* ‘not a horse’; so also *á-n-ā-tur-a-* ‘not eager’; *á-n-īśa-* ‘not a king’ etc. If the increment were for [náÑ] instead of the posterior member 8.3.32 would have operated, yielding unacceptable forms like \**an-n+aśva-*.

### 6.3.75 <sup>1</sup>*ná-bhrāj*=<sup>2</sup>*ná-pāt*=<sup>3</sup>*ná-vedas*=<sup>4</sup>*ná-satyā*-<sup>5</sup>*ná-muc-i*- <sup>6</sup>*ná-kula*-<sup>7</sup>*ná-kha*-<sup>8</sup>*ná-puṁs-aka*-<sup>9</sup>*ná-kṣatra*-<sup>10</sup>*ná-kra*- <sup>11</sup>*ná-ke-ṣu pra-kṛ-ty-ā*

[The privative particle *náÑ* 73] retains its original form (*pra-iḥ-ty-ā*) in the expressions *ná-bhrāj-* ‘cloud’, *ná-pāt-* ‘nephew’, *ná-vedas-* ‘ignorant’, *ná-satyā* (nom.du.) ‘the *Ásvin* twins’, *ná-muc-i-* ‘n.pr. of a demon’, *ná-kula-* ‘mongoose’ and as n.pr. ‘the fourth *Pāṇḍava* brother’, *ná-kha-* ‘nail’, *ná-puṁs-aka-* ‘neuter’, *ná-kṣatra-* ‘asterism’, *ná-kra-* ‘alligator, crocodile’ and *n-ā-ka-* ‘heaven’.

These expressions are variously derived: 1. *ná bhrāj-a-te* = *ná-bhrāj+KviP* = *ná-bhrāj-* (3.2.177); 2. *ná pā-ti* = *ná+pā+ŚatR* = *pā+Ø<sup>1</sup>+at* = *ná-pāt*; 3. *ná vêt-ti* = *ná+vid+asyuN* = *ná-ved-as-*; 4. *ná-saty-au* = *á-saty-au*, *ná á-saty-au* =

*n-ā-saty-a+Dā* (7.1.39) = *n-ā-saty-ā*; 5. *nā muñc-ā-ti* = *na+muc+Ki* = *nā-muc-i-* (3.1.135); 6. *nā kūla-m a-syā* = *nā-kula-*; 7. *nā khā-m a-sysā* = *nā-kha-*; 8. *nā strī nā pūmān* = *nā-puṃs-aka-*; 9. *nā kṣār-a-te/kṣī-yā-te vā* = *nā-kṣatra-*; 10. *nā krām-a-ti* = *nā+kram+Dā* = *nā-kra-*; 11. *nā ā-kam a-smīn* = *n-ā-ka-*.

### 6.3.76 éka=ādi-s=ca=éka-sya ca=ādūK

[The privative particle náÑ 73, co-occurring with the number-word] éka-° ‘one’ as a first member (éka=ādi-s) [retains its original form 75] and the final increment ādūK is inserted after éka-° (1.1.46).

*ék-ena ná vimśa-tī-ḥ* = *éka+ād+nā+vimśatī-* = *ék-ān-na-vimśati-ḥ* ‘nineteen (lit. not twenty by one)’.

### 6.3.77 ná-ga-ḥ=á-prāṇi-ṣu=anya-tará-syām

The expression ná-ga- is introduced to denote an inanimate object (á-prāṇi-ṣu) [with the privative particle náÑ 73 retaining its original form 75 before a final member 1] °-ga.

*nā gáčch-a-ti* = *nā+gam+Dā* = *nā-ga-/Vá-ga-* ‘tree, mountain’, but *á-ga-ḥ vṛṣalá-ḥ sīt-éna* ‘V. is unable to move on account of chill’. The expression °gá- (*gam+Dá*) is formed prior to its composition with náÑ as in the case of *nā+krā* = *nā-kra-* (10 above in 76).

### 6.3.78 sahá-sya sá-ḥ saṃjñā-y-ām

The substitute element sá- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] sahá-° ‘with’ [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] to derive a name (saṃjñā-y-ām).

*sahá aśvatth-éna* = *sá+aśvattha-m* = *s-ā-śvattha-m* ‘n.pr. of a forest’; similarly *sá-palāśa-m*, *sá-bimśapa-m*. *sahá yodh-i-tā-vān* = *saha+yudh+KvanīP* (3.2.96) = *saha-yúdh-van-* ‘fighting together’; *saha-kṛ-ti-van-* ‘working together’. [But RV. *sa-jí-t-van-* ‘victorious’].

### 6.3.79 <sup>1</sup>grantha=antá=<sup>2</sup>ádhi-k-e ca

[The substitute element sá- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 sahá- 78] also (ca) when it denotes ‘up to the end of a text’ (grantha=anta-°) or ‘more, in excess; (°-ádhi-k-e) [before 1.1.66 a final member 1].

1. *sahá kaláy-ā* (= *kalā=antam*) = *sahá+kalā* = *sa-kalā-m* (2.1.6) ‘up to the end of



the section on *kalā* (a chapter in an astronomical work); similarly *sa-muhūrtā-m*'.

2. *drōṇ-ēna sahá khārf* = *sá-dronā khārf* (2.2.28) 'a *khārf* measure in excess by a *drona*'.

### 6.3.80 dvi-tīy-e ca=án-upa=aty-ay-e

[The substitute element *sá-* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *sahá-* 78 when the final member 1] also (ca) refers to a second item (dvi-tīy-e) which is not directly perceived (*án-up-ā-ty-ay-e*).

*agnī-nā sahá kapóta-h* = *sá+agni-h kapóta-h* = *s-āgni-h kapóta-h* 'a pigeon whose presence is indicative of a fire (which is not perceived)'; so also *piśāc-ēna sahá vātyā* = *sá-piśācā vātyā* (2.2.28) 'a hurricane (indicative of the presence of) a *piśācā* (which is inferred but not directly perceived)'.

### 6.3.81 avyayī-bhāv-é ca=á-kāl-e

In an *Avyayībhāvā* compound [the substitute element *sá* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *sahá-* ° 78 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] not designating time-words (*á-kāl-e*).

*sahá cakr-ēṇa dhe-hí* = *sa-cakrá-m dhe-hí* (2.1.6: *yauga-pad-ya-*) 'place with a wheel'; *sahá dhúray-ā pr-ā-ja* = *sa-dhurá-m pr-ā-ja* 'drive with a plough', but *saha-pūrv-ā-hnā-m* 'with the morning'.

### 6.3.82 vā=upa-sárj-ana-sya

[The substitute element *sá-* 76] optionally (*vā*) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *sahá-* before 1.1.66 a final member 1] in a *Ḭahuvrīhī* compound (*upa-sárj-ana-sya*).

*putr-ēṇa sahá* = *sá-putra-h/sahá-putra-h* (2.2.28) 'accompanied by the son'; but *saha-yúdh-van-* 'brother-in-arms'.

### 6.3.83 pra-kṛ-ty-ā āśís-i=a-<sup>1</sup>gó-<sup>2</sup>vatsá-<sup>3</sup>halé-ṣu

[*sahá* 78] retains its original form (*pra-kṛ-ty-ā*) [before 1.1.66 the final members 1] excluding °-*gó-* 'cow/bull', °-*vatsá-* 'calf' and °-*hal-á-* 'plough', when expressing blessing (*āśís-i*).

*sv-astí devadattā-ya sahá-putráya* 'may welfare attend upon Devadatta, accompanied by his son(s)'; but *sv-astí bhāvat-e sá-gav-e/sahá-gav-e* (82) 'welfare to

your honor, accompanied by cattle' and similarly *svastí bhá-vat-e sáha-vatsā-ya/sā-vatsā-ya/sahā-halā-ya/sā-halā-ya*.

### 6.3.84 samānā-sya chāndas-i a-<sup>1</sup>mūrdhā(n)=<sup>2</sup>prā-bhṛ-ti=<sup>3</sup>udarké-ṣu

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute element *sá-* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 of the nominal stem] *samānā-* 'common, equal, similar' [before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1] excluding °-mūrdhān- 'head', °-prā-bhṛ-ti- 'commencement' and °-udarkā- 'consequence'.

*anu-bhrātā sá-garbhya-ḥ* (= *samān-é gárbh-e bháva-ḥ* = *sá=garbh-ya-ḥ* 4.4.114) 'consanguinous younger brother', but *sa-mānā-mūrdhan-* 'equal-headed', *samān-pra-bhṛ-ti-* 'beginning equally' and *samān-ó-darka-* 'consequence'.

### 6.3.85 <sup>1</sup>īyótis-<sup>2</sup>janapadá-<sup>3</sup>rātri-<sup>4</sup>nābhi-<sup>5</sup>nāma(n)=<sup>6</sup>gotrá-<sup>7</sup>rūpá-<sup>8</sup>sthāna-<sup>9</sup>vārṇa-<sup>10</sup>vāyas-<sup>11</sup>vac-anā-<sup>12</sup>bāndhu-ṣu

[The substitute element *sá-* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samānā-* 'common, similar, equal' before 1.1.66 final members of compounds 1] °-īyótis- 'light', °-janapadá- 'inhabited locality', °-rātri- 'night', °-nābhi- 'navel', °-nā-man- 'name', °-gotrá- 'family, lineage', °-rūpá- 'form, shape', °-sthāna- 'place', °-vārṇa- 'color', °-vāy-as- 'age', °-vac-anā- 'word' and °-bāndhu- 'kin'.

*samānā-m īyótir a-syā* = *sá-īyotis-* 'having the same or similar luster'; similarly: *sá-janapada-/sá-rātri/sá-nābhi/sá-nāman/sá-gotra-/sá-rūpa-/sá-sthāna-/sá-varṇa-/sá-vayas-/sá-vac-ana-/sá-bandhu-* 'fellow countryman/having a similar night/having the same nave or centre/having the same name/belonging to the same family or lineage/similar in form/sharing the same place/of same or similar color or homogeneous/of the same or identical age/having similar speech/sharing the same kin'.

### 6.3.86 cār-aṇ-e brahma-cār-īṇ-i

[The substitute element *sá-* replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samānā-* 'similar, equal' 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-brahma-cār-īṇ- 'student of the Veda' to denote a school or branch of the Veda (*cār-aṇ-e*).

*samāna-ḥ brahma-cārī* = *sá-brahma-cār-i* 'fellow student of the same branch of the Veda'.

### 6.3.87 tīrth-é y-à

[The substitute element *sá* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samāná-* ‘similar’ 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-tīrthá- ‘preceptor, teacher, adviser’ co-occurring with [affix 3.1.1] °yà- (= yàT 4.4.107).

*samāna-tīrth-é vās-ī* (4.4.107) = *sa-tīrth-yà-h* ‘sharing a common teacher or preceptor, co-student’.

### 6.3.88 vibhāṣā=udár-e

[The substitute element *sá* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samāná-* ‘similar’ 84 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-udára- ‘womb’ [co-occurring with the affix 3.1.1 °-yà- 87] optionally (*vibhāṣā*).

*samān-o-dar-é śay-i-tá-h* = *sa+udara+yá* (4.4.109) = *so-dar-yá-/samān-ó-dar-ya-* (yàT 4.4.108) ‘co-uterine’.

### 6.3.89 <sup>1</sup>dṛś=<sup>2</sup>dṛśa=<sup>3</sup>vatU-ṣu

[The substitute element *sá* 78 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 *samāná-* 84 before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-dṛś-, °-dṛśa- ‘perceiver’ and [the affix 3.1.1] °-vatU(P).

*samānā-m (ātman-am) páśy-a-ti* = *samānā+dṛś+KviN* = *sa-dṛś-/sa+dṛś+KaN* = *sa-dṛś-a-* (3.2.60+vārt.) ‘like, similar, resembling’. The expression [°vatU-ṣu] is with reference to the following sūtra-s.

### 6.3.90 <sup>1</sup>idám-<sup>2</sup>kím-or <sup>1</sup>īś-<sup>2</sup>kī

The substitute elements *īś-* and *kī* [respectively 3.1.10] replace [the whole of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] *idám-* ‘this’ and *kím-* ‘who, what, which?’ [before 1.1.66 final members of compounds 1 °-dṛś-, °-dṛś-a- ‘perceiver’ and affix 3.1.1 *vatU(P)* 89].

*idám+dṛś/dṛś-a-* = *ī-dṛś/dṛś-a-* ‘like this’; *idám+vatUP* = *ī+gh-atUP* (5.2.4) = *ī+iy-at* (7.1.2) *ī-iy-at-* (4.148) ‘this much’; similarly *kī-dṛś-/dṛś-a-* ‘like who, what or which?’ and *kī-iy-at* ‘how much?’.

### 6.3.91 ā sarva-nāmn-aḥ

The substitute element /ā/ replaces [the stem-final 1.1.52] of pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 final members in a compound °-dṛś-, ° dṛś-a- and affix °-vatUP 89].

*tād+dṛś-/dṛśa-/vatU = ta-ā+dṛś/dṛś-a-/vatU = tā-dṛś-/dṛś-a-* ‘like that’ and *tā-vat-* ‘that much’. Similarly *yā-dṛś-/dṛś-a-* ‘like what (relative)’ and *yā-vat-* ‘as much’.

### 6.3.92 <sup>1</sup>viṣva(ñ)c-<sup>2</sup>deváy-os=ca TE-r adri=āñc-a-tau vā-praty-ay-é

The substitute element adri- replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel (TE-r) of (the first members) viṣv-añc- ‘going in all directions’ and devá-° ‘divinity’ and (ca) [pronominal stems 91 before 1.1.66 the final member of a compound 1] °-añc- co-occurring with the affix -v (= KvīN 3.2.59).

*viṣv-ag añc-a-ti = viṣv-añc+añc+KvīN = viṣv-adri+añc+∅* (6.1.87) = *viṣv-adry-añc-* ‘all-pervading’; similarly *tad+añc+KvīN = t-adri+añc+∅ = t-adry-añc-* ‘turned towards that’.

### 6.3.93 sám-aḥ sami

The substitute element sami- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] sám-° [before 1.1.66 the final member in a compound 1 °-añc- co-occurring with affix v (KvīN) 92].

*sám+añc+KvīN = sami+dāñc+∅ = samy-dāñc-* ‘turned together in one direction’.

### 6.3.94 tirás-as tiri=a-lop-é

The substitute element tiri- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] tirás- ‘across, beyond’ [before 1.1.66 the final member in a compound 1 °-añc co-occurring with the affix v (KvīN) 92] when ∅-replacement (lopa) of the phoneme /a/ (4.138) does not take place.

*tirás+añc+KvīN = tiri+dāñc+∅ = tiry-dāñc-au/tiry-añc-aḥ, tiry-añc-am*, but before weak affixes beginning with vowels: *tirás+añc+KvīN+Śas/Ṭa/Ñe/Nas = tirás-c-as/ā/e/as* etc. (4.138).

### 6.3.95 *sahá-sya sadhrí-h*

The substitute element *sadhrí-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] *sahá-* [before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1 °-*añc-* co-occurring with the affix *v* (Kv<sub>i</sub>N) 92].

*sahá-añc+Kv<sub>i</sub>N = sadhri+añc+Ø = sadhry-añc-* ‘turned in the same direction’. Before weak affixes beginning with a vowel: *sadhrí-c+Śas/Tā/Ñe* etc.

### 6.3.96 *sadhá<sup>1</sup>māda-<sup>2</sup>stháy-os=chándas-i*

In the *Chándas* the substitute element *sadhá-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 *sahá-* 95 before 1.1.66 final members in composition 1] °-*mād-a-* ‘intoxicating’ and °-*sthá-* ‘remaining, standing’.

*sahá mād-ena vart-a-te = sadha+mād-a-* ‘drinking together, carousel’ and similarly *sahá tiṣṭh-a-ti = sadha+sthā+Ka* (3.2.4) = *sadhā-stha-* ‘standing together, present’. The accent in the first shows that it is a regular *kṛt=anta samāsa* while in the second it is *sadhá+stha-* (2.2.28). In addition RV has *sadhá-vīra-* ‘joined with heroes’, *sadhá-stu-ti-* ‘joint praise’, *sadhá-stu-t-ya-* ‘ibid’, and *Ganapāṭha* records *sadhá-mitra-* as a n.pr.

### 6.3.97 <sup>1</sup>*dví=*<sup>2</sup>*antár=*<sup>3</sup>*upa-sarg-é-bhyaḥ áp-aḥ īT*

The substitute phoneme long *ī(T)* replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-*áp-* ‘water’ [after 1.1.67 first members in a compound] *dví-* ° ‘two’, *antár-* ° ‘within’, and preverbs.

*dví ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín = dví+ap+á* (5.4.74) = *dví-īp-á-* = *dv-ī-pá-h* ‘island, peninsula’; similarly *antar-īp-á-h = antar-ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín* ‘island’; *sam-ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín = sam-īp-á-* ‘contiguous, proximate’.

### 6.3.98 *ūT=án-or dés-e*

The substitute element long *ū(T)* replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 °-*áp-* ‘water’, co-occurring after 1.1.67 the first member in a compound] *ánu-* ° when indicating the name of a locality (*dés-e*).

*anu-ga-tá-h áp-aḥ a-smín = anu+ap+á = anu+ūp+á = an-ūp-á-* ‘n.pr. of a locality’, but *anv-īp-á-* ‘watery’.

**6.3.99** <sup>1</sup>á-ṣaṣṭhī=<sup>2</sup>á-tṛ-tīya-sthasya=anyá-sya duK <sup>1</sup>āsís=  
<sup>2</sup>āsā=<sup>3</sup>ā-sthā=<sup>4</sup>ā-sthi-tá=<sup>5</sup>ut-su-ká=<sup>6</sup>ūtí-<sup>7</sup>kār-aka-<sup>8</sup>rāgá=  
<sup>9</sup>che-ṣu

The final increment duK is inserted [after the nominal stem] anyá-° ‘another, other, else’ not [ending in 1.1.72] the sixth or third sUP triplets [before 1.1.66 final members of a compound 1] °-āsís- ‘benediction’, °-āsā- ‘hope’, ā-sthā ‘regard’, °-ā-sthi-tá- ‘occupied’, °-ut-su-ká- ‘eager’, °-ū-tí- ‘assistance, aid, help’, °-kār-aka- ‘agent, doer’, °-rāgá- ‘passion’ and [the affix 3.1.1] cha (4.2.138).

*anyá āśīḥ* = *anya-d-āsís-* ‘a different benediction or blessing’; similarly: *anya-d-āsā* ‘a different wish’; *anya-d-āsthā* ‘another or different wish’; *anya-d-ā-sth-tá-* ‘occupied differently’; *anya-d-ut-su-ká-* ‘eager for something else’; *anya-d-ūtí-* ‘a different aid’; *anya-t-kar-aká-* ‘a different agent’; *anya-d-rāgá-* ‘a different passion’; *anyá+cha* (4.2.138) = *anya-d-íya-* ‘belonging to another’. But *anyá-sya āśīḥ* = *anyāśīḥ*, *any-éna ā-sthita-ḥ* = *any-ā-sth-i-ta-h*.

### 6.3.100 áarth-e vibhāṣā

[The final increment duK 99] optionally (vibhāṣā) [is inserted after the nominal stem 4.1.1 anyá- ‘another, other, else’ 99 before 1.1.66 the final member in compound 1] °-ártha- ‘purpose, object, use’.

*anyá-smai idám* = *anya+arthá-m* = *any-ā-rthám/anya-d-arthám* (2.1.36) ‘for another purpose, object or use’.

### 6.3.101 kó-ḥ kat tatpuruṣ-é=aC-i

The substitute element kát- (or kád-) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] kú- ‘bad’ in a Tatpuruṣá compound [before 1.1.66 a final member 1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i 1.1.54).

*kú+ásva* = *kád-asva-* (2.2) ‘a bad horse’; similarly *kád-aja-* ‘worthless goat’; *kád-anna-m* ‘stale or spoiled food’ but *kú-brāhmaṇa-ḥ* ‘vile brahmin’.

### 6.3.102 <sup>1</sup>rátha-<sup>2</sup>vadáy-os=ca

[The substitute element kát- or kád] also (ca) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 ku-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-rátha- ‘chariot’ and °-vad-á ‘speaker’.

*kú+ratha-* = *kád-ratha-* ‘bad or inferior chariot’; *kád-vad-a-* ‘bad speaker, speaking

ill or indistinctly'. Extension of 101 to posterior members beginning with a consonant.

### 6.3.103 tṛṇ-e ca jā-t-au

[The substitute element kát- or kád-] also (ca) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-tṛṇa- 'grass' to denote a genus (jā-t-au).

*kú+tṛṇa-* = *kát-tṛṇa-* 'water-house leek or Pistia Stratiotis' but *kuts-i-tám tṛṇa-m* = *kú-tṛṇa-m* 'rotten grass'.

### 6.3.104 kâ ¹páthi(n)=²ákṣay-oḥ

The substitute element kâ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the posterior members 1] °-páthin- 'path' and °-ákṣi- 'eye'.

*kú+páthin* = *kā-path-á-* (5.4.74) 'bad road'; similarly *kú+akṣi-* = *kā+akṣ-á-* = *k-ā-kṣ-á-* 'evil eye'.

### 6.3.105 īṣad-arth-é

[The substitute element kâ replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 a final member 1] when it means 'a little' (īṣad-arth-é).

*īṣát madhurá-m* = *kā-madhura-m* 'sweetish'; similarly *kā-lavaṇa-* 'slightly saltish'.

### 6.3.106 vibhāṣā púruṣ-e

[The substitute element kâ-° 104] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-púruṣa- 'person'.

*kā-puruṣa-/kú-puruṣa-* 'a contemptible person', but *īṣát-puruṣa-h* = *kú-puruṣa-h* 'somewhat less than a man'.

### 6.3.107 kava-m̐ ca=uṣ-ṇ-é

The substitute element kava-° as well as (ca) [kã-° 104 replace the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-uṣ-ṇa- ‘hot’ [to denote the sense of ‘a little, slightly’ 105].

The word [vibhāṣā] recurs here from the preceding sūtra and brings into operation [kád-] also from 101 above.

*kavá-/ká/kád+uṣ-ṇa- = kav-ó-ṣ-ṇa-/k-ó-ṣ-ṇa-/kád-uṣ-ṇa-* ‘tepid, slightly warm’.

### 6.3.108 path-í ca=chándas-i

[The substitute element kavá-° 107 optionally 106 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 kú-° in a Tatpuruṣá compound 101 before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-páthin- ‘path’ in addition to (ca) [kã-° 104 and kú-° 101] in the domain of Chándas.

*kú+páthin+á* [5.4.74] = *kava-path-á-/ká-path-á-/ku-path-á-* ‘wrong or bad road’.

### 6.3.109 pṛṣ-o-dara=ādī-n-i yath-o-pa-diṣ-tá-m

The class of compounds beginning with (°-ādī-n-i) pṛṣ-o-dara- ‘having a spotted belly’ is introduced as currently taught (by the learned speakers: yath-o-pa-diṣ-tá-m).

These involve a number of irregularities which have not been subjected to specific rules. Thus *pṛṣad udáram a-syá = pṛṣaṭh+udara- = pṛṣ-o-dara-*.

### 6.3.110 <sup>1</sup>saṁ-khyā-<sup>2</sup>ví-<sup>3</sup>sāy-á=pūrva-sya ahná-sya áhan anya-tará-syām N̐-au

The substitute morpheme áhan- optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the final member of a compound 1] °-ahná- [before 1.1.66 the seventh sUP triplet 4.1.2] N̐i, [when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a numeral (saṁ-khyā-°), ví-° and sāyá-° ‘evening’.

*dváy-or ahn-or bháv-a-ḥ = dvi+ahan+ṭhaN̐* (2.1.51; 4.3.11) *dvi+ahan+ṭh<sup>1</sup>* (4.1.88) = *dvi+ahan+ṬáC* (5.4.91) = *dvi+ahna+ṬáC* (5.4.88) = *dvya-ahnṭh-á* (4.148); *dvya-ahn-á+N̐i = dvya-ahan+N̐i = dvya-ahan-i/dvya-ahn-i* (4.136); similarly *vy-apa-ga-tá-m áh-aḥ = vy-ahn-á-ḥ*, *tá-smin = vy-ahan-i/vy-ahn-i*; *sāy-á-m áhn-aḥ = sāy-ā-hná-ḥ*, *tá-smin sāy-ā-hán-i/sāy-ā-hn-i*. In addition to these the regular forms: *dvya-ahn-é/vy-ahn-é/sāy-ā-hn-é*.



### 6.3.111 ḍh-rā-lop-e pūrva-sya dīrghā-ḥ=aN-aḥ

A substitute long (vowel: dīrghā-ḥ 1.2.28) replaces a vowel denoted by the siglum aN (= a, i, u) [before 1.1.66] a lópa (Ø) replacement of phonemes /ḍh, r/ when immediately preceding it (pūrva-sya).

*lih+Ktá* = *liḍh+Ktá* (8.2.31) = *liḍh+dḥá* (8.2.40) = *liḍh+dḥá* (8.4.41) = *liØ+dḥa* (8.3.13) = *li-dḥá*- 'licked'.

*agní+sU+rátha+sU* = *agní+rU+rátha+rU* (8.2.66) = *agní rátha-ḥ* (8.3.15) = *agní-Ø rátha-ḥ* (8.3.14) = *agní rátha-ḥ* 'fire chariot'; but *dṛgh+Ktá* = *dṛḍh+dḥdḥá* = *dṛØ-dḥá*- 'fixed, firm'. The metarule 8.2.1 is not operative here since [ḍh-rā-lop-e] is specifically mentioned in this rule.

### 6.3.112 <sup>1</sup>sáhi-<sup>2</sup>vah-or oT=a-varṇá-sya

The substitute phoneme /o/ replaces the phoneme-class /a/ of the verbal stems *sáh*- 'endure, bear' (I 905) and *vah*- 'carry' (I 1053) [before 1.1.66 Ø replacement of the phoneme /ḍh/ 111].

*sáh+tumyN* = *sáḍh-tum* = *sáḍh+dhum* = *sáḍh+dḥum* = *sáØ+dḥum* = *\*sā-dhum* (222) = *só-dhum* 'to endure'; similarly *sah+tṛN/távya* = *só-dḥṛ-/so-dḥávya*- etc. Likewise *váh+tṛN* = *váḍh+dḥṛN* = *váḍh+dḥṛ*- = *váØ+dḥṛ*- = *vó-dḥṛ*- 'carrier, bearer', but *vah+Ktá* = *uh+Ktá* (1.15) = *uḍh+dḥá* *uḍh+dḥá* = *uØ-dḥa* = *ā-dḥá*- 'borne, carried'.

### 6.3.113 sá-dhyai sā-dvḥvā sá-dḥa=iti ni-gam-é

In the Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) the expressions *sá-dhyai*, *sā-dvḥvā* and *sá-dḥṛ*- are introduced [without the replacement of the stem vowel /a/ 112].

*sah+dhyaiN/Ktvā* = *sáḍh+dhyaiN/Ktvā* = *sáḍh+dhyaiN/dḥvā* = *sáØ-dhyai/sā-dḥvā* 'having prevailed or conquered'; similarly *sáh+tṛN* = *sáḍh+dḥṛ*- = *sá-dḥṛ*- 'conqueror'. The implication of [iti] in this rule is to extend the scope of this rule: *sah+Ktá* = *sáḍh+dḥá*- = *sáØ-dḥá*- 'overcome, prevailed', cf. *ā-sā-dḥa*- 'invincible'. In current speech: *so-dḥvā*, *só-dḥṛ*-, *so-dḥá*-.

### 6.3.114 sám-hi-t-ā-y-ām

In continuous utterance.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] extending up to the end of this Pāda and it recurs in all the subsequent rules of this section.

**6.3.115 kárṇ-e lākṣana-sya a-<sup>1</sup>viṣ-ṭá-<sup>2</sup>aṣṭá(n)-<sup>3</sup>pāñca(n)=  
<sup>4</sup>mañi-<sup>5</sup>bhin-ná-<sup>6</sup>chin-ná-<sup>7</sup>chid-rá-<sup>8</sup>sruvá-<sup>9</sup>svasti-ká-sya**

[Before 1.1.66 the final members in a compound 1] °-kárṇa- ‘ear’ [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior members] denoting the brand mark (lākṣana-sya), excluding viṣ-ṭá-° ‘pierced’, aṣṭán-° ‘eight’, pāñcan-° ‘five’, mañi-° ‘jewel’, bhin-ná-° ‘cleft’, chin-ná-° ‘split’, chid-rá- ‘bored’, sruvá-° ‘ladle’ and svastiká-° ‘the swastika mark’ [in continuous utterance 114].

*dātra-m kárṇ-e yá-sya* = *dātrā-kárṇa-* ‘branded with the mark of a sickle on the ear’ (accent according to 2.112); but *viṣ-ṭa-kárṇa-*, *aṣṭa-kárṇa-*, *pāñca-kárṇa-*, *mañi-kárṇa-*, *bhinna-kárṇa-*, *chin-na-kárṇa-*, *chidra-kárṇa-*, *sruva-kárṇa-*, *evastika-kárṇa-*. For *mañi-kárṇa-* as n.pr. cf. 2.113.

**6.3.116 <sup>1</sup>náhi-<sup>2</sup>vṛti-<sup>3</sup>vṛṣi-<sup>4</sup>vyadhi-<sup>5</sup>rúci-<sup>6</sup>sáhi-<sup>7</sup>táni-ṣu Kv-au**

[A long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel 1.1.52 of a prior member of a compound before 1.1.66 posterior members 1 consisting of verbal stems] náh- ‘bind’ (IV 57), vṛt- ‘turn’ (I 795), vṛṣ- ‘rain’ (I 738), vyadh- ‘pierce’ (IV 72), rúc- ‘please’ (I 781), sáh- ‘endure, bear, tolerate’ (I 905) and tán- (VIII 1) ‘extend’ co-occurring [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvī (= KvīN, KvīP) [in continuous utterance 114].

*úpa-nah-ya-te* = *úpa-nah+KvīP* = *upā-náh-* ‘sandal’; similarly *parī-náh-* ‘enclosure’; *upā-vṛt-* ‘return’; *prā-vṛṣ-* ‘rainy season, monsoon’; *hṛdaya-m vídh-ya-ti* = *hṛdayā-vídh-* ‘piercing the heart’; *nī-rúc-* ‘tasteless, insipid’; *ṛti-m sáh-a-te* = *ṛtī-sáh-* ‘conquering enemies’ and *pári-tan-o-ti* = *pari+taθ+KvīP* (4.40) = *parī-ta+tuK+θ* = *parī-tát* (1.71) ‘encircling’.

**6.3.117 <sup>1</sup>vána-<sup>2</sup>giry-óḥ samjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>koṭará-<sup>2</sup>kiṃśulaka=  
 ādī-n-ām**

[Before 1.1.66 the final members of a compound 1] °-vána- ‘forest’ and °-giri- ‘hill, mountain’ [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel of the classes of first members] beginning with koṭará-° ‘name of a plant’ and kiṃśulaka- ‘name of a plant’ [respectively 1.3.10 in continuous utterance 111] to derive a name (samjñā-y-ām).

*koṭará-ṇ-ām vána-m* = *koṭarā-vaṇá-m* ‘n.pr. of a forest containing Ipomoea Turpenthum or Alangium decapetalum’.

*kiṃśulakā-giri-* ‘n.pr. of a mountain’.

### 6.3.118 val-é

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] °-valá- (= valáC 5.2.112ff.) [a long substitute vowel replaces 111 the stem-final vowel 1.1.52 of the first member in composition 1 in continuous utterance 114].

*kṛṣí+valáC* = *kṛṣI-valá* (5.1.112) 'farmer'. *dánta+valáC* = *dantā-valá-* (5.2.113) 'elephant'; *ā-su-tī+valá-* = *ā-su-tī-valá-* 'distiller, brewer'.

### 6.3.119 mat-AU bahv-áC-aḥ=án-ajira=ādī-n-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of a polysyllabic nominal stem 4.1.1] excluding those beginning with *ajirá-* ° 'rapid' [in continuous utterance 114 to derive names 117].

*udumbára+matUP+ÑIP* (4.1.4) = *udumbarā-vat-f* (4.2.85; 6.1.220; 8.2.9) 'n.pr. of a river'; but *vr̥thi-mát-I* (1.176) 'n.pr. of a river' (disyllabic) and in non-proper names: *vāla-ya-vat-I* 'wearing bracelets'; similarly *ajira-vat-f*, *khadira-vat-f* etc. (1.220).

### 6.3.120 śará=ādī-n-ām ca

[Before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 119 a long substitute vowel 111] also (ca) [replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with *śará-* 'reed' [to derive proper names 117 in continuous utterance 114].

Exception to the constraint of polysyllabic stems in 119 above. *śará+matUP+ÑIP* = *śarā-vat-f* (1.220) 'n.pr. of a river'; so also *ahI-vat-f*, *munI-vat-f*, *hānū-mat-I* etc.

### 6.3.121 iK-aḥ=váh-e=á-pīl-óḥ

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-váh-a- 'bearer, carrier' [a long substitute vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52] vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [of the first members 1] excluding *pīlú-* ° 'n.pr. of a tree' [in continuous utterance 114].

*ṛṣī-n-ām váh-a-ḥ* = *ṛṣI-vah-á-ḥ* 'carrying sages'; *kapī-vah-á-* 'carrying monkeys' but *piṇḍa-vah-á-*, *pīlu-vah-á-*.

### 6.3.122 upa-sarg-á-sya GHaÑ-i=á-manuṣy-e bahulá-m

[A substitute long vowel 111] variously (bahulá-m) [replaces the final vowels 1.1.52 of] preverb particles (upa-sarg-á-sya) [before 1.1.66 a posterior member 1 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ, except when denoting a human being (á-manuṣy-e) [in continuous utterance 114].

*vi+klid+GHaÑ* (3.3.19) = *vi-kled-á-* 'getting wet'; *vi+mṛj+GHaÑ* = *vi-mārg-á-* 'a broom'; *apā-mārg-á-* 'the plant Achyranthus Aspera'. But: *prá+siv+GHaÑ* = *pra-sev-á-* 'sack or leather bottle', and *ni+sad+GHaÑ* = *ni-ṣād-á-* 'hunter'.

### 6.3.123 iK-aḥ kās-é

[Before 1.1.66 the final member 1] °-kās-á- 'appearance' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final vowel 1.1.52 of a preverb 122 ending in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [in continuous utterance 114].

*ni+kās-á-* = *ni-kās-á-* 'appearance, look'; similarly *anā-kās-á-* 'reflection (of light)' but *pra-kās-á-* 'light'.

### 6.3.124 d-as t-i

[Before 1.1.66 the t-replacement] (of the verbal stem) dā- 'give' (III 9) [7.4.47, a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final vowel 1.1.52 of a preverb 122 denoted by the siglum iK 123 in continuous utterance 114].

*ni+dā+Ktá* = *ni+t+Ktá* (7.4.47) = *ni-t-tá-* 'passed down as a gift'. So also *pari-t-tá-* 'given away', but *pra-t-tá-*.

### 6.3.125 aṣṭán-aḥ saṁjñā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 a final member in composition 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member] aṣṭán- 'eight' to derive a proper name (saṁjñā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

*aṣṭ-aú vakrā-ṇ-i a-syá* = *aṣṭá-vakra-ḥ* 'n.pr. of a person' but *aṣṭá-putra-* 'person having eight sons'.

### 6.3.126 chāndas-i ca

In the Chāndas also (ca) [before 1.1.66 a final member in composition 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of prior member aṣṭán- 'eight' 125 in continuous utterance 114].

*aṣṭá-su kapāle-su sām-s-ky-ta-m* = *aṣṭaṭ-kapāla+áN* (4.4.3; 8.2.7) =  
† *aṣṭa+kapāla+ṭ* (4.1.88) = *aṣṭá-kapāla-* 'offered in eight pans'; similarly  
*aṣṭá-hiranya-* 'consisting of eight pieces of gold', *aṣṭá-pad-I* 'verse consisting of eight lines'.

### 6.3.127 cíte-ḥ kaP-i

[Before 1.1.66 the samāsāntá 5.4.68 affix 3.1.1] °-kaP (5.4.151) [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] cí-ti-° 'layer' [in continuous utterance 114].

*ekā cí-ti-r a-syá* = *eka+cí-ti+kaP* = *eka-ci-ti-ka-ḥ* 'having one layer of bricks';  
similarly *trí-ci-ti-ka-* 'three-layered'.

### 6.3.128 víśva-sya <sup>1</sup>vásu-<sup>2</sup>rát-oh

[Before 1.1.66 final members in composition 1] °-vásu- 'riches' and °-rát 'king' [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] víśva-° 'all, universal' [in continuous utterance 114].

*viśva-m vásu* = *viśvā-vasu-* 'n.pr. of Viṣṇu' (accent by 2.106). In the case of °-rát the rule applies only when the stem *rátj-* 'king' has that form at the end of a padá: *viśvā-rátj*, *viśvā-rátj-bhyām/bhis/bhyas/su* but *viśvā-rátj-am/au/as/ā/e/i/os*.

### 6.3.129 nár-e samjñā-y-ām

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-nára- 'man' [the substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member víśva- 'all, universal' 128] to derive a name (samjñā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

*viśv-e nár-ā-ḥ a-smín* = *viśvā-nara-* 'n.pr. of the father of Agní'; cf. *vaśvā-nar-i* 'Agni, son of Viśvā-nara'.

### 6.3.130 mitr-é ca=ṛṣ-au

[Before 1.1.66 the final member in composition 1] °-mitrá- 'friend' [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the prior member víśva- 'all' 128 to derive a name 129] denoting a Vedic seer (ṛṣ-au) [in continuous utterance 114].

*viśvá-mitra-* 'n.pr. of a Vedic seer', but *viśva-m mitrá-m a-syd* = *viśva-mitra-* 'having all as friends'.

### 6.3.131 mántr-e <sup>1</sup>sóma=<sup>2</sup>ásva=<sup>3</sup>indriyá=<sup>4</sup>viśvá-devya-sya mat-AU

In the Mántra (section of the Veda) [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme of first members 1] sóma-° 'n.pr. of a sacred plant', áśva-° 'horse', indriyá-° 'sense organ', and viśvá-dev-ya- 'relating to all divinities' [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matU(P) [in continuous utterance 114].

*sóma+matUP+ÑIP* (4.1.4) = *somā-vat-ṛ* 'containing soma' (8.2.9; 6.1.220); similarly *aśvā-vat-ṛ* 'possessing horses'; cf. RV 10.97.7. *indriyā-vat-ṛ* 'powerful, mighty'; *viśva-devyā-vat-ṛ* 'dear to all gods'.

### 6.3.132 óṣadhe-s=ca ví-bhak-t-au=á-prathamā-y-ām

[In the Mántra section of the Veda 131 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] óṣadhi-° 'herb, plant' [before 1.1.66] ví-bhak-ti (1.4.104) [affixes 3.1.1] excluding the first sUP triplets (á-prathamā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 114].

*óṣadhi+bhīś/bhīś* but *óṣadhi+sU/am* = *óṣadhiś/óṣadh-i-m, óṣadhi-patf-* 'lord of herbs'.

### 6.3.133 ṛc-i <sup>1</sup>tú-<sup>2</sup>nú-<sup>3</sup>gha-<sup>4</sup>makṣú-<sup>5</sup>tañ-<sup>6</sup>kú-<sup>7</sup>tra=<sup>8</sup>uruṣ-yā-ñ-ām

In the Ṛgveda [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the particles] tú, nú, gha, makṣú, the l-substitute tañ, the particle kú, [the affix 3.1.1] traL and the finite verbal form uruṣyá 'do thou protect' [in continuous utterance 114].

1. á tú na indra v̥tra-haṇ; 2. nú máṛta-h; 3. utá vā ghā syāl-āt (RV 1.109.2); 4. makṣú gó-mant-am i-mahe (RV 8.33.3); 5. bhár-a-tā jā-tá-ved-as-am (RV 10.176.2); 6. kú-manas- 'wicked-minded'; 7. á-trā te bhad-rā; 8. uruṣyá ṇaḥ (RV 1.91.15).

### 6.3.134 iK-aḥ suÑ-i

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final vowel 1.1.52] denoted by the siglum iK (= i,u,ṛ,ḷ) [before 1.1.66 the particle] °súÑ [in continuous utterance 114].

abhí śú ṇaḥ sákhī-n-ām (RV 4.36.33) (8.3.107; 4.27).

### 6.3.135 dvy-áC-aḥ=aT-as tiÑ-aḥ

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52] aT of a dissyllabic (dvy-áC-aḥ) verbal form (tiÑ-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 l-substitute] tiÑ (= a finite verbal form) [in continuous utterance 114].

vid-má hí tvā gó-pati-m sūra gó-n-ām (RV 10.47.1) 'we recognize you, O hero, as the lord of all cattle'. But dévā bhav-a-ta vāj-in-aḥ (VS 9.6); á dev-á-n vak-ṣi yák-ṣi ca (RV 5.26.1).

### 6.3.136 ni-pāt-á-sya ca

[In the Ṛgveda 133 a long substitute vowel 111] also replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 aT 135] of a particle (ni-pāt-á-sya) [in continuous utterance 114].

evá te (RV 10.20.10); ácchā jar-i-tār-aḥ (RV 1.2.2).

### 6.3.137 anyé-ṣām ápi dṛś-yá-te

[A substitute long vowel 111] is seen (dṛś-yá-te) to replace [the phoneme aT 135] of other (anyé-ṣām) (padá-s) [in continuous utterance 114].

keśā-keśí, daṇḍā-daṇḍí, kacā-kací (2.2.27); jala+sah+Nvi = jalā-sáh- (3.2.63). śvan+danta-/daṁṣṭra-/karna- = śvā-dantá- 'dog's tooth'; śvā-daṁṣṭra-/karna- 'having tusks/ears like a dog'.

### 6.3.138 c-au

[Before 1.1.66] the form °-c° of °-añc- (resulting from 92 above and 4.24,138 below) [a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme of the first member in composition 1].

*dadhi+c+Śas* = *dadhi-c-āḥ* and similarly *dadhi-c+ā/ē/ōs/i*.

### 6.3.139 sam-pra-sār-ṇa-sya

[Before 1.1.66 a final member of a compound 1 a substitute long vowel 111 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme] resulting from vocalization (sam-pra-sār-ṇa-sya) substitution (of a semivowel 1.1.45) [in continuous utterance 114].

*kārīṣa-gandhe-r ápatya-m* = *kārīṣa-gandhi+áN* (4.1.92) = *kārīṣa-gandhi+SyáN* (4.1.78)+*CāP* (4.1.74) = *kārīṣa-gandhī-yā+putrá-* = *karīsa-gandhiā-putra* (1.13) = *kārīṣa-gandhi-putrá-* (1.108) = *kārīṣa-gandhi-putrá-* 'son of a female descendant of Kārīṣa-gandhi'.



### 6.4.1 áṅga-sya

[The operations stated hereafter, up to the end of the seventh adhyāyá 'chapter' apply generally to the pre-affixal] base or stem (áṅga-sya).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] heading the section 6.4.1 to 7.4.97 and the word [áṅga-sya] will recur in each subsequent rule.

### 6.4.2 haL-aḥ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the pre-affixal stem-final 1.1.72 samprasāraṇa vowel 3.129 denoted by the siglum aN (of iK) 111 following 1.1.67] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [of the pre-affixal stem 1].

*hve+Ktá* = *hue+td-* (1.15) = *hu+td-* (1.108) = *hū+td-* 'called, summoned, challenged'; but *nir+ve+Ktá* = *nir-u+td-* where the vocalized vowel is not preceded by a pre-affixal consonant 'non-woven', and *tri+tíya-* = *tṛ-tíya-* (5.2.55) 'third' since /ṛ/ is not a member of the [aN] siglum. So also in *vyadh+Ktá* = *vidh+dhá-* (6.2.40; 4.53) the sam-pra-sār-aṇa vowel [i] is not pre-affixal final.

### 6.4.3 nām-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the áṅga-final 1 (1.1.72) vowel before 1.1.66] the sixth sUP (plural) triplet °-n-ām.

*devá+n-ām* (7.1.54) = *devá-n-ām* 'of gods/divinities'; similarly *agní-n-ām*/*vāyú-n-ām*/*pitṛ-ṇ-ām* respectively from *agní-/vāyú-/pi-tṛ-*.

### 6.4.4 ná <sup>1</sup>tisṛ-<sup>2</sup>cátasṛ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] does not (ná) [replace the áṅga-final 1 (1.1.72) of the nominal pre-affixal 1 stems] *tisṛ-* 'three' (f.) and *cátasṛ-* 'four' (f). [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

*tisṛ-ṇ-ām*/*cátasṛ-ṇ-ām*. (Accent by 1.179).

### 6.4.5 chándas-i ubhayá-thā

In the domain of Chándas [a substitute long vowel 3.111] both (ubhayá-thā) [does and does not replace the áṅga 1 final 1.1.72 vowel of *tisṛ-* 'three' (f). and *cátasṛ-* 'four' (f.) 4 before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

*tisṛ-ṇ-ām*/*tisṛ-ṇ-ām*; *cátasṛ-ṇ-ām*/*cátasṛ-ṇ-ām*.

### 6.4.6 nṛ ca

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] also [both does and does not replace the ánga 1 final 1.1.72 vowel of the nominal stem 4.1.1] nṛ- ‘man’ [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

*nṛ-n-ām/nṛ-n-ām* ‘of men’.

### 6.4.7 na=upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the] penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) vowel [of a pre-affixal 1 stem ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] /n/ [before 1.1.66 the sixth sUP triplet °-n-ām 3].

*pañcan+n-ām* (7.1.55) = *pañcaθ+n-ām* (8.2.7) = *pañcā-n-ām* ‘of five’ (1.179 for accent).

### 6.4.8 sarva-nāma-sthān-é ca=á-sam-bud-dh-au

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /n/ 7 before 1.1.66] strong (sarva-nāma-sthān-é) sUP triplets, excluding the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au).

*rāj-an+sU* = *rāj-an+θ* (1.68) = *rāj-āθ* (8.2.7); *rāj-an+au* = *rāj-ān-au*; *rāj-an+Jas* = *rāj-ān-as* = *rāj-ān-aḥ* (8.3.15) *rāj-an+am* = *rāj-ān-am* but in the vocative: *rāj-an+θ* (8.2.8) and *rāj-an+Ñi* = *rāj-an-i*; similarly *sāman+Śi* = *sāmān-i*.

### 6.4.9 vā śṣ-pūrva-sya ni-gam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) [a substitute long vowel 3.11] optionally (vā) replaces [the penultimate 7 vowel] preceded by (°-pūrva-sya) phoneme /ṣ/ [of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /n/ 7 before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative singular 8].

*tákṣan+au/Jas/am* = *tákṣan-au/am/as/tákṣān+am/au/as*, but in the colloquial speech: *tákṣān-au/am/as*.

### 6.4.10 <sup>1</sup>sá=anta-<sup>2</sup>mahát-aḥ sam-yog-á-sya

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 preceding ánga 1] final /s/, forming a conjunct (sam-yog-á-sya) [with phoneme /n/ 7] as well as [the penultimate vowel 7 of the pre-affixal stem 1] mahát- ‘great’ [before strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative 8].

1.  $\acute{s}r\acute{a}+y\acute{s}a\acute{y}N = \acute{s}r\acute{e}-y\acute{s}a+sU = \acute{s}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}-n-s+sU$  (7.1.70) =  $\acute{s}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}-n-s+\emptyset$  (1.68) =  $\acute{s}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}n\emptyset$  (8.2.23). Similarly  $\acute{s}r\acute{e}-y\acute{a}-m-s+am/au/as$  (*Jas*) (8.3.24). So also  $y\acute{a}s\acute{a}s+\acute{S}i = y\acute{a}s\acute{a}-m-s-i$ .
2.  $mah\acute{a}t+sU = mah\acute{a}-n-t+sU = mah\acute{a}-n-t+\emptyset$  (1.68) =  $mah\acute{a}-n\emptyset$  (8.2.23),  $mah\acute{a}-n-tau/am/as$ .

#### 6.4.11 $^1\acute{a}p\text{-}^2t_rN\text{-}^3t_fC\text{-}^4sv\acute{a}sr\text{-}^5n\acute{a}p\text{-}t_r\text{-}^6n\acute{e}s\text{-}t_r\text{-}^7tv\acute{a}s\text{-}t_r\text{-}^8k\acute{s}at\text{-}t_f=$ $^9h\acute{o}\text{-}t_r\text{-}^{10}p\acute{o}\text{-}t_r\text{-}^{11}pra\text{-}\acute{s}\acute{a}s\text{-}t_f\text{-}n\text{-}\acute{a}m$

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of pre-affixal stems 1]  $\acute{a}p\text{-}$  ‘water’, [those ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1]  $t_rN$  and  $t_fC$  and  $sv\acute{a}sr\text{-}$  ‘sister’,  $n\acute{a}p\text{-}t_r\text{-}$  ‘nephew’,  $n\acute{e}s\text{-}t_r\text{-}$  ‘n. of an official priest’,  $tv\acute{a}s\text{-}t_r\text{-}$  ‘n.pr. of a divinity’,  $k\acute{s}at\text{-}t_f\text{-}$  ‘charioteer, coachman, attendant’,  $h\acute{o}t_r\text{-}$ ,  $p\acute{o}t_r\text{-}$  and  $pra\text{-}\acute{s}\acute{a}s\text{-}t_f\text{-}$  ‘names of officiating priests’ [before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets excluding the vocative singular 8].

1.  $\acute{a}p+Jas = \acute{a}p-as = \acute{a}p-a\acute{h}$  (8.3.15);  $bah\acute{a}v\text{-}a\acute{h} \acute{a}p\text{-}a\acute{h} e\text{-}\acute{s}u\ t\acute{a}d\acute{a}ge\text{-}su = bahv\text{-}\acute{a}p+\acute{S}i = bahv\text{-}\acute{a}m\text{-}p\text{-}i$  (7.1.72)  $t\acute{a}d\acute{a}g\acute{a}\text{-}n\text{-}i$  ‘pools overflowing with water’.
2.  $k\acute{a}r\text{-}t_r/kar\text{-}t_fC+au = k\acute{a}r\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au/kar\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ . Similarly:  $sv\acute{a}s\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $n\acute{a}p\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $n\acute{e}s\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $tv\acute{a}s\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $k\acute{s}at\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $h\acute{o}\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $p\acute{o}\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ ,  $pra\text{-}\acute{s}\acute{a}s\text{-}t\acute{a}r\text{-}au$ , etc.

#### 6.4.12 $^1\acute{í}n\text{-}^2h\acute{á}n\text{-}^3p\acute{u}\acute{s}\acute{a}(n)=^4arya\text{-}m\acute{n}\text{-}\acute{á}m \acute{S}\text{-}au$

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72]  $^\circ\text{-}\acute{í}n\text{-}$ ,  $^\circ\text{-}h\acute{á}n\text{-}$ ,  $^\circ\text{-}p\acute{u}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{á}n\text{-}$  and  $^\circ\text{-}arya\text{-}m\acute{á}n\text{-}$  ‘names of divinities’ [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet]  $\acute{S}i$ .

1.  $bah\acute{a}v\text{-}a\acute{h} d\acute{a}n\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{í}n\text{-}a\acute{h} e\text{-}\acute{s}\acute{á}m s\text{-}\acute{á}nti = bahu\text{-}d\acute{a}n\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{í}n+\acute{S}i = bahu\text{-}d\acute{a}n\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{í}n\text{-}i$  ‘consisting of numerous staff-bearers’; 2.  $v_r\acute{t}r\acute{a}\text{-}m ha\text{-}t\acute{á}v\acute{á}n = v_r\acute{t}r\acute{a}+han+KviP$  (3.2.87) =  $v_r\acute{t}ra\text{-}h\acute{á}n\text{-}$ ;  $bah\acute{a}v\text{-}a\acute{h} v_r\acute{t}ra\text{-}h\acute{á}n\text{-}a\acute{h} y\text{-}\acute{e}\acute{s}u\ t\acute{á}\text{-}n\text{-}i = bahu\text{-}v_r\acute{t}ra\text{-}h\acute{á}\text{-}n\text{-}i$ ; similarly  $bahu\text{-}p\acute{u}\acute{s}\acute{á}n\text{-}i$ ,  $bahv\text{-}arya\text{-}m\acute{á}n\text{-}i$ .

The present rule is meant to restrict the operation of 8 above:  $v_r\acute{t}ra\text{-}h\acute{á}n\text{-}au/Jas/am$ .

#### 6.4.13 s-AU ca

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72  $^\circ\text{-}\acute{í}n\text{-}$ ,  $^\circ\text{-}h\acute{á}n\text{-}$ ,  $^\circ\text{-}p\acute{u}\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{á}n\text{-}$  and  $^\circ\text{-}arya\text{-}m\acute{á}n\text{-}$  ‘names of divinities’ 12 before non-vocative 8 sUP triplet] sU also.

- $d\acute{a}n\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{í}n+sU = d\acute{a}n\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{í}n+\emptyset$  (1.68) =  $d\acute{a}n\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{í}\emptyset$  (8.2.7); similarly  $v_r\acute{t}ra\text{-}h\acute{á}$ ,  $p\acute{u}\acute{s}\acute{á}$ ,  $arya\text{-}m\acute{á}$ , but vocative singular:  $d\acute{á}n\acute{d}\text{-}in$ ,  $v_r\acute{t}ra\text{-}han$ ,  $p\acute{ú}\acute{s}\text{-}an$ ,  $\acute{á}rya\text{-}man$  (8.2.8).

#### 6.4.14 <sup>1</sup>atU=<sup>2</sup>ás-anta-sya ca=<sup>3</sup>á-dhāto-ḥ

[Before 1.1.66 a non-vocative 8 sUP triplet sU 13 a substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of a pre-affixal stem 1] other than a verbal stem (á-dhāto-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72] °atU- or °-as-.

1. °-atU represents three affixes: (a) in *bhāv-atU* 'your honor, your worship', the second honorific personal stem and (b) *Ktāv-atU*, (c) *matUP/vatUP/DmatUP*. (a) *bhāv-atU* = *bháva-n-t-atU* (7.1.70) = *bhāv-ānt+θ* (1.68) = *bhāv-ā-n* (8.2.23); (b) *kṛ-tāv-ā-n*; (c) *gō-mā-n*; in the generation of this form the replacement takes place prior to augmentation by 7.1.70.
2. °-as: *su-yaś-ās+atU* = *su-yaś-ās+θ* (1.68) = *su-yaś-āḥ* 'having good reputation'; but in *pīṇḍa-m grās-a-ti* = *pīṇḍa+grās+KviP*, °-grās-, being a verbal stem, results in *pīṇḍa-grās+θ* (1.68) = *pīṇḍa-grāḥ* 'who eats a ball of rice'.

#### 6.4.15 ánu-nās-ika-sya <sup>1</sup>Kvi-<sup>2</sup>jhaL-oḥ K-Ñ-IT-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the penultimate vowel 7 of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72] a nasal phoneme (ánu-nās-ika-sya) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvi or those beginning with non-nasal consonants (°-jhaL-oḥ) with marker K or Ñ as IT.

*pra+śám+KviP* = *pra-śám+θ* 'unhurt, painless, tranquil'. *pra-śám+atU* = *pra-śán+θ* (8.2.64); *pra+tam+KviP* = *pra-tám-*, *pra+dam+KviP* = *pra=dám-*. *śam+Ktá* = *śám+tá-* = *śán-tá-* 'quiet, calm, pacified'; similarly from *dam+Ktá* = *dán-tá-* (8.4.58), but *gam-yá-te* 'is understood' (*gam+yáK*). *gam+tṛN* = *gán-tṛ-* 'goer', the first though a K-IT is an affix beginning with a semivowel, while the second, though beginning with a non-nasal stop is not a K-IT.

#### 6.4.16 <sup>1</sup>aC=<sup>2</sup>hanÁ-<sup>3</sup>gam-āṁ saN-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the pre-affixal 1 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC- °) and han- 'hurt, kill' (II 2), gam- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN [beginning with non-nasal consonant (jhaL) 15].

1. *ci+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cf+sa+a+ti* (1.9) = *cf-cI-ṣ-a-ti* (1.97; 8.3.57) 'desires to pile up'; 2. *han+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *haθ-han+sa+a+ti* (2.9; 7.4.60) = *jī-han-s-a-ti* (1.97; 7.4.62, 79) = *jī-ghan-s-a-ti* (7.3.55) = *jī-ghān-s-a-ti* = *jī-ghām-s-a-ti* (8.3.24) 'desires to kill'; similarly 3. *ádhi+gam+saN+ŚaP+te* (2.4.48) = *ádhi-jī-gām-s-a-te* 'wishes to know', but *ádhi-jī-gam-i-ṣ-a-ti* (7.2.35; 4.62) 'desires to go'.

#### 6.4.17 tan-ó-te-r vibhāṣā

[A substitute long vowel 3.111] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the vowel of the pre-affixal stem 1] tan- 'extend' (VII 1) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 16 beginning with a jhāL (non-nasal consonant)].

$\text{tan} + \text{saN} + \acute{\text{S}}\text{aP} + \text{tiP} = \text{ti-tan} + \text{sa} + \text{a} + \text{ti}$  (1.9; 7.4.79) =  $\text{ti-tāṁ-s-a-ti} / \text{ti-tām-s-a-ti}$  (8.3.24) 'desires to extend', but  $\text{ti} + \text{tan} + \text{iT} + \text{saN} + \acute{\text{S}}\text{aP} + \text{tiP}$  (7.2.49: *Kāśīkā*) =  $\text{ti-tan-i-ṣ-a-ti}$ .

#### 6.4.18 krām-as=ca Ktv-i

[A substitute long vowel 3.111 optionally 17 replaces the vowel of the pre-affixal stem 1] krām- 'stride' (I 502) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā [beginning with jhāL (non-nasal consonant) 15].

$\text{kram} + \text{Ktvā} = \text{krām} + \text{tvā} = \text{krān-tvā}$  (8.4.58) 'having stridden', but  $\text{kram-i-tvā}$  (7.2.56).

#### 6.4.19 <sup>1</sup>c-ch-<sup>2</sup>v-oḥ <sup>1</sup>ś-<sup>2</sup>ūṬH=ánu-nās-ik-e ca

The substitute elements ś and ūṬH [respectively 1.3.10] replace the phonemes /c-ch/ and /v/ [of pre-affixal stems 1 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a non-nasal consonant with K or Ṇ as IT marker 15] as well as nasal consonants (ánu-nās-ik-e ca).

$\text{prach} + \text{nāṆ}$  (3.3.90) =  $\text{pracch} + \text{nā}$  (1.73) =  $\text{praś-nā}$ - 'query, question, interrogation';  
 $\text{prach} + \text{Ktā} = \text{pṛcch} + \text{tā}$ - (1.13.16) =  $\text{pṛṣ-tā}$ - (8.2.36; 4.41) 'asked';  $\acute{\text{s}}\text{ābda-m}$   
 $\text{pṛcch-ā-ti} = \acute{\text{s}}\text{ābda} + \text{prach} + \text{KviP} = \acute{\text{s}}\text{ābda-prāś}$ - (*Uṇādi* 2.58).

$\text{div} + \text{nā} = \text{di-ā} + \text{nā}$ -  $\text{dyū-nā}$ - (8.2.49) 'playing, sporting' but  $\text{dyū-tā}$ - 'desiring victory' (*vi-jī-gī-ṣ-ā*);  $\text{akṣ-aṁ} + \text{dvī-ya-ti} = \text{akṣa} + \text{div} + \text{KviP} = \text{akṣa-di-āṬH} + \emptyset = \text{akṣa-dyū}$ - 'gambling with dice'.

#### 6.4.20 <sup>1</sup>jvár-<sup>2</sup>tvára-<sup>3</sup>srivī=<sup>4</sup>ávī-<sup>5</sup>máv-ām upa-dhā-y-ās=ca

[The substitute element ūṬH replaces phoneme /v/ 19 of the pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] jvár- 'be feverish' (I 813), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812). srív- 'become dry' (IV 3), áv- 'protect, aid' (I 631) and máv- 'move, go' (I 630) as well as (ca) of the penultimate phoneme (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 Kvī and those beginning with non-nasal consonants with marker K or Ṇ as IT or with nasal consonants 19].

1.  $\text{jvár} + \text{KviP} = \text{jū-ar} = \text{jūr}$ - 'fever';  $\text{jvár} + \text{KtiN} = \text{jūr-ti}$ - 'fever';  $\text{jvár} + \text{Ktā} = \text{jūr-nā}$ - (8.2.42) 'had temperature'.

2. Similarly: *túr*, *túr-ti*- 'haste'; *túr-ṇá*- 'has hastened'.
3. *sríu*:- *sríú* = *srú*- 'dryness, aridity'; *srū-tá*- 'withered'.
4. *á*v:- *ú*- 'protector, savior'; *ū-tí*- 'protection'; *ū-tá*- 'protected'.
5. *má*v:- *mú*- 'mover'; *mú-ti*- 'moving', *mū-tá*- 'has moved'.

#### 6.4.21 r-āt=lópa-ḥ

Lopa (Ø) replaces [phonemes /c-ch/ and /v/ 19 after 1.1.67] phoneme /r/ [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 Kvī and those beginning with non-nasal consonants with marker K or Ñ as IT 15].

1. *murch*+KvīP = *múr*Ø+Ø = *múr*- 'swoon'; *murch*+Ktá = *mūr-tá*- (8.2.76) 'formed' and *murch*+KtiN = *mūr-ti*- 'material form, embodiment'.
2. *túrv*+KvīP = *túr*Ø+Ø = *túr*- 'running a race'; *túrv*+KtiN/Ktá = *túr-ti*- 'overwhelming', *túr-ṇá*- 'overpowered, overwhelmed' (8.2.42).

#### 6.4.22 á-sid-ha-vat=á-tra=á bh-āt

[In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this chapter, operations introduced by the subsequent rules are considered] inoperative (á-sid-dha-vat) (with respect to other operations stated in the subsequent rules) up to 129 below (á bh-āt) beginning with [bha-sya].

*as*+lOT+siP = *as*+Ø<sup>1</sup> (of ŚaP 2.4.72)+*hí* (3.4.57) = *a-e*+*hí* (119) = *e-hí* (1.97); but by 101 *hí* itself is replaced by *dhí* when preceded by a pre-affixal non-nasal consonant (jhaL). To arrive at the correct form *e-dhí* the operation by 119 is not supposed to have taken place in applying 101. Normally in the situation *as*+*hi* both 101 and 119 are competitive and by metarule 1.4.2, 119 would prevail and would make 101 inapplicable. The present governing rule corrects this situation and yields the expected surface form.

This principle also applies to the section governed by the adhi-kār-á sūtra 129 below.

#### 6.4.23 Śn-āt=na-lopá-ḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces the [áṅga 1] phoneme /n/ [after the class-marker 1.1.67] ŚnáM (3.1.78).

- anj* (VII 2)+ŚnáM+Tip = *a+ná+nj+ti*P (1.1.47) = *a-ná*-Øj+ti = *a-ná-k-ti* (8.2.30) 'smears, anoints'.

#### 6.4.24 án-iT=IT-ām haL-aḥ=upa-dhā-y-āḥ K-Ñ-ITi

[Lópa (Ø) 23] replaces the penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [phoneme /n/ 23 of pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] not marked by I as IT (án-iT=IT-ām) [ending in 1.1.72] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with marker K or Ñ as IT.

*sráns-* (I 790) 'fall' *Ktá* = *sraṭs-tá* = *sras-tá* 'fallen', but from *TU-nád-Í* (I 67) + *yáK+te* = *na-n-d-yá-te* 'is filled with delight'.

#### 6.4.25 <sup>1</sup>danśÁ-<sup>2</sup>sanjÁ-<sup>3</sup>svanj-ām ŚaP-i

[Lopa (Ø) 23 replaces penultimate phoneme 24 /n/ 23 of pre-affixal 1 verbal stems] *danś-* (I 1038) 'bite', *sanj-* 'attach' (I 1036) and *svanj-* 'embrace' (I 1025) [before 1.1.66 the Present System marker] ŚaP (3.1.68).

1. *danś+ŚaP+tiP* = *dāṭṭś-a-ti* = *dás-a-ti* 'bites'; similarly: 2. *sanj+ŚaP+tiP* = *sáj-a-ti* 'clings, sticks'; 3. *svanj+ŚaP+tiP* = *sváj-a-ti* 'embraces, clasps'.

#### 6.4.26 ranje-s=ca

[Lópa (Ø) 23] also (ca) replaces [the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga 1 of] *ranj-* 'to be dyed or colored' (I 1048) [before 1.1.66 the Present System marker ŚaP 25].

*ranj+ŚaP+tiP* = *rāṭṭj-a-ti* = *ráj-a-ti* 'dyes'. A separate rule has been framed for the following application restricted to this verbal stem only.

#### 6.4.27 GHaÑ-i ca <sup>1</sup>bhāv-á-<sup>2</sup>kár-aṇay-oḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 23] also (ca) replaces [the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga 1 *ranj-* 26 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] GHaÑ to denote a state (bhāv-á- °) or an instrument (°-kár-aṇay-oḥ).

1. *ranj+GHaÑ* = *rāṭṭg-á-*: *āścár-y-aḥ rāg-á-ḥ* 'wonderful is the state of the color';
2. *raj-yá-te an-éna* = *ranj+GHaÑ* = *rāg-á-ḥ* (7.2.116, 3.52, 6.1.159) 'dye', but *rāng-a-* 'stage' = *ráj-a-nti tá-smin*.

#### 6.4.28 syáda-ḥ jáv-e

The expression syád-a- is introduced [with the affix GHaÑ 27 and Ø replacement 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga 1] syand- ‘flow’ (I 798) to denote speed (jáv-e).

*syand+GHaÑ = syáðd-a- ‘speed’, but syánd-a- ‘flow, trickle’.*

#### 6.4.29 <sup>1</sup>av-o-d-á=<sup>2</sup>édh-a=<sup>3</sup>ód-ma(n)-<sup>4</sup>pra-śrath-á-<sup>5</sup>hima-śrath-áh

The expressions av-o-d-á-, édh-a-, ód-man-, pra-śrath-á- and hima-śrath-á- are introduced [with affixes 3.1.1 GHaÑ and manḭN and Ø replacement of penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga-s und- ‘wet’ (VII 20), co-occurring after preverb ava-°, indh- ‘kindle’ (VII 11), with Uṇ-ādi affix °-man- and śranth- ‘discharge’ (IX 39) co-occurring after prá-° and himá-°].

1. *ava+und+GHaÑ = ava+od-á- = av-o-d-á- ‘humidity’*; 2. *indh+GHaÑ = iðdh+GHaÑ = édh-a- ‘combustible’*; 3. *und+man(iN) úðd+man- = ód-man- ‘flooding’*; 4. *prá+śranth+GHaÑ = pra-śrath-á- ‘laxity’*; 5. *himá+śranth+GHaÑ = hima-śrath-á- ‘loosening or melting of ice’.*

#### 6.4.30 ná=anceḥ pūjā-y-ām

[Lópa (Ø) replacement 23 of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga 1] anc- (1.203) does not (na) take place [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ñ as IT and beginning with a consonant 24] to denote honor (pūjā-y-ām).

The verbal stem *ānc-Ū gāti-pūj-anay-oḥ* (I 203) has two distinct range of meanings: ‘movement’ and ‘honor’ and the present rule applies only when the second meaning is denoted. *anc+Ktá = anc+iT+Ktá* (7.2.53) = *añc-i-tá- ‘honored’*, but *úd+anc+Ktá = ud-aḥc+Ktá- = ud-ak-tá- (8.2.30) ‘lifted up, raised’.*

#### 6.4.31 Ktv-i <sup>1</sup>skandī-<sup>2</sup>syandy-oḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 23 replacement of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 of the verbal ánga-s 1] skand- ‘leap’ (I 1028) and syand- ‘flow’ (I 798) [does not take place 30 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā.

1. *skand+Ktvā = skant-tvā* (8.4.55) ‘having leapt’.
2. *syand+Ktvā = syant-tvā/syand-i-tvā* (7.2.44) ‘having flown or trickled’.



#### 6.4.32 <sup>1</sup>jǵ=anta-<sup>2</sup>naś-ām vibhāṣā

[Lópa (Ø) 23 replacement of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 does not take place 30] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the verbal áṅga 1 stems] ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme /j/ or of naś- ‘disappear’ (IV 85) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ktvā 31].

*ranj+Ktvā = ranik-tvā/raṅk-tvā = rak-tvā* ‘having dyed’.

*naś+Ktvā = na-nuṁM-ś+ktvā* (7.1.60) = *na-m-ś-tvā/naṣ-ṭvā* (8.2.36; 4.41) ‘having disappeared’.

#### 6.4.33 bhanjes=ca CiṆ-i

[Lópa (Ø) replacement 23 of the penultimate 24 phoneme /n/ 23 does not 30 optionally 32 take place of the verbal áṅga 1] bhanj- ‘break’ (VI 16) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] CiṆ (3.1.66).

*āT+bhanj+CiṆ* (3.1.66) = *ā-bhanj-i/ā-bhāj-i* ‘was broken’.

#### 6.4.34 śās-aḥ=iT=<sup>1</sup>áÑ-<sup>2</sup>haL-oḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the penultimate 24 vowel of the verbal áṅga 1] śās- ‘teach, instruct’ (II 66) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áÑ and those beginning with a consonant (°-haL-oḥ) [with K or Ñ as IT marker 24].

*śās+IUÑ = śās+Clṅ* (3.1.43) = *āT+śis+aÑ+t* (3.1.56) = *ā-śis-a-t* (8.3.60) ‘has instructed’; *śās+Ktā = śis-ṭā-* (8.3.60; 4.41) ‘taught’; but *śās+Ø<sup>1</sup>+tiP = śās-ti* and *śās+Ø<sup>1</sup>+tas śis-ṭāḥ* where l-substitute °-tas is regarded as Ñ-it by 1.2.4.

#### 6.4.35 śā h-au

The substitute morpheme śā- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal áṅga 1] śās- ‘teach’ (II 66) 34 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-hí (3.4.87).

*śās+hí = śā-dhí* (22, 101) ‘please instruct/teach’. All constraints (34, 3.4.87-88: a-P-IT/P-IT) are inoperative here.

#### 6.4.36 hán-te-r ja-h

The substitute morpheme ja- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the verbal áṅga 1] han- ‘kill, strike’ (II 2) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 hí 35].

*han+hí = ja-hí* ‘kill, hurt, strike’. Here °-hí is not subject to Ø<sup>1</sup> replacement by

### 6.4.37 án-udātta=<sup>1</sup>upa-deś-a-<sup>2</sup>ván-a-ti-<sup>3</sup>tan-ó-ti=ādī-n-ām anu-nās-ika-lopá-ḥ jhaL-i K-Ñ-IT-i

Lópa (Ø) replaces a nasal stop (anu-nās-ika-lopá-ḥ) [of the ánga 1 of verbal stems] which are low-pitched (ánudātta-°) when first introduced (upadesé: in the Dhp.), ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) [before the affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] non-nasal consonants (jhaL-i) with marker K or Ñ as IT.

1. Verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced and ending in a nasal stop are: yam- 'check, restrain' (I 1033), ram- 'sport' (I 906), nam- 'bend, bow down' (I 1030), gam- 'go' (I 1031), han- 'kill, hurt, strike' (II 2) and man- 'think' (IV 67). Before affix *Ktá*: ya-tá-, ra-tá-, na-tá-, ga-tá-, ha-tá-, ma-tá-.
2. *van+KtiN* = *vāṭ-ti*- 'liking', but *van+KtC* = *van-tí*- (39).
3. *tan+Ktá* = *taṭ-tá-* = *ta-tá-* 'extended'; *tan+IUN* = *tan+siC+ta* (3.1.44) = *āT+tan+Ø+ta* (2.4.79) = *á-ta-ta* since this l-substitute is a Ñ-IT by 1.2.4.

### 6.4.38 vā LyaP-i

[Lópa (Ø) 37] optionally (vā) replaces [the nasal stop 37 of the ánga 1 of verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced, ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of verbal stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VIII 1) 37 before 1.1.66 the substitute morpheme 7.1.37] LyaP (for Ktvā).

This is a regulated option (vy-ava-sth-ta-vi-bhās-ā): Ø necessarily operates in the case of pre-affixal stems not ending in /n/ and optionally in the case of those ending in /m/.

1. *pra+yám+LyaP* = *pra-yáṭ-tuK+ya* = *pra-yá-t-ya/'yám=ya; pra-rá-t-ya/'rám-ya-*, etc.
2. *ā-há-t-ya; pra-má-t-ya, pra-vá-t-ya, pra-ksá-t-ya-*.

### 6.4.39 ná KtiC-i dīrghá-s=ca

[Lópa (Ø) 37] does not (ná) replace [the nasal stop 37 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stems which are low-pitched when first introduced (in the Dhp), ván- 'like' (I 491) and the class of verbal stems beginning with tán- 'extend' (VII 1) 37 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KtiC nor (ca) the substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 1 vowel 15].

*yam+KtC* = *yan-tí* (8.4.58) 'restraint'; similarly *van-tí-/tan-tí* 'liking/extension'.

#### 6.4.40 gam-aḥ Kv-au

[Lópa (Ø) replaces the nasal stop 37 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem] gam- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Kvī(P).

$$\acute{a}dhva\acute{n}-am\ g\acute{a}cch-a-ti = \acute{a}dhvan+\emptyset^1+gam+Kv\acute{i}P = adhva\emptyset+g\acute{a}\emptyset+Kv\acute{i}P\ (8.2.7) = adhva-g\acute{a}-t- \text{'traveller'}.$$

#### 6.4.41 <sup>1</sup>vīT=<sup>2</sup>van-or ánu-nās-ika-sya=āT

The substitute long vowel /ā(T)/ replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of an ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72] a nasal stop (ánu-nās-ika-sya) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] vīT (3.2.67) and van (3.2.75).

1. *ap-sú j\acute{a}-ya-te* = *\acute{a}p+jan+vīT* (3.2.67) = *\acute{a}p-j\acute{a}-\acute{a}+\emptyset* (1.67) = *ab-j\acute{a}-* (8.4.53) 'born in water, aquatic'; similarly *g\acute{a}-m san-\acute{o}-ti* = *go-g\acute{a}-* 'bestower of cattle'; *d\acute{a}dhi kr\acute{a}m-a-ti* = *dadhi-kr\acute{a}-* 'n.pr. of a divinity'; *\acute{a}gr-e g\acute{a}cch-a-ti* = *\acute{a}gr-e+gam+vīT* = *\acute{a}gr-e-g\acute{a}-* 'leader'.
2. *vī-j\acute{a}-ya-te* = *vi+jan+vanīP* (3.2.75) = *vi-j\acute{a}-\acute{a}+van* = *vi-j\acute{a}-van-* 'born, come into existence'.

#### 6.4.42 <sup>1</sup>j\acute{a}n\acute{A}-<sup>2</sup>s\acute{a}n\acute{A}-<sup>3</sup>kh\acute{a}n-\acute{a}m <sup>1</sup>saN=<sup>2</sup>jhaL-oh

[The substitute long vowel ā(T) 41 replaces the ánga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] j\acute{a}n- 'be born' (III 24, IV 41), s\acute{a}n- 'gain, donate' (I 492, VIII 2) and kh\acute{a}n- 'dig' (I 927) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] saN and those beginning with a non-nasal consonant (° jhaL) [with marker K or \acute{N} as IT 37].

The recurring expression [jhaL-i] from 37 onwards also qualifies the desiderative marker [saN].

$$\begin{aligned} \text{saN: } san+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP &= s\acute{i}-san+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP\ (1.9; \ 7.4.60, \ 79) = \\ &s\acute{i}-sa-\acute{a}+sa+a+ti\ (8.3.59) = s\acute{i}-s\acute{a}-sa-ti\ (1.97)/s\acute{i}-san-i-sa-ti\ (8.3.61 \text{ for non-} \\ &\text{retroflexion of the stem-sibilant}), j\acute{i}-jan-i-sa-ti, c\acute{i}-khan-i-sa-ti. \end{aligned}$$

The inclusion of [saN] in this rule is restricted only to the verbal stem [san-] which is optionally [sa=iT 7.2.49] while the other two are necessarily so, whence the constraint [jhaL] applies only to it.

#### 6.4.43 y-e vibhāṣā

[The substitute long vowel āT 41] optionally (vi-bhāṣ-ā) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] j\acute{a}n- 'be born', s\acute{a}n- 'gain, donate' and kh\acute{a}n- 'dig, excavate' before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme y-° [with marker K or \acute{N} as IT 37].

*jan+yaK+te* = *ja-ā-yá-te* = *jā-yá-te/jan-yá-te*, but *jan+ŚyaN+te* = *jā-ya-te* (7.3.79). *jan+yáN+ŚaP+te* = *ja-ja-ā-yá-a-te* = *jā-jā-yá-te* (1.97; 7.4.83)/  
*ja-n-jan-yá-te* (7.4.85).

Similarly: *sā-yá-te/san-yá-te*; *sā-sā-yá-te/san-san-yá-te* = *sarñ-san-yá-te* (8.3.24);  
*khā-yá-te/khan-yá-te*; *cā-khā-yá-te/cañ-khan-yá-te*.

#### 6.4.44 tan-ó-te-r yáK-i

[The substitute long vowel āT 41 optionally 43 replaces the ánga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] tán- ‘extend’ (VII 1) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yáK.

*tan+yáK+te* = *ta-ā-yá-te* = *tā-yá-te/tan-yá-te* ‘is stretched’.

#### 6.4.45 sán-aḥ KtíC-i lópa-s=ca asyá=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute long vowel āT 41 optionally 43 replaces the ánga 1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] sán- ‘gain, donate’ (I 492, VII 2) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KtíC (3.3.174), and optionally (anya-tará-syām) lópa (∅) also (ca) replaces it.

*san+KtíC* = *san-tf/sa-ā+ti-* = *sā-tf/sa∅+ti* = *sa-tf* ‘gain, donation’.

#### 6.4.46 árdha-dhātu-k-e

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 69 below the phrase) ‘before an árdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.114-17)’ [affix 3.1.1] will recur in each operation.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-a-sūtrá].

#### 6.4.47 bhrasj-aḥ <sup>1</sup>ra=<sup>2</sup>upa-dháy-oḥ raM anya-tará-syām

The infix (1.1.47) substitute phoneme r(gM) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces both the phoneme /r/ and the penultimate (°-upa-dháy-oḥ) [of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem] bhrasj- ‘roast’ (VI 4) [before 1.1.66 an árdha-dhātu-ka 46 affix 3.1.1].

*bhrasj+tumuN* = *bhrájj+tumuN* (8.4.40,53) = *bh∅-á-raM-∅-j+tum* =  
*bhárs-tum/bhráj+tum* = *bhrás-tum* (8.2.36; 4.41); *bhrasj+trN/távya-* =  
*bhárs-tr-/bhrás-tr-, bhars-távya-/bhras-távya-*.

#### 6.4.48 aT-ah lopa-h

Lopa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short a(T) [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātula 46 affix 3.1.1].

$kṛ+saN+tumuN = kṛ+saN+iT-tum = cī-kṛ-ṣa+i-tum = cī-kṛ-ṣØ-i-tum = cī-kṛ-ṣ-i-tum$  'wishing to do';  $dhinu+ú+tiP$  (3.1.80) =  $dhina+ú+ti = dhinØ-ú+ti = dhin-ó-ti$ ,  $dhin-ú-taḥ$ .  $kṛ+saN+NvuL = cī-kṛ-ṣa+NvuL = cī-kṛ-ṣØ-aka-$  'who wishes to do', blocking out 7.2.115;  $kṛ+saN+yáK+te = cī-kṛ-ṣá+yá-te = cī-kṛ-ṣØ-yá-te = cī-kṛ-ṣ-yá-te$  blocking out 7.4.1. Here the metarule 1.4.2 is contravened. So also in the case of 47 above:  $bhrasj+Ktá- = bhras-tá-$  where vocalization (1.16) blocks the operation 47 above.

#### 6.4.49 ya-sya haL-ah

[Lópa (Ø) 48 replaces ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] ya- [after 1.1.67] a consonant [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1].

$bhid+yáÑ+iT-tumuN = bé-bhid-ya+i-tum = bé-bhid-ØØ-i-tum = bé-bhid-i-tum$  'to break frequently'; similarly  $be-bhid-i-távyā-$  'should be broken repeatedly'.

Since the syllable [ya] is involved in this operation it does not apply to verbal stems like *ṛṣy-* 'envy', *mavy-* 'bind' whence *ṛṣy-i-tum*, *mavy-i-tum*; the constraint 'after a consonant' blocks this operation in *ló-lā-y-i-tum* 'to cut or reap repeatedly'.

#### 6.4.50 Kyá-sya vibhāṣā

[Lopa (Ø) 48] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the ánga 1 final syllable ya after a consonant 49 of the affix 3.1.1] Kyá (= KyáC 3.1.8, and KyáÑ 3.1.11) [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1].

$ātmán-ah samídh-am icch-á-ti = sam-ídh+KyáC$  (3.1.8)+ $iT-tumuN = sam-ídh-yá+i-tum = sám-idhy-i-tum$  (48)/ $sám-idhØ-i-tum = sám-idh-i-tum$ ; similarly  $sam-ídh iva á-car-a-ti = sam-ídh+KyaÑ+iT-tumuN = sám-idh-y-i-tum/sám-idh-i-tum$ .

#### 6.4.51 Né-r an-iT-i

[Lópa (Ø) 48 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] causative marker Ní(C) [before 1.1.66 an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] not co-occurring with initial increment iT.

Exception to replacement by (iyaÑ 77 below) or (yaÑ 82) or *guṇá* (7.3.84) or *vṛddhi* (7.2.115) or by a long vowel (7.4.25).

1.  $taks+NíC+HUN = taks+i+CaÑ$  (3.1.48)+ $t = dT$  (71)+ $taks+i+CaÑ+t$

$\acute{a}\text{-ta-takṣ}+i+a+t$  (1.11; 7.4.60) =  $\acute{a}\text{-ta-takṣ}+\emptyset\text{-a-t}$  =  $\acute{a}\text{-ta-takṣ-a-t}$  ‘has fashioned’; exception to 77 below.

2.  $a\dot{t}+N\acute{f}+IUN = \acute{a}\dot{T}$  (72)+ $a\text{-}\acute{t}i\text{-}\acute{t}i$  (1.2)+ $Ca\dot{N}+t = \acute{a}\text{-}\acute{t}i\text{-}\acute{t}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-a-t} = \acute{a}\text{-}\acute{t}i\text{-}\acute{t}\text{-a-t}$  ‘has wandered’; exception to  $ya\dot{N}$  82.
3.  $kṛ+N\acute{f}C+LyuT+T\acute{a}P = k\bar{a}r\text{-}f+ana+\acute{a} = k\acute{a}r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-a}\acute{n}\text{-}\acute{a} = k\acute{a}r\text{-}a\acute{n}\text{-}\acute{a}$  ‘instigation, urging’; exception to  $gu\acute{a}$  (7.3.84).
4.  $kṛ+N\acute{f}C+NvuL = k\bar{a}r\text{-}f+aka\text{-} = k\acute{a}r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-aka\text{-} = k\acute{a}r\text{-}aka\text{-}$  ‘urger, instigator, producer’; exception to  $v\acute{f}ddhi$  on account of marker  $\dot{N}$  of  $NvuL$  (7.2.115).

#### 6.4.52 $niṣṭh\acute{a}\text{-y-}\acute{a}m\text{-s-e-T-i}$

[Lópa ( $\emptyset$ ) 48 replaces the causative marker  $\dot{N}\acute{f}$  51 before 1.1.66 the árdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t  $niṣṭh\acute{a}$  (1.1.26:  $Kt\acute{a}$ ,  $Kt\acute{a}vatU$ ) co-occurring with initial increment  $i\dot{T}$  ( $sa=i\dot{T}\text{-}i$ ).

$kṛ+N\acute{f}C+Kt\acute{a}\text{-} = k\bar{a}r\text{-}i+i\dot{T}\text{-}Kt\acute{a} = k\bar{a}r\text{-}\emptyset\text{-i-t\acute{a}\text{-} = k\bar{a}r\text{-}it\acute{a}\text{-}$  ‘caused to be done’, but  
 $kṛ+N\acute{f}C+i\dot{T}+tum\dot{u}N = k\acute{a}r\text{-}e\text{-}i\text{-}tum = k\acute{a}r\text{-}ay\text{-}i\text{-}tum$  ‘cause to do’.

#### 6.4.53 $jan\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{a}\text{-m\acute{a}ntr\text{-}e}$

The expression  $jan\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{f}\text{-}$  ‘progenitor’ is introduced in the Mántra section of the Veda [with lópa ( $\emptyset$ ) 46 replacement of the causative marker  $\dot{N}\acute{f}$  51 before 1.1.66 the  $se\dot{T}$  52 árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1  $t\acute{f}C$ ].

$y\acute{o}\text{ }nah\text{ }pi\text{-}t\acute{a}\text{ }jan\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{a}$  (RV 10.82.3) ‘who is our father progenitor’: =  $jan+N\acute{f}C+i\dot{T}+t\acute{f}C+sU = jan\text{-}\emptyset\text{-i-t\acute{f}\text{-}+sU = jan\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{a}$  (7.1.94; 6.4.11). Cf. 92 below, for exception to 7.2.115.

#### 6.4.54 $\acute{s}am\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{a}\text{-yajñ\text{-}e}$

The expression  $\acute{s}am\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{f}\text{-}$  ‘carver of the sacrificial meat’ is introduced in the domain of sacrifice ( $yajñ\text{-}e$ ) [with lópa ( $\emptyset$ ) 46 replacement of the causal marker  $\dot{N}\acute{f}$  51 before 1.1.66 the  $se\dot{T}$  52 árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1  $t\acute{f}C$ ].

$\acute{s}ṛ\text{-}t\acute{a}\text{-}m\text{ }hav\acute{i}ṣṭ\text{ } \acute{s}am\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{a}h$  ‘Oh carver of cooked sacrificial oblation!’ :  $\acute{s}am+N\acute{f}C+i\dot{T}\text{-}t\acute{f}C+sU = \acute{s}am\text{-}i\text{-}t\acute{a}$ .

#### 6.4.55 $ay\text{ }^1\acute{a}m\text{=}^2\acute{a}nta\text{=}^3\acute{a}l\acute{u}\text{=}^4\acute{a}yya\text{=}^5itn\acute{u}\text{=}^6iṣṇ\acute{u}\text{-}su$

The substitute element  $ay$  replaces [ $\dot{N}\acute{f}$  51 before 1.1.66 árdhadhatuka 46  $k\acute{f}t$  3.1.93 affixes 3.1.1]  $\text{ }^{\circ}\text{-}\acute{a}m$  (3.1.35),  $\text{ }^{\circ}\text{-}\acute{a}nta$  ( $U\acute{n}\acute{a}di$ ),  $\text{ }^{\circ}\text{-}\acute{a}l\acute{u}$  (C 3.2.158),

°-āyya (Uṇādi), °-itnú (Uṇādi) and °-iṣṇú(C 3.2.136) and °-KHṣṇú-C (3.2.57).

1. °-ām: *kṛ+NíC+ām+ca-kār-a* (3.1.35,40) = *kār-i+ām ca-kār-a* = *kār-ay-ām ca-kār-a* (or *kār-e+ām = kār-ay-ām ca-kār-a*) ‘has caused to make’ (7.3.84).
2. °-ánta: *maṇḍ+NíC+ánta-* = *maṇḍ-ay-ánta-* ‘ornament’.
3. °-ālúC: *sprh+NíC+ālúC* = *sprh-ay-ālú-* ‘desirous’.
4. °-āyya: *sprh+NíC+āyya-* = *sprh-ay-āyya-* ibid.
5. °-itnú: *stana+NíC+itnu* = *stanθ-í+itnú-* (48) = *stan-ay-itnú-* ‘thunder’.
6. °-iṣṇú: *pāra+NíC+iṣṇú* = *pārθ-ay-iṣṇú-* = *pār-ay-iṣṇú* ‘conveying to the opposite shore’.

#### 6.4.56 LyaP-i laghú-pūrv-āt

[The substitute element ay 55 replaces the causative marker Ní 51] preceded by a metrically light syllable (laghú-pūrv-āt) [before 1.1.66 the substitute árdhahātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] LyaP.

*pra+nam+NíC+LyaP* = *pra-nam-áy-ya* ‘having caused to bow down’ (the verbal stem being a M-IT, 7.2.115 is inoperative by 92 below), but *pra+pat+NíC+LyaP* = *pra-pāt-θ-ya* (51) ‘having caused to fall down’.

#### 6.4.57 vibhāṣā āp-aḥ

[The substitute element ay 55] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the causative marker NíC 51 introduced after the verbal stem] āp- ‘attain, reach’ (V 14) [before 1.1.66 the substitute árdhahātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 LyaP 56].

*pra+āp+NíC+LyaP* = *pr-ā-p-áy-ya/pr-āp+θ-ya* = *prāp-ya* ‘having caused to attain or reach’.

#### 6.4.58 <sup>1</sup>yu-<sup>2</sup>pluv-or dīrghá-s=chandas-i

In the domain of Chāndas a substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] yu- ‘mix’ (II 23) and plu- ‘float, swim’ (I 1007) [before 1.1.66 the árdhahātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 Lyap 56].

*dánty anu-pūrvá-m vi-yú-ya* (RV 10.131.2); *yátrā yó dáksinā pari-plú-ya* (KāṭhS. 25.3) but in the spoken language *saṁ-yú-t-ya*, *ā-plú-t-ya* (1.71).

### 6.4.59 kṣīy-aḥ

[A substitute long vowel 58 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] kṣī- 'destroy, waste away' (1.255), 'reside' (VI 114) [before the árdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 Lyap 56].

*prá+kṣī+LyaP* = *pra-kṣī-ya* 'having wasted away (I)/having resided (VI)'.

### 6.4.60 niṣṭhā-y-ām á-NyaT=arth-e

[A substitute long vowel 58 replaces the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem kṣī- 'waste away/reside/ (I 255/VI 114) before 1.1.66 árdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26: Ktá-, KtávatU) when the meaning implied is not that of the affix NyàT.

Affix [NyàT] implies either an impersonal [= bhāv-é] or passive [kár-maṇ-i] construction; consequently the context here refers to the active [kar-tár-i] construction.

*ā-kṣī+Ktá* = *ā-kṣī-ṇá-* (8.2.46; 4.2), *pari-kṣī-ṇá-* 'vanished'; *pra-kṣī-ṇá-* 'destroyed, perished', but in passive and impersonal constructions *kṣī-tá-*.

### 6.4.61 vā <sup>1</sup>ā-kroś-á-<sup>2</sup>daí-n-yay-oḥ

[The substitute long vowel 58] optionally (vā) replaces [the áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem kṣī- 'waste away/reside (I 255/VI 114)' 59 before 1.1.66 the árdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā, when not expressing the sense of the affix NyàT 60] to indicate reproach (ā-kroś-á-°) or pity (°-daí-n-yay-oḥ).

1. *ā-kroś-é:* *kṣī-t-ā-yus-/kṣī-ṇ-ā-yus-* 'whose life-span is miserable' in a curse with *é-dhi* 'may your life be miserable'; 2. *daí-n-y-e:* *kṣī-tá-/kṣī-ṇá-* in the expression *kṣī-tá-h/kṣī-ṇá-h ayám tap-as-uf* '(alas!) this ascetic is emaciated'.

### 6.4.62 <sup>1</sup>syá-<sup>2</sup>síC-<sup>3</sup>sīyut-<sup>4</sup>tási-su <sup>1</sup>bhāv-á-<sup>2</sup>kár-maṇ-oḥ upa-deś-é <sup>1</sup>aC=<sup>2</sup>hanÁ-<sup>3</sup>gráhA-<sup>4</sup>drś-ām CiN-vát=iṭ ca

When the impersonal (bhāv-é) or passive (kár-maṇ-i) construction is denoted by the l-replacements (3.4.69), those operations which apply [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] °-CiN also [optionally 61 apply before 1.1.66 the l-markers] °-syá-, °-síC-, °-sīyut and °-tási-, and (ca) if the operations are applied then initial increment iṭ is inserted before them and is valid after verbal stems [which end in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-°) as well as the verbal stems han- 'kill, strike, hurt' (II 2), gráh- 'seize' (IX 61) and drś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037).



1. Stems ending in vowels:  $ci+syā$  (3.1.33)+ $te/cāy+iT+syā+te$  (7.2.115) =  $ce-syā-te/cāy-i-syā-te$  as in  $dT+ci+CiN+ta = á-cāy-iθ$  (104); similarly:  $á-ci+siC+ātām/á-ci+iT+siC+ātām = á-ce-s-ātām/á-cāy-i-s-ātām$ ; so also  $ce-sI-s-ta/cāy-i-sI-s-ta$ ;  $ce-tās-mi/cāy-i-tās-mi$ . [syá, tās<sub>i</sub>] introduced by 3.1.33; [siC] by 3.1.44; [siy<sub>u</sub>T] by 3.4.102.
2.  $han-i-syā-te/ghān-i-syā-te$  after  $dT+han+CiN = a-ghān-i$  (7.4.54);  $á-haθ-s-ātām/á-ghān-i-s-ātām$ ;  $vadh-i-sI-s-ta/ghān-i-sI-s-ta$ ;  $han-tās-mi/ghān-i-tās-mi$ .
3.  $grah-I-syā-te/grāh-i-syā-te$  after  $dT+grah+CiN = á-grāh-i$ ;  $á-grah-I-s-ātām/á-grāh-i-s-ātām$ ;  $grah-I-sI-s-ta$ ;  $grāh-i-sI-s-ta$ ;  $grah-I-tās-mi/grāh-i-tās-mi$ . 7.2.37 applies only to [iT] introduced by 7.2.35 but not to that introduced by this rule.
4.  $drak-syā-te/darś-i-syā-te$  after  $dT+dṛś+CiN+ta = á-darś-i-θ$ .  $á-dṛk-s-ātām/á-darś-i-s-ātām$ ;  $dṛk-sI-s-ta/darś-i-sI-s-ta$ ;  $dras-tās-mi/darś-tās-mi/darś-i-tās-mi$  (1.58).

Since this is an extension of operations within the governing rule 1 of [ánga], it blocks out the operations of ánga replacements introduced by 2.4.42-43 for [han-], 2.4.5 for [iN 'go' II 36] and 2.4.48-50 for [iN 'study' II 37].

#### 6.4.63 dīN-ah<sub>i</sub> yuT=aC-i K-N-IT-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yuT is inserted at the head [of an árdhadhātuka 46 affix 3.1.1 beginning with 1.1.54] a vowel (aC-i) with marker K or Ñ as IT [introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga 1 stem] dīN- 'perish' (IV 26).

$úpa+dī+lIT+eś$  (3.4.81) =  $úpa-di-dī+eś$  (1.8; 7.4.59) =  $úpa-di-dī+yuTeś$  =  $úpa-di-dī-y-e$  ( $eś$  being a K-IT by 1.2.5). So also  $úpa-di-dī-y-āte/úpa-di-dī-y-ire$ .

#### 6.4.64 āT-ah<sub>i</sub> lopa-h<sub>i</sub> iT-i ca

Lopa (θ) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] phoneme āT (long ā) [before 1.1.66 the initial increment 1.1.46] iT and (ca) [árdhadhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel with marker K or Ñ as IT 63].

1.  $^{\circ}iT$ :  $pā+lIT+thaL = pa-pā$  (1.8; 7.4.59)+ $iT+thaL = pa-pθ-i-tha = pa-p-í-tha$  'thou hast drunk'; similarly  $pa-pā+us = pa-pθ-us = pa-p-úh$  'they have drunk' (K-IT 1.2.5).
2. Ñ-IT:  $prá+dā+aÑ+TāP$  (3.3.106) =  $pra-dθ+á+ā = pra-d-á = prá-dī-ya-te$  'gift'.

#### 6.4.65 īT=yàT-i

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme ā(T) 64 before 1.1.66 the árdhahātuka 46 affix 3.1.1] yàT.

*dā+yàT = dī+yāt = dé-ya-* (7.3.84) 'to be given or donated'. The relevance of substitute long phoneme /ī/ becomes clear in the following sūtra-s; here the same result would have been realized with a substitute short /i/ vowel.

#### 6.4.66 <sup>1</sup>GHU-<sup>2</sup>mā-<sup>3</sup>sthā-<sup>4</sup>gā-<sup>5</sup>pā-<sup>6</sup>jā-hā-ti-<sup>7</sup>s-ām haL-i

[The substitute phoneme long ī(T) 65 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 long phoneme āT 64 of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20: having the shape of dā or dhā, with the exception of dāP/daiP) and mā- 'measure' (II 53, III 6, IV 34), sthā- 'stop, remain' (I 975), gā- 'go, move' (I 998) 'praise' (III 25), 'sing, sound' (I 965) and substitute morpheme for iN̄ (2.4.45), for iN̄ (2.4.48-50), pā- 'drink' (I 972), hā- 'abandon (III 8) and sā- (= so- IV 39) 'destroy' [before 1.1.66 árdha-dhātuka 46 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant (haL-i) [with marker K or N̄ as IT 63].

1. GHU: *dā+yāK+te = dī-yā-te* 'is given'; 2. *mā+yāK+te = mī-yā-te* 'is measured'; similarly 3. *sthī-yā-te*, 4. *gī-yā-te*, 5. *pī-yā-te*, 6. *hī-yā-te*, 7. *āva-sī-ya-te*.

*dā+yāN̄+ŚaP+te = de-dī-yā-te* (1.9; 7.4.82); *me-mī-yā-te*, *te-ṣṭhī-yā-te*, *je-gī-yā-te*, *pe-pī-yā-te*, *je-hī-yā-te*, *āva-se-sī-ya-te*.

#### 6.4.67 e-r īN̄-i

The substitute vowel phoneme /e/ replaces [ánga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel phoneme āT 64 of verbal stems denoted by the t.t. GHU as well as mā-, sthā-, gā-, pā-, hā- and sā- 66 before 1.1.66 árdhahātuka 46] l-substitutes of īN̄ [with marker K or N̄ as IT 63].

*dā+īN̄+t = dā+yāsuT+suT̄-t* (3.4.103,107) = *de-yā+θ+θ+t* (7.2.70) = *de-yā-t* (since increment [yāsuT̄] is N̄-IT) 'let him give'; similarly: *me-yā-t*, *sthe-yā-t*, *ge-yā-t*, *pe-yā-t*, *he-yā-t*, *āva-se-yā-t*; but *dā+ṣṭhyuT̄+suT̄+td* (3.4.102, 107) = *dā-sī-ṣṭā* (1.66; 8.3.59; 4.41).

#### 6.4.68 vā anyá-sya sam-yog-á=āde-h

[The substitute phoneme /e/ 67] optionally [vā] [replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme āT 64 of the verbal stems] other than (anyá-sya) [those listed in 66 above] which begin with a conjunct consonant

(sam-yog-á=āde-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 ārdhadhātuka 46 l-substitutes of IIN̄ 67 with K or Ñ as IT marker 63].

$glai+IIN̄+t = glā+yāsūT+suT+t$  (1.45) =  $gle-yā+00-t$  (7.2.79) =  $gle-yā-t/glā-yā-t$   
 'may (he/she/it) become tired', but  $glā+snyuT+suT+tā = gla-sT-s-tā$ .

#### 6.4.69 ná LyaP-i

[The substitute phoneme e 67] does not (ná) replace the [ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme āT 64 of the verbal stems listed in 66 above before 1.1.66 the ārdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1] LyaP (for Ktvā).

$pra+dā+LyaP = pra-dā-ya$  'having gifted'; similarly:  $pra-mā-ya$ ,  $pra-sthā-ya$ ,  
 $pra-gā-ya$ ,  $pra-pā-ya$ ,  $pra-hā-ya$ ,  $ava-sā-ya$ .

#### 6.4.70 may-a-te-r iT=anya-tará-syām

The substitute phoneme short i(T) optionally (anya-tarásyām) replaces the [ánga 1 final 1.1.52 long vowel āT 64 of the verbal stem] meÑ- 'exchange, trade, barter' (I 1010) [before 1.1.66 the ārdhadhātuka 46 substitute affix 3.1.1 LyaP 69 (for Ktvā)].

$apa+me+LyaP = apa-mā-ya/apa-mī-t-ya$  (1.71) 'having exchanged or bartered'.

#### 6.4.71 <sup>1</sup>IUN̄-<sup>2</sup>IIN̄=<sup>3</sup>IRÑ-k-ṣu=áT=udātta-ḥ

The initial increment (1.1.46) áT̄ is inserted, with high pitch (udātta-ḥ) [at the head of a verbal ánga 1 before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] IUN̄ (Aorist), IAN̄ (Imperfect) and IRÑ (Conditional).

- $kṛ+IUN̄ = kṛ+tiP$  (3.4.77) =  $kṛ+t$  (3.4.100) =  $kṛ+Cl̄i+t$  (3.1.43)  $kṛ+siC+t$  (3.1.44) =  $kār+s+t$  (7.2.1) =  $kār+s+iT̄+t$  (7.3.96) =  $áT̄-kār-ṣ-I-t = á-kār-ṣ-I-t$ .  
 The insertion of the initial increment may take place at any stage of the various operations. It may, however, be convenient to consider the theme itself to be  $áT̄+kṛ-$  before l-substitutes of the three tenses are in place, since it is an ánga increment.
- $kṛ+IAN̄ = áT̄+kṛ+u+tiP = á-kar+o+t$  (3.1.79; 7.3.84) 'did'.
- $kṛ+IRÑ + á-kṛ+syā+tiP = á-kṛ+iT̄-syā+t$  (3.1.33; 7.2.70; 3.4.100) =  $á-kar-i-syā-t$  'if he had done'.

### 6.4.72 áT áC=ādī-n-ām

The initial increment (1.4.46) áT [with high pitch 71 accent is inserted at the head of a verbal ánga l] beginning with a vowel (áC=ādī-n-ām) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of IUÑ, IAN and IRÑ 71].

1. IUÑ (Aorist):  $iks+IUÑ = áT+iks+iT+siC+ta$  (7.2.35) =  $aiks-i-s-ta$  (1.90; 8.3.59; 4.41) 'has perceived'.
2. IAN (Imperfect):  $iks+IAN = á+iks+ŚaP+ta = af-k-s-a-ta$  (1.90) 'saw'.
3. IRÑ (Conditional):  $iks+IRÑ = aiks+iT-sya+ta$  (3.1.33; 7.2.35) =  $aiks-i-sya-ta$  (8.3.59) 'if he had seen'.

### 6.4.73 chándas-i=ápi drś-yá-te

In the Chándas [the initial increment áT 72 with high pitched accent 71] is seen (drś-yá-te) [inserted at the head of a verbal ánga l] (ápi) [other than one beginning with a vowel 72].

- su-rúc-o vená ā-vāḥ* (VS 13.3):  $á-vr+IUÑ+t = á-vr+θ+t$  (2.4.8)  $á-var+t$  (7.3.84) =  $á-var+θ$  (1.68) =  $á-vāḥ$  (8.3.15).
- yuj+IAN = á+yuj+SnaM+t = á-yu-na-j+t = á-yu-na-j+θ* (1.68) =  $á-yu-na-k$  (8.2.30).

### 6.4.74 ná māÑ-yog-e

[The initial increments aT 71 and áT 72] are not (ná) [inserted at the head 1.1.46 of a verbal ánga l before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IUÑ, IAN and IRÑ 71] when co-occurring with the prohibitive particle māÑ.

- $má+á-kār-s-I-h = má kār-s-I-h$  'do not do it'.  $má+á-kar-o-s = má kar-o-h$  'do not do'. Similarly  $má bhavān iks-i-s-ta/iks-a-ta$  (72).

### 6.4.75 bahulá-m chándas-y á-māÑ-yog-e=ápi

In the Chándas [the initial increments áT and áT 72 with high-pitched accent 71 are not inserted 74 at the head of 1.1.46 a verbal ánga l] even (ápi) when the prohibitive particle māÑ is not co-occurring [or co-occurring (with the verbal form)] variously (bahulá-m).

1.  $ján-i-s-thāḥ+ugrá-h = ján-i-s-thā ugrá-h = á-jan-i-s-thāḥ$  'has been born'; 2.  $má vaḥ kṣétr-e para-bījā-n-i á-vāp-s-uh$ .

The force of the expression [bahulám] is to indicate non-conformity with the constraints restricting the operation of this rule.

### 6.4.76 iray-ah re

The substitute element re [variously 75 replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] ire (C) (3.4.81 of jha) [in the Chándas 75].

$dhā+lIT = dhā+jha = da-dhā+iréC$  (1.8; 3.4.81) =  $da-dh\emptyset+iréC$  (64) =  $da-dh-ré$   
‘they have borne’ for  $da-dh-iré$ , but  $ca-kr-iré$  ‘they have made’.

### 6.4.77 aC-i $\acute{S}nu$ - $^2dhātu$ - $^3bhruv$ -ām $^1y$ - $^2v$ -or $^1iya\grave{N}=^2una\grave{N}$ -au

The substitute elements  $iya\grave{N}$  and  $uva\grave{N}$  [respectively 1.3.10 replace 1.1.53] the vowels i and u [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i) [when they are ángá 1 final 1.1.52 of a theme ending in 1.1.72] the present class marker  $\acute{S}nu$  (3.1.73), or of a verb ( $^{\circ}$ - $dhātu$ - $^{\circ}$ ) or of [the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $bhrú$  ‘brow’.

1.  $\bar{a}p+lOT = \bar{a}p+\acute{S}nú+jhi = \bar{a}p-nú+anti$  (7.1.3) =  $\bar{a}p-núv-anti$  ‘they attain’.
2.  $kṣi+lIT = ci-kṣi+ús$  (1.8; 3.4.82) =  $ci-kṣiy-úh$  (1.189) ‘have wasted away or emaciated’; similarly  $lū+lIT = lu-lū+ús = lu-luv-úh$  ‘they have cut’.
3.  $bhrú+au = bhrúv-au$ , but  $vadhú+au = vadhv-au$ .

Guṇá and Vṛddhi replacements block the operation of this rule:  $ci+LyuT/\grave{N}vuL = cé+ana$  (7.3.84) =  $cáy-ana-$  (1.78)/ $caí+\grave{N}vuL$  (7.2.115) =  $cáy-aka-$ .

### 6.4.78 abhy-ās-á-sya=á-sa-varṇ-e

[The substitute elements  $iya\grave{N}$  and  $uva\grave{N}$  77 respectively 1.3.10 replace the vowels i, u 77 occurring at the end of 1.1.72] the reduplicative syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya) [before 1.1.66] a non-homogeneous vowel (á-sa-varṇ-e).

$iṣ+lIT = i-iṣ+NaL$  (1.8; 3.4.82) =  $iy-éṣ-a$  (7.3.84) ‘has desired’; so also  $uṣ+NaL = u+ós+NaL = uv-ós-a$  ‘has burnt’; but from  $iN$ - ‘go’ (II 36):  $i+lIT = i+ús = i-i+us = i-iy+ús$  (77) =  $iy-úh$ ,  $iy-átuh$  and  $iy-áy-a$  (7.2.115).

### 6.4.79 striy-áh

[The substitute element  $iya\grave{N}$  77 replaces the ángá 1 final 1.1.52 vowel ī 77 of the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $strí$  ‘woman, female’ [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

$strí+au/Jas = stríy-au/stríy-ah$ ;  $strI+ām = strI+nu\grave{T}+ām = strI-ṇ-ām$  (7.1.54; 8.4.2).

#### 6.4.80 vā <sup>1</sup>am-<sup>2</sup>Śas-oḥ

[The substitute element *iyāN* 77] optionally (vā) [replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel *ī* 77 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *strī* ‘woman’ 79 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] *am* and *Śas* (4.1.2).

*strī+am/Śas* = *strī-m* (1.107)/*strīy-am*; *strī-ḥ* (1.102)/*strīy-aḥ*.

#### 6.4.81 iN-ah yaN

The semivowel *y(aN)* replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] *iN-* ‘go’ (II 36) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

*i+jhi* = *i+ánti* (7.1.3) = *y-ánti* ‘they go’; similarly *i+IoT* = *i+θ<sup>1</sup>+antu* (7.1.3; 3.4.86) = *y-ántu* ‘let them go/they may go’.

#### 6.4.82 e-ḥ án-eka=aC-ah=a-saṁ-yog-a-pūrva-sya

[The semivowel *yāN* 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme /i/ 77] of a polysyllabic verbal stem (án-eka=aC-ah), not preceded by (°-pūrva-sya) a conjunct consonant (á-saṁ-yoga-°) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

*nI+IIṬ* = *ni-nI+átus* = *ni-ny-átuḥ*; *ni-ny-úḥ*; *grāma-ñf+au* = *grāma-ṇy-au* (8.4.2) but *yava-krf+au* = *yava-krf-y-au* ‘two purchasers of barley’.

#### 6.4.83 o-ḥ sUP-i

[The semivowel substitute *v* of *yāN* 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] vowel phoneme /u/ [of a polysyllabic verbal stem, not preceded by a conjunct consonant 82 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets [beginning with a vowel 77].

*khāla-m pu-ná-ti* = *khāla+θ<sup>1</sup>+pú+KviP* = *khala-pú* (3.2.178)+*au khala-pv-au* (1.174) ‘two sweepers of a threshing floor’; but *lū+KviP+au* = *lúv-au* ‘two reapers’; *kaṭa-prú+au* = *kaṭa-prúv-au* ‘two gamblers’.

#### 6.4.84 varṣā-bhv-as=ca

[A substitute semivowel *v* of *yāN* 81 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *varṣā-bhū-* ‘rain-born’ [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

*varsā-bhū+au* = *varsā-bhv-au*. This is a prior exception to 85 below.

#### 6.4.85 ná 'bhū-<sup>2</sup>su-dhīy-oḥ

[A substitute semivowel *yāN* 81] does not replace [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *bhū* 'becoming' and *su-dhī* 'shrewd' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

*prati-bhū+au* = *prati-bhūv-au* 'two sureties'; *su-dhī+au* = *su-dhīy-au* 'two intelligent persons'.

#### 6.4.86 chándas-i ubha-yá-thā

In the Chándas both (*ubhyá-thā*) [*iyāN-uvāN* 77 and *yāN* 81] replace the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1 *bhū* 'becoming' and *su-dhī* 'shrewd' 85 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets 83 beginning with a vowel 77].

*vāne-su ci-trá-m vi-bhv-ām viśé-viśé* (RV 4.7.1) = *vi-bhūv-am viśé* (TS 1.5.5);  
*su-dhy-ò/su-dhīy-o hāv-yam agne*.

#### 6.4.87 'hu-<sup>2</sup>Śnuv-oḥ sārva-dhātu-k-e

[A substitute semivowel *yāN* 81] replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem [*hu-* 'sacrifice' (III 1) and [of a polysyllabic 82 verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the present class-marker] *Śnu* (3.1.732) [not preceded by a conjunct consonant 82, before 1.1.66] the *sārva-dhātuka* (3.4.113) [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

*hu+LAT* = *hu+Ślu+jhi* (2.4.75) = *ju-hu+ati* (1.10; 7.1.4) = *jú-hv-ati* 'they sacrifice';  
*jú-hv-atu* 'let them sacrifice'.

*su+LAT* = *su+Śnu+jhi* = *su-nu+anti* = *su-nv-ánti* 'they distil'; but *āp-nuv-ánti* 'they reach/attain'.

#### 6.4.88 bhūv-aḥ vūK 'IUN-<sup>2</sup>IIṬ-oḥ

The final increment (1.1.46) *vūK* is inserted after the verbal stem *bhū* 'become' (I 1) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] *IUN* (Aorist) and *IIṬ* (Perfect) tenses [beginning with a vowel 77].

1. *bhū+IUN* = *āṬ* (71) + *bhū+siC* (3.1.44-<sup>1</sup> 2.4.77) + *jhi* = *á-bhū-ant* (3.4.100) =  
*á-bhū-v-ant* = *á-bhū-v-anθ* (8.2.23) = *á-bhū-v-an* 'they have become'.

2.  $bh\acute{u}+IIT = ba-bh\acute{u}+NaL$  (1.8; 3.4.82) =  $ba-bh\acute{u}-v+NaL = ba-bh\acute{u}-v-a$  'has become'.

#### 6.4.89 ūT=upa-dhā-y-āḥ góh-aḥ

The substitute phoneme ūT replaces the penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) phoneme [of the verbal ánga 1 of] góh- (= gúh- I 944) 'hide' [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77].

The allomorph [góh-] in the rule is to indicate that wherever the verbal stem [gúh-] undergoes a Guṇá replacement, it is replaced by long /ū/, not otherwise.

$ni-guh+ŚaP+tiP = ni-*goh-a-ti$  (7.3.84) =  $ni-gūh-a-ti$  'hides';  $ni-guh+NvuL = ni-*goh-aka-$  =  $ni-gūh-aka-$  'hiding', but  $ni-guh+IIT = ní+guh+atus$  (3.4.82) =  $ní-ju-guh-atuh$  'they have been hiding' where IIT l-substitutes being K-IT (1.2.5) do not operate Guṇá replacement of the light penultimate vowel.

#### 6.4.90 doṣ-aḥ N-aú

[The substitute phoneme ūT 89 replaces the penultimate phoneme 89 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem] doṣ- (= duṣ- IV 76) 'sin, perish, injure' [before 1.1.66 the causative marker] Ní(C).

$duṣ+NíC = doṣ-í$  (7.3.86)  $ŚaP+tiP$  (3.1.88) =  $dūṣ-áy-a-ti$  'spoils, corrupts', but  $duṣ+GHañ = dóṣ-a-$  'fault'.

#### 6.4.91 vā cit-ta-vi-rāg-é

[The substitute phoneme ūT 89] optionally (vā) replaces [the penultimate phoneme 89 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem] doṣ- 'spoil, sin, perish' 90 before 1.1.66 the causative marker Ní 90] when denoting a disturbance of the mind (cit-ta-vi-rāg-é).

$cit-tā-m doṣ-áy-a-ti/dūṣ-áy-a-ti$  'agitates the mind'.

#### 6.4.92 M-IT-āñ hrasva-ḥ

A substitute short (vowel 1.2.18 hrasvá-ḥ) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga of verbal stems which are designated as marked with] M as IT [before 1.1.66 the causative marker Ní(C) 90].

In the Dhātupāṭha verbal stems beginning with [ghaṭ- I 800] and ending with [phañ- I 873] are so designated.

$ghaṭ+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = *ghāt-f-a-ti$  (7.2.116) =  $ghaṭ-áy-a-ti$  (7.3.94; 6.1.78) 'brings about'.



#### 6.4.93 CiN- NamuL-or dīrghá-ḥ=anya-tará-syām

A substitute long (vowel: dīrghá-ḥ 1.2.28) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of verbal stems with M as IT marker 92 before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC 90] co-occurring with CiN or NamuL.

1.  $\acute{s}am + NíC + CíN = \acute{a}T + \acute{s}ām-i + CíN + ta = \acute{a} - \acute{s}ām - \emptyset + í + \emptyset$  (148; 104) =  $\acute{a} - \acute{s}ām-i / \acute{a} - \acute{s}ām-i$  'has quietened'.
2.  $\acute{s}am + NíC + NamuL = \acute{s}ām-i + NamuL = \acute{s}ām + \emptyset + am = \acute{s}ām-am \acute{s}ām-am / \acute{s}ām-am \acute{s}ām-am$ .

#### 6.4.94 KHaC-i hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ vowel 1.2.18) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the causative marker and stem-forming affix Ní (90) co-occurring with the affix 3.1.1] KHáC (3.2.38ff.).

$diviṣ-ánt-am tāp-áy-a-ti = diviṣát + tap + NíC + KHáC$  (3.2.39) =  $diviṣ-át + tāp-í + KHáC$  (7.2.116) =  $diviṣ-a + muM-t + tāp-i + KHáC$  (3.67) =  $diviṣ-am-t + tap + \emptyset + \acute{a}$  (51) =  $diviṣ-ant-tap-á-$  (8.4.58) =  $diviṣ-an\emptyset-tap-á-$  (8.2.23) =  $diviṣ-an-tap-á-$  'chastiser of enemies'; similarly  $púr-am dār-áy-a-ti = pura + dār-i + KHáC = pura + muM + dār-i + \acute{a} = pura-n + dār-\emptyset-á- = puran-dar-á-$  'destroyer of city forts, n.pr. of Indra'.

#### 6.4.95 hlād-aḥ niṣṭhā-y-ām

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stem] hlād- 'rejoice' (I 27) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] niṣṭhā (1.1.26: Ktá, KtāvatU).

$pra + hlād + Ktá- = pra-hlān-ná-$  (8.2.42) =  $pra-hlan-ná-$  'has rejoiced', but  $prá-hlād + Ní + ŚaP + tiP = prá-hlād-ay-a-ti$  'causes to rejoice'.

#### 6.4.96 chād-é-r GHe á-dvi=upa-sarg-a-sya

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stem] chād-í- (= chad + NíC I 290) 'wrap, envelope, cover', not co-occurring with two pre-verb particles [before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1] GHá (3.3.118).

$úras chād-áy-a-ti$  'covers the chest':  $uras + \emptyset^1 + chād-i = GHá = uras-chād-\emptyset + \acute{a} = uras-chad-á-$ ;  $\emptyset$  replacement of NíC does not operate the governing rule 22 or 1.1.62 as a result of this specific rule. But  $sam-upa-cchād-á-$  'a good coverlet'.

#### 6.4.97 <sup>1</sup>ís-<sup>2</sup>man-<sup>3</sup>traN-<sup>4</sup>kvi-ṣu ca

[A substitute short vowel 94 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem *chād-i-* ‘cover’ 96 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-ís-, °-man-, °-traN- and Kvi.

The first three affixes belong to the Uñādi group; 1. *chād-i+ís* = *chād-∅+ís* = *chād-ís-* ‘cover, roof’; 2. *chād-i+man* = *chād-∅+man-* = *chād-man-* ‘roof’; 3. *chād-i+traN* = *chāt-tra-* ‘parasol, umbrella’; 4. *tanú-m chād-áy-a-ti* = *tanu-cchād-∅+KviP* = *tanu-cchād-* ‘coat of mail, armour’.

#### 6.4.98 <sup>1</sup>gama-<sup>2</sup>hanÁ-<sup>3</sup>jána-<sup>4</sup>khána-<sup>5</sup>ghas-āñ lópa-ḥ K-Ñ-IT-i án-aÑ-i

Lópa (∅) replaces [the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga 1 of the verbal stems] *gam-* ‘go’ (I 1031), *han-* ‘kill, injure’ (II 2), *ján-* ‘be born’ (III 24) IV 41, *khán-* ‘dig, excavate’ (I 927), *ghas-* ‘eat, consume’ (I 747) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] with marker K or Ñ as IT, excluding aÑ [beginning with a vowel 77].

1. *gam+IIT* = *gam+átus* = *ja-gam+átus* = *ja-gḥm-átus* = *ja-gm-átuḥ* (1.8; 7.4.60, 62), *ja-gm-úḥ* but *á-gam-a-t*.
2. *han+IIT* = *han+átus/ús* = *ja-ghan+átus/ús* (7.3.55) = *ja-ghn-átuḥ/ja-ghn-úḥ*. Similarly: *ja-jñ-átuḥ/jajñ-úḥ*; *ja-jñ-é*, *ja-jñ-áte/jajñ-íre*; *ca-khn-átuḥ*; *ja=kṣ-átuḥ* but *á-ghas-a(Ñ)-t* = *á-ghas-a-t*.

#### 6.4.99 <sup>1</sup>táni-<sup>2</sup>páty-os=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [lópa (∅) 98 replaces the penultimate 89 vowel of the ánga 1 of verbal stems] *tán-* ‘extend’ (VIII 1) and *pát-* ‘fly, fall’ (I 898) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel 77 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

*ví+tan+IIT* = *ví-tan+iréC* (3.4.81) = *ví-ta-tan-iréC* = *ví-ta-tñ-ire* ‘have extended’; similarly: *pa-pat+má* (1.8; 7.4.60) = *pa-pat+iT-má* (7.2.35) = *pa-pt-i-má* ‘we have fallen’.

#### 6.4.100 <sup>1</sup>ghasi-<sup>2</sup>bhás-or ḥaL-i ca

[In the domain of Chándas 99 lópa (∅) 98 replaces the penultimate 99 vowel of the ánga 1 of the verbal stems] *ghas-* ‘eat; devour, consume’ (I 747) and *bhás-* ‘devour’ (III 18) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a consonant (ḥaL-i) as well as (ca) [with vowels 77, with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1.  $ád+KtiN = ghás+KtiN$  (2.4.39) =  $gh\theta s+tí = gh-dhí$  (8.2.40) =  $g-dhí-$  (8.4.53); *samānī g-dhí-h* = *sá-g-dhi-h* 'eating together, common meal'.
2.  $bhas+IoT = bhas+Ślu+tām$  (2.4.75; 3.4.101) =  $ba-bhas+tām$  (1.10; 7.4.60; 8.4.54) =  $ba-bh\theta s+tām = ba-bh\theta+tām$  (8.2.26) =  $ba-bh+dhām$  (8.2.40) =  $bab-dhām$  (8.4.53).  $bhas+Ślu+jhi = ba-bhas+ati = ba-bh\theta s-ati = bā-ps-ati$  (8.4.55).

#### 6.4.101 <sup>1</sup>hu-<sup>2</sup>jhaL-bhyaḥ=hé-r dhí-h

The substitute element dhí replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the substitute affix 3.1.1] hí (for siP 3.4.87) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] hu- 'sacrifice' (III 1) and those [ending in 1.1.72] a non-nasal consonant (jhaL-bhyaḥ).

1.  $hu+IoT = hu+Ślu+hí$  (3.4.87) =  $ju-hu+hí$  (1.10) =  $ju-hu-dhí$ .
2.  $bhid+IoT = bhid+ŚnaM+hí = bhi-na-d+hí$  (3.1.78) =  $bhi-n\theta-dh+hí$  (111) =  $bhi-ndh+dhí = bhi-nd-dhí$ ; but *i-hí*, *svap-i-hí*, *krī-ṇī-hí*.

#### 6.4.102 <sup>1</sup>śru-<sup>2</sup>śṛ-ṇú-<sup>3</sup>pṛ-<sup>4</sup>kr-<sup>5</sup>vṛ-bhyas=chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute element dhí replaces hí 101 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] śru-/śṛ-ṇú- 'listen, hear' (I 989), pṛ- 'fill, fill up' (III 4, IX 19), kr- 'do' (VIII 10) and vṛ- 'cover' (V 8).

1. *śru-dhí háva-m indra* (RV 2.11.3) 'listen to the invocation, O Indra!'; 2. *śṛ-ṇu-dhí gir-aḥ* 'harken to the speech' (RV 8.13.7); 3. *pūr-dhí* (RV 8.78.10) 'fulfill'; 4. *urú ṇas kṛ-dhi* (RV) 'make us wide'; 5. *āpā-vṛ-dhi* (RV 1.7.6) 'uncover'.

#### 6.4.103 á-Ñ-IT=as=ca

[In the domain of Chándas 102 the substitute element dhí replaces hí 101] even when it is not marked with Ñ as IT (3.4.87-88).

3.4.87 introduces the IoT substitute of [siP] as [hi] without marker P as IT and thereby makes it a Ñ-IT by 1.2.4 while 3.4.88 makes this optional in the case of Chándas. The present rule indicates that in this case also, [dhí] replaces [hí]: *sóma rāran-dhí* (RV 1.91.13) 'O Soma! be pleased' as derived from: *ram+Ślu+dhí = ra-ram+dhí = rā-ran-dhí* with a long vowel replacing the reduplicated syllable and without  $\theta$  replacement of stem-final nasal (37 above). Similarly *yu+Ślu+dhí = yu-yo-dhí*, since [hí] is not a Ñ-IT and permits operation of 7.3.86 for guṇa replacement of penultimate light vowel.

### 6.4.104 CíN-ah luK

luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) replaces [the affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] the Aorist marker CíN (3.1.66).

By 3.1.66 CíN is introduced after verbal stems before the taÑ triplet [ta] in passive and impersonal constructions. Thus corresponding to *kri-yá-te* 'is done', the Aorist form is:  $\acute{a}T$  (71)+ $k\bar{r}$ +CiN+ta =  $\acute{a}$ - $k\bar{a}r$ -i+ta (7.2.115) =  $\acute{a}$ - $k\bar{a}r$ -i+ $\emptyset^1$  =  $\acute{a}$ - $k\bar{a}r$ -i; but in *a-kār-i-tarām*, *tar-ām* is not replaced by  $\emptyset^1$  because of the  $\emptyset^1$  replacement of [ta] being present after CíN by 1.1.68.

### 6.4.105 aT-ah hé-ḥ

[luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) 104 replaces the substitute affix 3.1.1] hí [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel a(T).

$pac+\acute{S}aP+h\acute{s}$  =  $p\acute{a}c-a+h\acute{s}$  =  $p\acute{a}c-a+\emptyset^1$  =  $p\acute{d}\acute{a}c-a$  'cook', but  $i+\emptyset^1+h\acute{i}$  =  $i-h\acute{i}$  'go'.  
*svap-i-hí* 'lie down'.

### 6.4.106 uT-as=ca praty-ay-āt=á-saṃyog-a-pūrv-āt

[luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ) 104] also (ca) replaces [the substitute affix 3.1.1 hí introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 1 terminating 1.1.72 in] an affix [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short u(T), not preceded by a conjunct consonant (á-saṃyog-a-purv-āt).

$su+lOT$  =  $su+\acute{S}n\acute{u}+h\acute{s}$  =  $su-n\acute{u}+h\acute{s}$  =  $su-n\acute{u}+\emptyset^1$  =  $su-n\acute{u}$  'listen, hear'; similarly  
 $tan+lOT$  =  $tan-\acute{u}+h\acute{s}$  =  $tan-\acute{u}+\emptyset^1$  =  $tan-\acute{u}$  'spread, extend', but  $\acute{a}p-n\acute{u}+h\acute{s}$  =  $\acute{a}p-nu-h\acute{s}$  'reach'.

### 6.4.107 lópa-s=ca=a-syá=anya-tará-syām <sup>1</sup>m-<sup>2</sup>v-oh

Lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the affix 3.1.1 class-marker ending in 1.1.72 short uT, not preceded by a conjunct consonant 106 before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] m-<sup>o</sup> or v-<sup>o</sup>.

$su+lAT$  =  $su+\acute{S}n\acute{u}+v\acute{a}s/m\acute{a}s$  =  $su-nu-v\acute{a}s/^{\circ}m\acute{a}s$  =  $su-n\emptyset=v\acute{a}s/m\acute{a}s$  =  $su-nu-v\acute{a}h/su-n-v\acute{a}h$ ;  $su-nu-m\acute{a}h/su-n-m\acute{a}h$ ;  $tan+lAT$  =  $tan-u+v\acute{a}s/m\acute{a}s$  =  $tan-u-v\acute{a}h/tan-v\acute{a}h$ ;  $tan-u-m\acute{a}h/tan-m\acute{a}h$ .

#### 6.4.108 nítya-m̐ kar-ó-te-h̐

[Lópa (Ø) 107] necessarily (nítya-m̐) replaces [the class marker affix 3.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme °-uT 106, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 1] kar-ú- (= kṛ- VIII 10+ú) 'do' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with v-° or m-° 107].

$kṛ+IAT = kṛ+ú+vás/más = kur-ú+vás/más$  (110) =  $kur+Ø+vás/más = kur-váh/kur-máh$ . The operation of 8.2.77 which would have replaced short [u] by the long one is blocked by 8.2.79.

#### 6.4.109 y-e ca

[Lópa (Ø) 107 replaces the class-marker °-ú- 106 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 1 kṛ- 'do' (VIII 10) 109 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] y-° also (ca) [necessarily 108].

$kṛ+IIN = kṛ+u+yás-t$  (3.4.100) =  $kur-u+yás+euT+t$  (110; 3.4.107) =  $kur-Ø-yáh+Ø+t = kur-yáh-t$  (7.2.79),  $kur-yáh-tām/kur-y-úh$ .

#### 6.4.110 aT-aḥ uT sārva-dhātu-k-e

The substitute phoneme short uT replaces the phoneme short aT [of the verbal áṅga kar-ú- 108 ending in 1.1.72 the class marker °-ú- 106 before 1.1.66] sārva-dhātuka [affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

$kṛ+ú+tás/ánti$  (Ñ-IT 1.2.4) =  $kar-ú+tás/ánti$  (7.3.84) =  $kur-u+tás/kur-v-ánti$ , but  $kar-ó-ti$  (P-IT); similarly  $kar-ú+hí = ku-rú+Ø$  (106).

#### 6.4.111 <sup>1</sup>Śná=<sup>2</sup>as-or aT=lopá-h̐

Lópa (Ø) replaces the short vowel a(T) of the present class marker Śna(M 3.1.78) and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before 1.1.66 sārva-dhātuka 110 affixes with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

- $rudh+IAT = rudh+ŚnáM+tás/ánti = ru-na-dh+tás/ánti = ru-nØ-dh+tás/ánti = rundh+dhás$  (8.2.40) =  $rund-dháh$  (8.3.15; 4.53)/ $rundh-ánti$ .
- $as+IAT = as+Ø<sup>1</sup>+tás/ánti = Øs-táh/Øs-ánti$ .

#### 6.4.112 <sup>1</sup>Śnā=<sup>2</sup>abhy-às-tay-or āT-aḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 111 replaces] the phoneme long ā(T) occurring in the present class marker Śnā (3.1.81) or [as ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of] a reduplicated verbal theme [before 1.1.66 sárvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1.  $kri+IAT = kri+Śnā+áte$  (3.4.79, 7.1.4) =  $kri-ṇā+áte$  (8.4.2) =  $kri-ṇØ+áte$  'they buy';  $kri+IoT = kri+Snā+átām = kri-ṇā+átām = kri-ṇØ+átām = kri-ṇ-átām$  'let them purchase'.
2.  $dā+IAT = dā+Ślu+áte$  (1.10; 7.4.59) =  $dā-dØ+ate$  'they give',  $dā-d-átām$  'let them give'.

#### 6.4.113 ĩ haL-i=á-GHO-ḥ

The substitute phoneme ĩ replaces [the phoneme long ā occurring in the present class marker Śnā or as ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of a reduplicated verbal theme 112] excluding those denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) [before 1.1.66 sárvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant (haL-i) [with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

1.  $kri+IAT = kri+Śnā+tás/thás/vás/más = kri-ṇā+tás/thás/vás/más = kri-ṇ-í-táh/tháh/váh/máh$ .
2.  $mā+Ślu+té = mā-mā-té$  (1.10; 7.4.59) =  $mí-mā-té$  (7.4.76) =  $mí-m-í-té$ ,  $mí-mā+áte = mí-m-ate$  (112).  $dā+Ślu+tás = da-dā+tás = da-dØ+tás$  (112) =  $dat-táh$  (8.4.55).

#### 6.4.114 iT=daridra-sya

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the phoneme long ā(T) 112 occurring as ánga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] daridrā- 'be needy' (II 64) [before 1.1.66 sárvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

$dari-drā+IAT = dari-drā+Ø+vás/más = dari-dri-váh/máh$  but  $dari-drā-ti(P)$ .

#### 6.4.115 bhiy-aḥ=anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme iT 114] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] bhī- 'fear' (III 2) [before 1.1.66 sárvadhātuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98].

$bhI+LAT = bhI+\acute{S}lu+t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s = bi-bhI+t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s$ ,  $bi-bhi-t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s$  but  $bhI+y\acute{a}K+te = bhI-y\acute{a}-te$  since [y\acute{a}K] is \acute{a}rdhadh\acute{a}tuka.

#### 6.4.116 $j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}-te-s=ca$

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 114] also (ca) [optionally 115 replaces the \acute{a}nga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem]  $h\bar{a}$ - ‘abandon’ (III 8) [before 1.1.66 s\acute{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka 110 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 113 with marker K or \acute{N} as IT 98].

$h\bar{a}+LAT = h\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s = ja-h\bar{a}+t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s = ja-hI-t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s$  (113),  
 $ja-hi-t\acute{a}s/th\acute{a}s$  but  $j\acute{a}-h\bar{a}-ti(P)$ .

#### 6.4.117 $\bar{a}$ ca h-aú

The substitute phoneme  $\bar{a}$ , in addition to (ca) [short i(T) 114 optionally 115 replaces the \acute{a}nga 1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem  $h\bar{a}$ - ‘abandon’ (III 8) before 1.1.66 s\acute{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka 110 affix 3.1.1]  $hi$ .

$h\bar{a}+IOT = h\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+h\acute{í} = ja-h\bar{a}-h\acute{í}/ja-hi-h\acute{í}$  (116)/ $ja-hI-h\acute{í}$  (113) (1.10; 7.4.59,62).

#### 6.4.118 $lópa-h=y-i$

Lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) replaces [the \acute{a}nga 1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem  $h\bar{a}$ - ‘abandon’ (III 8) 116 before 1.1.66 a s\acute{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka 110 affix 3.1.1 beginning with]  $y-$  ° [with marker K or \acute{N} as IT].

$h\bar{a}+IIN = h\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+y\acute{á}suT+suT+t\acute{a}m$  (3.4.103,107) =  $ja-h\bar{a}+y\acute{á}\emptyset+\emptyset+t\acute{a}m$  (7.2.79) =  
 $ja-h-y\acute{á}-t\acute{a}m$ ;  $ja-h-y-\acute{u}h$  (1.96).

#### 6.4.119 ${}^1GHU={}^2as-or$ eT=h-aú=abhy-\acute{a}s-a-lop\acute{a}-s=ca

The substitute vowel e(T) replaces [the \acute{a}nga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) and  $as-$  ‘be’ (II 55) [before 1.1.66 s\acute{a}rvadh\acute{a}tuka 110 affix 3.1.1]  $hi$  and lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) replaces the reduplicated syllable (abhy-\acute{a}s-a-lop\acute{a}-h).

1.  $d\bar{a}+IOT = d\bar{a}+\acute{S}lu+h\acute{í} = da-d\bar{a}+h\acute{í} = \emptyset\emptyset-de-h\acute{í} = de-h\acute{í}$  ‘give!’.

2.  $as+IOT = as+\emptyset^1+hi = ae+h\acute{í} = e+h\acute{í}$  (1.97) =  $e+dh\acute{í}$  (22, 101).

#### 6.4.120 aT-aḥ ɛka-haL-madhy-é=án-ādeśa=āde-r IIṬ-i

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119] replaces the short vowel a(T) which occurs between single consonants (ɛka-haL-madhy-é) [in a verbal āṅga 1] whose initial is not replaced (án-ādeśa-āde-h) (in the reduplicated syllable 1.8) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IIṬ (Perfect) [with marker K or Ñ as IT 98 and Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

$raṇ+IIṬ = ra-raṇ+átus/ús$  (1.8) =  $ØØ-reṇ-átus/ús = reṇ-átuh/úh$  'have resounded', but  $ra-rāṇ-a$  (+NaL). So also  $ram+IIṬ = ra-ram+éŚ/áte/iréC = ØØ-rem-é/áte/iré$ .

Counter-examples:  $rās+IIṬ = ra-rās+é/áte/iréC = ra-rās-é/áte/-iré$ , since by 7.4.59 the short vowel replaces the long one in the reduplicated syllable; similarly  $kaṇ+IIṬ = ca-kaṇ+átus/ús$  through the operation of 7.4.62.

The constraint on the initial replacement of the verbal theme before IIṬ is for the purpose of applying this rule to situations where this replacement is conditioned by IIṬ itself: 1.64-65 which are general rules do not come under this operation:  $śah+IIṬ = sah+IIṬ = sa-sah+éŚ = seh-é$  'has endured', and similarly  $ṇam+IIṬ = nam+IIṬ = na-nam+átus/ús = nem-átus/ús$  since the replacement of retroflex initials by corresponding dentals is not specifically related to IIṬ alone.

#### 6.4.121 thaL-i ca sa=iṬ-i

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119 replaces the short vowel a(T) which occurs between single consonants 120 of a verbal āṅga 1 whose initial is not replaced in a reduplicated syllable before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the IIṬ substitute] thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ [with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

$pac+iṬ-thaL = pa-pác+i-thaL = ØØ-péc-i-tha$  'hast cooked', but when not so co-occurring with [iṬ]:  $pa=pác+tha = pa-pák-tha$  (8.2.80).

#### 6.4.122 <sup>1</sup>tḡ-<sup>2</sup>phálÁ-<sup>3</sup>bhajÁ-<sup>4</sup>tráp-as=ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 119 replaces the short vowel a(T) of the āṅga 1 of the verbal stems] tḡ- 'cross, traverse' (I 1018), phál- 'fructify' (I 563), bhaj- 'share, serve' (I 1047) and tráp- 'be ashamed' (I 399) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98] as well as (ca) [before 1.1.66 thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121].

1.  $tḡ+IIṬ = ta-tar+átus/ús$  (7.4.11) =  $ØØ-ter-átus/ús = ter-átuh/úh$  'have crossed over';  $tér-i-tha$ . Similarly: 2.  $phel-átuh/úh$ ;  $phél-i-tha$  'have/hast fructified'; 3.  $bhej-átuh/úh$ ;  $bhéj-i-tha$  'have/hast shared or served'; 4.  $trep-átuh/úh$ ;  $trép-i-tha$  'have/hast become ashamed'.



#### 6.4.123 rādh-aḥ himśā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 110 replaces the vowel ā(T)112 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stem] rādh- (IV 84) when designating the sense of 'hurt, injury' (himsā-y-ām) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ 98 and also before thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121 with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

*ápa+rādh+IIṬ* = *ápa-ra-rādh/atus/us/i-thaL* = *ápa-redh-atuh/uh/ápa-redh-i-tha*  
'have/hast injured'.

In the Dhātupāṭha the verbal stem [rādh-] is defined as [rādhÁ á-kar-ma-k-āt vfd-dh-au=evá] (intransitive) 'increase' only (IV 71) while [rādhA sám-sid-dh-au] occurs as (V 16) and [radhÁ himśā-sam-rād-dhy-oḥ IV 84]. The association of [himsā] with (V 16) is justified by the general theory of [an-eka-artha-tva] 'multiple senses of verbal stems' since [radh-] which has this meaning has an in-fixed nasal increment before l-substitutes of IIṬ (7.1.61).

#### 6.4.124 vā <sup>1</sup>jṛ-<sup>2</sup>bhrámÚ-<sup>3</sup>trás-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119] optionally (vā) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 120 of the ánga 1 of the verbal stems] jṛ- 'become old, age' (IV 22; IX 24), bhrám- 'ramble, err' (IV 96), and trás- 'tremble' (IV 10) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98 and Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119 and before thaL co-occurring with initial increment iṬ 121, with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

1. *jṛ+IIṬ* = *ja-jar-átus/ús* (7.4.11) = *ØØ=jer-átus/ús* = *jer-átuh/úh/jér-i-tha*  
'have/hast grown old or senile'.

2. *bhrem=átuh/úh/bhrém-i-tha* 'erred, rambled'.

3. *trep-átuh/úh/trép-i-tha* 'trembled'.

#### 6.4.125 phāṇ-ām ca saptā-n-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119 optionally 124 replaces the short vowel a(T) 120 of the ánga 1 of the class of verbal stems consisting of] seven (saptā-n-ām) beginning with phaṇ- 'go' (I 873-79) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT and before thaL co-occurring with the initial increment iṬ 121 with Ø replacement of the reduplicated syllable 119].

The seven verbal stems are I 873-79: 873 *phán-* ‘go, move’, 874 *rāj-* ‘shine’, 875 *bhrāj-/876 bhrās/877 bhlās-* ‘shine’, 878 *syám-* ‘sound’ and 879 *sván-* ‘sound’.

1. *phen-átuh/phen-úh/phén-i-tha; pa-phan-átuh/úh/pa-phán-i-tha.*
2. *rej-átuh/ra-rāj-átuh; réj-i-tha/ra-rāj-i-tha.*
3. *bhrej-é/ba-bhrāj-é; bhrej-iré/ba-bhrāj-iré.*
4. *bhres-é/ba-bhrās-é; bhres-iré/ba-bhrās-iré.*
5. *bhles-é/ba-bhlās-é; bhles-iré/ba-bhlās-iré.*
6. *syem-átuh/sa-syam-átuh; syém-i-tha/sas-syám-i-tha.*
7. *sven-átuh/sa-svan-átuh; svén-i-tha/sa-sván-i-tha.*

#### 6.4.126 ná <sup>1</sup>śásā-<sup>2</sup>dádA-<sup>3</sup>v=ādi-<sup>4</sup>guṇā-ṇ-ām

[The substitute phoneme e(T) 119] does not (ná) replace [the ánga 1 vowel a(T) 120 of verbal stems] śas- ‘cut’ (I 763), dad- ‘give’ (I 17), those beginning with the phoneme v-° (v-ādi-°) and where a(T) is the result of a Guṇā replacement [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 120 with marker K or Ñ as IT 98 and before thaL co-occurring with the initial increment iṬ 121 and Ø] does not [replace the reduplicated syllable 119].

1. *vī-śas+IIṬ = vī-śa-śas-atuh; vī-śa-śas-i-tha* ‘dissected’. Similarly: 2. *da-dad-iré* ‘have given’; 3. *va-vam-átuh, va-vám-i-tha* ‘have vomited’; 4. *vī+ś+atus = vī-śa-śar=atuh; vī-śa-śar-i-tha* ‘have/hast injured’.

#### 6.4.127 árvaṇ-as tṚ=á-sAU=á-naÑ-ah

The substitute element tṚ replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] árvaṇ- ‘courser’ [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] excluding the sUP triplet sU, provided the stem does not co-occur with the privative particle náÑ (á-naÑ-ah).

*árvaṇ+au/Jas/am = árvatṚ+au/Jas/am = árva-nuM-t+au/Jas/am* (7.1.70) = *dárvant-au/ah/am* but *árvaṇ+sU = árvān+sU* (8) = *árvān+Ø* (1.68) = *árvā+Ø* (8.2.7) = *árvā*; similarly *án-arvā, án-arvān-au/ah/am*.  
*árvaṇ+ÑIP* (4.1.5) = *árvatṚ+I = árvat-I; árvaṇ+áÑ = árvat-á-*.

#### 6.4.128 maghāvā bahulá-m

[The substitute element tṚ 127] variously (bahulá-m) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] maghā-van- ‘n.pr. of Indra, the liberal’ [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1].

*maghā-van+sU/au/Jas/am = maghā-vatṚ+sU/au/Jas/am = maghāvā/maghā-vān, maghā-vān-au/ah/am; maghā-vant-au/ah/amm; maghāvan+*

$\acute{S}as/\acute{T}\bar{a} = magh\acute{o}n-ah/\bar{a}$ ;  $magh\acute{a}-vat-ah/\bar{a}$ .  $magh\acute{a}van+\acute{N}IP = magh\acute{o}n-/\bar{a}$   
 $magh\acute{a}-vat-/\bar{a}$ ;  $magh\acute{a}-van+\acute{a}N = m\bar{a}gha-van-\acute{a}/m\bar{a}gha-vat-\acute{a}$ .

#### 6.4.129 BHA-sya

(The operations introduced hereafter, up to the end of this chapter apply to the pre-affixal stem 1.4.18-19 designated by the technical term) BHA.

This is a governing rule and the expression [BHA-sya] will recur in all subsequent rules in this chapter.

#### 6.4.130 pād-áh pād-

[The substitute morpheme] pād- replaces [the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-pād- 'foot' [occurring at the end of a compound 5.4.138-40 before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or y-° 1.4.18 other than those designated by the t.t. sUT̥ or Śi 1.1.42-43].

The t.t. [BHA] represents a sub-section of [āṅga] before weak affixes [á-sarva-nāma-sthāna] beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y-° or those ending in °-t- or °-s- before affixes having the sense of the affix matUP (1.4.18-19) and naturally fall within the governing rule 1 of this major section.

*dv-au pād-au a-syá = dvi-pād (5.4.140)+Śas/Ṭā/Ñe = dvi-pād-ah/ā/e*; *dv-au dv-au pād-au dá-dā-ti = dvi-pād+vuN (5.4.1)+ṬāP = dvi-pād-ik-ām (7.3.44) dá-dā-ti* 'gives two quarters each'; *vyāghrá-sya pād-au iva pādau a-syá = vyāghrá-pād-, táśya ápatya-m = vyāghrá-pād+yaÑ (5.4.138; 4.1.105) = vaívyāghra-pād-ya-h (7.3.3).*

#### 6.4.131 vásO-ḥ sam-pra-sār-ṇa-m

Vocalization of the semivowel (sam-pra-sār-ṇa-m 1.1.45) [of the affix 3.1.1] °-vásU- (= KvásU 3.2.107) [occurring as āṅgá 1 final 1.1.52 of a BHA stem 129] takes place.

*vid+vásU+Śas/Ṭā/Ñe = vid-ús-as/ā/e*; *vid-vás+ÑIP = vid-ús-/\bar{a}*; (1.108; 8.3.59).  
*vid-vás+áN = vai-dus-á-*.

#### 6.4.132 vāh-ah ūṬH

[The sam-pra-sār-ṇa 131 substitute element] ūṬH replaces [the semivowel 131 of āṅga 1 final 1.1.52] °vāh- [of a BHA 129 stem].

*praṣṭhá-m vāh-a-ti = praṣṭhá+Ø<sup>1</sup>+vah+Nvi (3.2.64) = praṣṭha-vāh+Śas/Ṭā/Ñe = praṣṭha+ūṬHáh+ah/ā/e = praṣṭh-au-h-ah/ā/e (1.89, 108).*

#### 6.4.133 <sup>1</sup>śvā(n)=<sup>2</sup>yúva(n)=<sup>3</sup>maghón-ām á-taddhit-e

[Vocalization of the semivowel 131 of the BHA 129 nominal stems 4.1.1] śván- ‘dog’, yúvan- ‘youth’ and maghá-van- ‘bountiful, n.pr. of Indra’ replaces [the semivowel v 131 before 1.1.66 non-taddhitá affixes 3.1.1].

1. *śván+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *śuan+as/ā/e* = *śún-ah/ā/e* (1.108); similarly 2. *yúvan+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *yu-uan+as/ā/e* = *yún-ah/ā/e* (1.101, 108); 3. *maghón-ah/ā/e*. But *śván+aÑ* (4.3.154) = *śaúvaθ-a-* (7.3.4).

The present rule operates only on these stems ending in /n/: *yuva-tí* (4.1.77)+*Śas* = *yuvat-f-h* (1.102).

#### 6.4.134 aT=lupá-ḥ an-aḥ

Lópa (θ) replaces the short vowel a(T) [of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] °-an [of a BHA stem 129].

$$ráj-an+Śas/Tā/Ñe = ráj-θñ-ah/ā/e; \text{ } ráj-an+ÑIP = ráj-θñ-i.$$

#### 6.4.135 <sup>1</sup>ṣa-pūrva-<sup>2</sup>hán-<sup>3</sup>dḥṛ-tá-rājñ-ām áN-i

[Lópa (θ) replaces the short vowel a(T) 134 of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °-an 134 of nominal stems] when it is preceded by the phoneme /ṣ/ or [of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-hán- ‘destroyer, slayer’ and dḥṛ-tá-rāj-an- ‘n.pr.’ [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áN-i.

1. *ukṣ-án+áN* (4.1.92) = *aukṣan+á* = *aukṣ-θñ-á-* (8.4.1) = *aukṣ-ñ-á-* ‘descendant of Uksán’ but *takṣ-an+Ñyá* (4.1.151) = *takṣ-an-yá*.
2. *bhrūṇa-hán+áN* = *bhrauṇagh-n-á-* (7.3.54) ‘descendant of *Bhrūṇa-hán*’.
3. *dḥṛ-tá-rāj-an+áN* = *dhār-ta-rājñ-á-* ‘descendant of *Dḥṛ-tá-rāj-an*’. Exception to 144 and 167 below.

#### 6.4.136 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>Ñi-<sup>2</sup>Śy-oḥ

[Lópa (θ) 134] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 135 of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °-an 135 of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] Ñi (locative singular) and Śī (nominative-accusative neuter dual 7.1.19).

$$\begin{aligned} ráj-an+Ñi &= ráj-θñ-i = ráj-an-i/ráj-ñ-i. \\ sám-an+Śī &= sám-θ-n-i = sám-an-i/sám-n-i. \end{aligned}$$

#### 6.4.137 ná saṁ-yog-āt=<sup>1</sup>vā=<sup>2</sup>m=ant-āt

[Lópa (Ø) 134] does not (na) replace [the short vowel a(T) 135 of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable °an 135 of a BHA stem 129] if it is preceded by a conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-āt) [ending in 1.1.72] °-v or °m [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y- °, 1.4.18].

*áthar-van+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *áthar-van-ah/ā/e*; *áthar-van+āN* = *áthar-van-ā-*.  
*bráh-man+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *bráh-man-ah/ā/e*; *bráh-man+āN* = *bráh-man-ā-*, but  
*táks-an+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *táks-n-ah/ā/e* (135), similarly *sām-n-ā*.

#### 6.4.138 ac-aḥ

[Lópa (Ø) replaces the short vowel a(T) 135 of the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] °ac [of a BHA stem 129 before affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y- ° 1.4.18].

[°-ac-] here denotes the verbal stem [anc-] with Ø replacement of the nasal phoneme (24 above). *dádhi añc-a-ti* = *dádhi+añc+KviP* = *dadhi+aθc+θ* (24; 1.67)+*Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *dadhi+θc-as/ā/e* = *dadhi-c-ah/ā/e*; *dadhi+ac+āN* = *dādhi-c-ā-* (3.138).

#### 6.4.139 úd-aḥ īT

The substitute long vowel ī(T) replaces [the short vowel a(T) 135 of ánga 1 final 1.1.52 °-ac- of a BHA stem 129 after 1.1.67 the preverb particle] úd- ° [before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y- ° 1.4.18].

*úd+añc-a-ti* = *ud+anc+KviN* (3.2.59) = *úd-anc+θ+Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *úd-aθc+as/ā/e* (3.138) = *ūd-īc-ah/ā/e*. *úd-anc+kha* (5.4.8) = *ud-īc-īna-* 'northern'; *úd-anc+yāT* (4.2.101) = *ud-īc-yā-* 'being or living in the north'.

#### 6.4.140 āT-aḥ dhāto-ḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 134 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52] long vowel ā(T) of a verbal (dhāto-ḥ) [BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 affixes beginning with a vowel or the semivowel y- ° 1.4.18].

*kīlāla-m piḥ-a-ti* = *kīlāla+pā+viC* = *kīlāla-pā-* 'drinking the beverage of gods'  
 +*Śas/Tā/Ñe* = *kīlāla-pθ-as/ā/e*.

#### 6.4.141 mántre-ṣu āÑ-i ādé-r ātmán-aḥ

In the Mántra section of the Veda [lópa (Ø) 135 replaces] the initial (ādé-ḥ) phoneme [of the nominal stem 4.1.1] ātmán- ‘self’ [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] āÑ (instrumental singular = Ṭā).

*ātmán+āÑ* = *ātmán-ā* = *Øtmán-ā* but elsewhere *ātmán-ā*.

#### 6.4.142 ti vimśaté-r Ḍ-IT-i

[Lópa (Ø) 135 replaces the aṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] °-ti [of the BHA stem 129] vimśa-tí- ‘twenty’ [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ḍ as IT.

*vimśa-ty-á krI-tá-ḥ* = *vimśa-tí+ḌvuN* (5.1.24) = *vimśa+ØØ+vuN* = *vimśa+aka-* (7.1.1) = *vimśØ-aka-* (148) = *vimś-aka-* ‘bought, with twenty pieces’. *vimśa-té-ḥ púr-aṇa-ḥ* = *vimśa-tí+ḌāṬ* (5.2.48) = *vimśa+ØØ+á-* = *vimś-á-* ‘20th’.

#### 6.4.143 ṬE-ḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 135 replaces the aṅga 1 final syllable 1.1.52 of a BHA 129 stem] (beginning with the last vowel ṬE-ḥ 1.1.64) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ḍ as IT 142].

*kú-mud-a+ḌmatUP* (4.2.87) = *kú-mud-Ø+matUP* = *kú-mud-vat-* (= *\*kú-mut+vat* 8.4.56, being a BHA stem by 1.4.19; 8.2.10) ‘abounding in lotuses’. Similarly *vetasá-/nadá+ḌmatUP* *vetas-vát-/nad-vát*. *trímśát-ā krI-tá-ḥ* = *trímśát+ḌvuN* (5.1.24) = *trímś-ØØ+aka-* = *trímś-aka-* ‘purchased for thirty pieces’.

#### 6.4.144 n-as taddhit-é

[Lópa (Ø) 135 replaces the aṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable beginning with the last vowel 143 of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme /n/ [before 1.1.66] a taddhitá (4.1.76) [affix 3.1.1].

*agni-sarman+iÑ* (4.1.96) = *āgni-sarmØØ+i* = *āgni-sarm-i* ‘descendant of Agni-sarman’.

#### 6.4.145 áhn-as=<sup>1</sup>Tá-<sup>2</sup>kh-or evá

[Lópa (Ø) 134 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable beginning with the last vowel 143 of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stem 4.1.1] °-ahan- 'day' only (evá) [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1] Ta(C 5.4.91) and kha (5.1.87).

*dv-é áhan-I sam-á-hṛ-t-e* = *dví+áhan+TaC* (5.4.91) = *dvi+ah00+á-* = *dvý-ah-á-* 'a period of two days'. *dv-é áhan-I adh-í-ṣ-ta-h/bhṛ-tá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-í* = *dví+áhan+kha* = *dvý-ah00-ína-h* = *dvý-ah-ína-h* 'accomplished in two days', but *ahn-ā nír-vṛt-ta-m* = *áhan+thaÑ* (5.1.79) = *āh0n-iká-m* 'diurnal'.

#### 6.4.146 o-r guṇá-h

Substitute Guṇá (1.1.2: a,e,o) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] /u/ [of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 144 affix 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y- ° 1.4.18].

*babhrú+yaÑ* (4.1.106) = *bábhro+ya* = *bábhrav-ya-* (1.79) 'descendant of Babhrú'. So also *mádhu+yaÑ* = *mádhav-ya-* 'brahmin descendant of Mádhu'; *śanikú+yáT* (5.1.2) = *śan̄ko+yáT* = *śan̄kav-yá* 'fit for a peg'.

#### 6.4.147 ḍh-e lópa-ḥ á-kadr̥v-āḥ

Substitute lópa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a BHA stem 129 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme-class u 146 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 146 affix 3.1.1] ḍha (= éya- 7.1.2) excluding that of ° kadr̥ 'n.pr.'

*kamaṇḍalu+dhaÑ* = *kámaṇḍal0+eya-* = *kámaṇḍal-eya-* 'descendant of Kamaṇḍalu' but *kadr̥+dhaK* (4.1.120) = *kādro+eyá-* (146, 7.2.118) = *kādrav-eyá-* (1.78) 'descendant of Kadr̥'.

#### 6.4.148 y-a-sya īT-i ca

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.66 phonemes /i/ or /a/ of BHA stems 129 before 1.1.66] the phoneme long ī(T) as well as (ca) [taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y- ° 1.4.18].

1. °-i:Ø : *dákṣa-sya ápatya-m strí* = *dákṣa+iÑ* (4.1.95) + *ÑíṢ* (4.1.65) = *dákṣ0-i+í* = *dákṣ0-í* 'female descendant of Dákṣa'. *duli+dhaK* (4.1.122) = *daul0-eyá-* = *daul-eyá-* 'descendant of Duli'.
2. °-a:Ø : *dákṣa+iÑ* = *dákṣ0-i-* 'descendant of Dákṣa'. *kumārā+ÑīP* (4.1.20) = *kumār0+í* (1.161) 'maiden'.

#### 6.4.149 <sup>1</sup>sūrya-<sup>2</sup>tiṣyā-<sup>3</sup>agástya-<sup>4</sup>mátsyā-n-āñ y-aḥ upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the ánga l] penultimate (upa-dhāy-āḥ) phoneme /y/ [of the BHA stems 129] sūrya- 'sun', tiṣyā- 'n.pr. of an asterism or lunar mansion', agástya- 'n.pr. of a seer', and mátsya- 'fish' [before 1.1.66 the phoneme long ī(T) 148 as well as taddhitá 144 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y-° 1.4.18].

*sūry-ena eka-dik* = *sūrya+áN* (4.1.112)+*ñIP* (4.1.15) = *sauryo+á+I* (148) = *sauryo+Ø+I* (148) = *sauryo-f* = *saur-f* *balāka* 'a crane moving in the direction of the sun'; similarly *tiṣy-ena yuk-tā-h kālā-h* = *tiṣyā+áN* = *taisyo+á* (148) = *tais-á-h*; *agástya-sya dpatyam strf* = *agástya+áN+NIP* = *āgast-f*; *mátsya+NfS* = *māts-f*.

#### 6.4.150 haL-as taddhitá-sya

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the ánga 1 penultimate phoneme y 149 of a BHA stem 129 occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant (hdaL-aḥ) belonging to a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1 before 1.1.66 the long phoneme ī(T) 148].

*gargá+yaN* (4.1.105) = *gárgo-ya+NIP* (4.1.16) = *gárg-Ø+f* (148, 150) 'female descendant of Gargá', but *kárika+dháK* (4.1.120)+*ñIP* (4.1.15) = *kdárikØ+eyd+I* = *kdár-ik-eyo-f* (6.4.148).

*vaid-yá-sya bhāryá* = *vaid-ya+NfS* (4.1.48) = *vaid-Ø-Ø-f* = *vaid-f*.

#### 6.4.151 āpat-ya-sya ca taddhit-é=án-āT-i

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the penultimate phoneme y 149] of a patronymic (āpat-ya-sya) [affix 3.1.1 occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 150 of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66] a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1] which does not begin with the long vowel ā(T) (án-āT-i).

*gárg-ya* (4.1.105)+*vuN* (*sam-ūh-é* 4.2.37) = *gárg+Øa+vuN* = *gárg-Ø-aka-* = *gárg-aka-* 'a group of Gargá's descendants', but *gárg-ya+phaK* (4.1.101) = *gárg-yo+āyaná-* (148) = *garg-y-āyaná-* (8.4.2) 'descendant of Gárgya' and *kárikeyØ+iN* = *kárik-ey-i-* 'gotra descendant of Kárikeyá'.

#### 6.4.152 <sup>1</sup>Kyá-<sup>2</sup>Cvy-os=ca

[Lópa (Ø) 147 replaces the penultimate phoneme y 149 of a patronymic affix 152 occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 150 of a BHA stem 129] also



(ca) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] Kyá (= KyáC 3.1.8. KyáÑ 3.1.11) and Cvi̇.

1. Kyá: *ātmán-ah vāts-yam icch-á-ti* = *vāts-ya+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *vātsθa+KyáC+a=ti vāts-I-yá-a-ti* (7.4.33) = *vāts-I-yá-ti* (1.97).
2. Cvi̇: *á-vāts-ya-h vāts-ya-h bháv-a-ti* = *vāts-ya+Cvi̇+bháv-a-ti* = *vāts-θa+Cvi̇+bhav-a-ti* = *vāts-í=bhav-a-ti* (7.4.32).

#### 6.4.153 bilvā-ka=ādi-bhyas=cha-sya luK

luK (θ<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] cha (4.2.90) [introduced after 3.1.2 the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with bilvā-ka- [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 151 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a vowel or semivowel y- ° 1.4.18].

This is a sub-group included in the class of nominal stems headed by nadá- 'reed' with final increment [kuK 4.2.91] before the affix [cha]. *bilv-ā-h a-syām s-ānti* = *bilvā+kuK+cha* (4.2.91)+TāP = *bilva-kθ-īya+ā* = *bilva-k-īyθ-ā*; *tá-syām bháv-a-h* = *bilvā-kuK+cha+TāP+áN* = *bilva-kuK+cha+ā+áN* = *bilva-k-θ+θ+áN* (64) = *bailva-k-á* 'growing in a Bilvā grove or forest'.

#### 6.4.154 tu-r <sup>1</sup>iṣṭha(N)=<sup>2</sup>imá(niC)-<sup>3</sup>īyas-su

[Lópa (θ) 147 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 affix 3.1.1] °-tr̥- (= tr̥N, tṛC) [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imániC- and °-īyasUN.

1. *kr̥+tr̥+iṣṭhaN* = *kar+θ<sup>1</sup>+iṣṭhaN* = *kár-iṣṭha* 'doing most'.
2. *duh+tṛC+īyasUN+ÑiP* (4.1.6) = *doh+tṛ+īyas+I* (7.3.84) = *dóh+θθ+īyas-I* = *dóh-īyas-I* 'yielding more milk'.

The inclusion of affix [imaniC] is for the following rules; the other two occur in the Chándas (5.3.59).

#### 6.4.155 TE-ḥ

[Lópa (θ) 147 replaces the ánga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable of a BHA stem 129] beginning with the last vowel (1.1.64) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imániC- and °-īyasUN 154].

*laghú+iṣṭhaN/imániC/īyasUN* = *lágħ-iṣṭha-/lagħ-imán-/lágħ-īyas* 'shortest, lightest/shortness, lightness/shorter, lighter.

**6.4.156** <sup>1</sup>sthūlá-<sup>2</sup>dūrā-<sup>3</sup>yúva(n)=<sup>4</sup>hrasvá-<sup>5</sup>kṣip-rá-  
<sup>6</sup>kṣudrá-ṇ-ām yāN=ādi páram pūrva-sya ca guṇá-ḥ

[Lópa (0) 147 replaces áṅga 1 final 1.1.52 syllable] beginning with a semi-vowel (yāN-ādi pára-m) [of the BHA stems 129] sthūlá- ‘gross’, dūrā- ‘far’, yúvan- ‘young’, hrasvá- ‘short’, kṣip-rá- ‘rapid’ and kṣud-rá- ‘small’ [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 °-iṣṭhaN-, °-imānīC- and °=īyasUN 154] while guṇá (1.1.2) replaces the preceding [vowel iK 1.1.3].

1. *sthū-lá+iṣṭhaN/imānīC/īyasUN* = *stho+00-iṣṭha/imán/īyas* = *stháv-iṣṭha=sthav-imán-/stháv-īyas-* ‘grossest/grossness/grosser’; similarly: 2. *dāv-iṣṭha-/dáv-imán-/dáv-īyas-* ‘farthest/far/farther’; 3. *yāv-iṣṭha-/yāv-imán-/yāv-īyas-* ‘youngest/youth/younger’; 4. *hrás-iṣṭha-/hras-imán-/hrás-īyas-* ‘shortest/shortness/shorter’; 5. *kṣép-iṣṭha-/kṣep-imán-/kṣép-īyas-* ‘fastest/fastness/faster’; 6. *kṣód-iṣṭha-/kṣod-imán-/kṣód-īyas-* ‘smallest/smallness/smaller’.

**6.4.157** <sup>1</sup>priy-á-<sup>2</sup>sthi-rá-<sup>3</sup>sphi-rá-<sup>4</sup>urú-<sup>5</sup>bahu-lá-<sup>6</sup>gurú-  
<sup>7</sup>vṛd-dhá-<sup>8</sup>tṛp-rá-<sup>9</sup>dīrghá-<sup>10</sup>vṛndārakā-ṇ-ām <sup>1</sup>pra-<sup>2</sup>stha-<sup>3</sup>spha-  
<sup>4</sup>var-<sup>5</sup>baṁhi-<sup>6</sup>gar-<sup>7</sup>varṣi-<sup>8</sup>trap-<sup>9</sup>drāghi-<sup>10</sup>vṛnd-ā-ḥ

The substitute morpheme elements pra-, stha-, spha-, var-, baṁhi-, gar-, varṣi-, trap-, drāghi- and vṛndā- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the nominal BHA stems 129] priy-á- ‘dear’, sthi-rá- ‘firm’, sphi-rá- ‘fat’, urú- ‘broad, wide, large’, bahu-lá- ‘thick’, gurú- ‘heavy’, vṛd-dhá- ‘increased’, tṛp-rá- ‘satisfying’, dīrghá- ‘long’ and vṛndāraka- ‘excellent [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imānīC and īyasUN 154].

1. *priy-á+iṣṭhaN/imānīC/īyasUN* = *pra+iṣṭha-/imán/īyas-* = *pr-é-ṣṭha=pre-mán-/pr-é-yas-* ‘dearest/deariness/dearer’; similarly: 2. *sthírd-: sth-é-ṣṭha-/sth-e-mán-/sth-é-yas-* ‘firmest/firmness/firmer’; 3. *sphí-rá-: sph-é-ṣṭha-/sph-e-mán-/sph-é-yas-* ‘fattest/fatness/fatter’; 4. *urú-: vár-iṣṭha-/vari-mán-/vár-īyas-* ‘largest/largeness/larger’; 5. *bahu-lá-: báṁh-iṣṭha-/baṁh-imán-/baṁh-īyas-* ‘thickest/thickness/thicker’; 6. *gurú-: gár-iṣṭha-/gar-imán-/gár-īps-* ‘heaviest/heaviness/heavier’; 7. *vṛd-dhá-: várs-iṣṭha-/vars-imán-/várs-īyas-* ‘oldest/senility/older’; 8. *tṛp-rá-: tráp-iṣṭha-/trap-imán-/tráp-īyas-* ‘most satisfying/satisfaction/more satisfying’; 9. *dīrghá-: drāgh-iṣṭha-/drāgh-imán-/drāgh-īyas-* ‘longest/length/longer’; 10. *vṛndāraka-: vṛnd-iṣṭha-/vṛnd-imán-/vṛnd-īyas-* ‘most excellent / excellence / more excellent’.

#### 6.4.158 bahó-r lópa-ḥ=bhū ca bahó-ḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the affixes 3.1.1 imán-iC and Iyas-UN 154 introduced after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] bahú- ‘many’, and the substitute element bhū- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55] of bahú-.

The affix iṣṭhaN is mentioned separately in the following sūtra.  
*bahú+imán/IyasUN = bhū+imán-/bhú+Iyas = bhū-ṭmán/bhú-ṭyas- = bhū-mán-/bhú-yas- ‘abundance/more abundant’.*

#### 6.4.159 iṣṭha-sya yīṭ ca

The initial increment yīṭ is inserted at the head of [affix 3.1.1] iṣṭha(N) [introduced after 1.1.67 the nominal BHA stem 129 bahú- ‘many’ and the substitute element bhū- replaces the whole of 1.1.55 bahú- 158].

*bahú+iṣṭhaN = bhú-yīṭ+iṣṭha = bhú-y-iṣṭha- ‘most abundant’.*

#### 6.4.160 jy-āt=āt=Iyas-aḥ

The substitute phoneme long ā(T) [replaces the initial 1.1.54 of the affix 3.1.1] Iyas(UN) [introduced after 1.1.67 the replacement BHA stem 129] ज्या- [for pra-śas-ya- or vṛd-dhā- (5.3.62)].

*jyá+IyasUN = jyá+āyas- = jyá-yas- ‘better/older’.*

#### 6.4.161 ra ṛT=aḥ=hāL-āde-r laghó-ḥ

The substitute element ra replaces the phoneme short ṛ(T) preceded by a consonant (hāL-āde-ḥ), constituting a light syllable (laghó-ḥ) [of a BHA stem 129 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and IyasUN 154].

*prthú-iṣṭhaN/imániC/IyasUN = prathØ+iṣṭjaN/imániC/IyasUN (155) = práth-iṣṭha-/prath-imán-/práth-Iyas- ‘broadcast, widest/breadth, width/ broader, wider’; but from ṛjú- ‘upright, straight’: ṛj-iṣṭha-/ṛj-imán-/ṛk-Iyas- ‘most upright/righteousness/more upright’; kṛṣ-ṇiṣṭha- ‘blackest’.*

#### 6.4.162 vibhāṣā=ṛj-ós=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element ra 161] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the short vowel ṛT 161 of the BHA stem 129] ṛjú- ‘straight, upright’ [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN, imániC and IyasUN 154].

#### 6.4.163 pra-kṛ-ty-ā éka=aC

A monosyllabic [BHA stem 129] (éka=aC) retains its original shape (pra-kṛ-ty-ā) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 iṣṭhaN/imāniC and ṛyasUN 154].

*sraja+vin(5.2.121)+iṣṭhaN* = *sraja+θ<sup>1</sup>* (5.3.65) = *srāj-iṣṭha-* 'possessing the most garlands'; similarly *srāj-ṛyas-*. *sruc+matUP* = *\*sruc+vat* (8.2.10)+*ṛyasUN* = *sruc+θ<sup>1</sup>* (5.3.65)+*ṛyasUN* = *srúc-ṛyas-* 'owning a large number of sacrificial ladles'. But from *vásu+matUP+iṣṭhaN* = *vásθ* (155)+*θ<sup>1</sup>* (5.3.65)+*iṣṭha-* = *vás-iṣṭha-* 'wealthiest'.

#### 6.4.164 ín áN-i=án-apaty-e

[Before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] áN which is not patronymic (án-apaty-e: 4.1.92ff.) [a BHA 1.29 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-ín- [retains its original form 163].

*sam-kūt-a+ínuN* (3.3.44)+*áN* (5.4.15) = *sām-kūtθ-in+áN* = *sām-kūt-in-ám* 'total conflagration'; *srag-vñ-aḥ idám* = *srag-vñ+áN* (4.3.120) = *srāg-vñ-ám* 'pertaining or belonging to one who wears a garland', but *medhā-vñ-aḥ ápatya-m* = *medhā-vñ+áN* (4.1.92) = *maidhā-vñθ-á-h* (144).

#### 6.4.165 <sup>1</sup>gāth-í(n)=<sup>2</sup>vidath-í(n)=<sup>3</sup>keś-í(n)-<sup>4</sup>gaṇ-í(n)=<sup>5</sup>paṇ-ín-as=ca

[The BHA stems 129 of] gāth-ín-, vidath-ín-, keśín-, gaṇ-ín- and paṇ-ín- 'names of persons' [retain their original form 1.63] also (ca) [before the affix 3.1.1 áN 164 (when designating a descendant 4.1.92)].

A separate rule has to be framed because the restriction 'not a patronymic affix' is not applicable to these stems.

1. *gāth-ín-aḥ ápatya-m/idám* = *gāth-ín+áN* = *gāth-in-á-* 'descendant of or belonging to Gāth-ín'. Similarly: 2-5: *vaidath-in-a-/kais-ín-á-/gāṇ-in-á-/pāṇ-in-á-*.

#### 6.4.166 sañ-yog-á=ādi-s=ca

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-ín- 164 retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] when °-ín- is preceded by a conjunct consonant (sañ-yog-á=ādi-ḥ).

*śāṅkh-ín+áN* (4.1.92) = *śāṅkh-in-á-* 'descendant of Śāṅkhin'. Similarly *vāj-ín+áN* = *vāj-in-á-*.

#### 6.4.167 an

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an- [retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164, either non-patronymic 164 or patronymic 165].

Exception to 144. For a prior exception cf. 135 above.

*sāmn-ah idám* = *sā-man+áN* (4.3.120) = *sāman-á* 'relating to a chant'.

#### 6.4.168 y-e ca á<sup>1</sup>bhāva-<sup>2</sup>kar-maṇ-oh

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-an- 167 retains its original form 163 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the semi-vowel y-° when not expressing a state (bhāva-°) or an action (°-kár-maṇ-oh).

*sāma-su- sādhu-ḥ* = *sā-man+yāT* (4.4.98) = *sā-man-yā-ḥ* 'fit or proper for a sāman', but *rājñ-ah bhāv-á-ḥ karma vā* = *rāj-an+yāK* = *rāj-θ+yā-m* (144) = *rāj-yám*.

#### 6.4.169 <sup>1</sup>ātma(n)=<sup>2</sup>ádth-vān-au kh-e

[The BHA 129 nominal stems 4.1.1] āt-mán- 'self' and ádh-van- 'road' [retain their original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] kha.

1. *ātman-e hi-tá-ḥ* = *āt-mán+kha* (5.2.16) = *āt-man-fna-ḥ* 'good or suitable for oneself'; 2. *ádth-vān-am alam-gām-f* = *ádth-van+kha* (5.1.9) = *adh-van-fna-ḥ* 'traveler'. But *āt-mán-am prāti* = *prati+āt-man+TáC* (2.1.6; 5.4.108) = *praty-atmθ-a-m*; *ádthvān-am prāti* = *praty-adhv-á-m* (5.4.84).

#### 6.4.170 ná mǎ-pūrva-ḥ=ápaty-e=á-var-maṇ-ah

[A BHA 129 nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 °-an- 167] preceded by the phoneme /m/, excluding the word vár-man-, does not (ná) [retain its original form 163 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] introduced to derive patronymics (ápaty-e).

*su-sā-mṇ-ah ápatya-m* = *su-sā-man+áN* = *sau-sā-mθ-á* (144) = *sau-sā-m-á* 'descendant of Suśāmán' but *sút-van-ah ápatya-m* = *sút-van+áN* = *saut-van-á-ḥ*. When [áN] is not patronymic: *car-maṇ-ā pári-vj-ta-ḥ rátha-ḥ* = *car-man+áN* (4.2.10) = *cār-maṇ-a-ḥ* (167).

#### 6.4.171 brāhm-á-ḥ=á-jā-t-au

The expression brāh-m-á 'proper to a brahmin' is introduced [with Ø replacement of BHA 179 final 1.1.72 °-an- 167 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] bráh-man- [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] except when denoting genus (á-jā-t-au).

When indicating genus: *bráh-man+áN* = *bráh-man-á-* (167). The present rule is an exception to 144 above.

#### 6.4.172 kār-m-á-ḥ táč-chīl-y-e

The expression kār-m-á is introduced [with Ø replacement of BHA 129 final 1.1.72 °-an- 167 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 kár-man- before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ná 4.4.62] to denote habitual nature (táč-chīl-y-e).

*kár-ma śīla-m a-syá* = *kár-man+Ná* = *kār-mØ-á-ḥ* 'habitually active, laborious' but  
*kár-man-ah idám* = *kar-man+áN/kár-man-ā yuk-tá-m* = *kar-man+áN* (5.4.36)  
= *kār-man-á-m*.

#### 6.4.173 aukṣ-á-m án-apy-e

The expression aukṣ-á- 'proper to a bull' is introduced [with Ø replacement of BHA 129 final 1.1.72 °-an- of the nominal stem 4.1.1 ukṣ-án- 'bull' before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 áN 164] when not introduced as a patronymic (án-apaty-e).

When used as a patronymic: *ukṣ-ṇ-áh ápatya-m* = *ukṣ-án+áN* = *auk-ṣØṇ-á-* (135)  
= *auk-ṣṇ-á-*.

#### 6.4.174 <sup>1</sup>dāṇḍin-āyaná-<sup>2</sup>hāstin-āyaná-<sup>3</sup>ātharvaṇ-iká- <sup>4</sup>jaihmāsīn-eyá-<sup>5</sup>vāsīn-eyani-<sup>6</sup>bhraúṇa-hat-ya-<sup>7</sup>dhaí-vat-ya- <sup>8</sup>sāravá-<sup>9</sup>aikṣvāká-<sup>10</sup>maítreya-<sup>11</sup>hiraṇ-máyā-n-i

The expressions beginning with dāṇḍin-āyaná- (numbering eleven) are introduced as fully formed derivatives.

1. *dāṇḍ-ín-ah ápatya-m* = *dāṇḍ-ín+phaK* (4.1.99) = *dāṇḍ-in-ayaná-* (°-in- retaining its original form 163);
2. *hast-ín+phaK* = *hāst-in-āyaná-*;
3. *āthar-vaṇ-ā pr-ók-ta-ḥ granthá-ḥ* = *āthar-van-*; *tám adh-í-te* = *ātharvan+tháK* (4.2.63) = *āthar-van-iká-*;
4. *jīhm-āsīn-ah ápatyam* = *jīhm-ā-ś-ín+ḍhaK* (4.1.123) = *jaihmās-in-eya-*;
5. *vās-ín-ah ápatya-m* = *vās-ín+phiN̄* (4.1.157) = *vās-in-āyani-*;
6. *bhrūṇa-hán+ṢyaN̄* (5.1.124) = *bhraúṇa-ha-t-ya-* (with /t/ replacing /n/ of the verbal stem).
7. *dhí-van+ṢyaN̄* = *dhaí-vat-ya-*;
- 8.

*saráyv-ám bháv-a-ḥ* = *sarayú+aṆ* = *sārav-á-* (with /va/ replacement of /yú/ of the nominal stem); 9. *ikṣvā́kú-ṣu jāna-padé-ṣu bháv-a-ḥ* = *aikṣvā́ka-* (4.1.168); *ikṣvā́kó-r ápatya-m* = *ikṣvā́kú+áṆ* = *aikṣvā́k-á-* (with Ø replacement of stem-final /u/); 10. *mitrayó-r ápatya-m* = *mitra-yú+dhaṆ̃* (4.1.136) = *maītr-eya-* (7.3.2); 11. *híraṇya- sya vi-kār-áḥ* = *híraṇya+máyaṭ* = *hiraṇ-máya-* (4.3.143) (with Ø replacement of final syllable of the nominal stem).

#### 6.4.175 <sup>1</sup>ṭtv-ya-<sup>2</sup>vāstv-ya=<sup>3</sup>vāstv-á-<sup>4</sup>mādhv-í-<sup>5</sup>hiranya-yá-n-i chā́ndas-i

In the Chā́ndas the five expressions beginning with ṭtv-ya- ‘seasonal’ are introduced as fully derived (irregular) forms.

1. *ṛtú+yaṭ* (4.4.110) = *ṛt-aú bháv-a-m* = *ṭtv-yam* (exception to 146); 2. *vastu+yaṭ* = *vāstv-ya-*; 3. *vāstu+áṆ* (4.3.120) = *vāstv-á-* = (*vāstu-ni bháv-a-*); 4. *mādhv+aṆ+ṆP* = *mādhv-í-*; 5. *híraṇya+máyaṭ* (4.3.143) = *hiranya-yá* (with Ø replacement of the initial syllable of the affix).

The irregularity in examples 1-4 is in the replacement of stem-final vowel by the corresponding semivowel before initial y- of the affix.

### 7.1.1 <sup>1</sup>yu-<sup>2</sup>vo-r <sup>1</sup>ana-<sup>2</sup>ak-au

The substitute elements ana and aka [respectively 1.3.10] replace the cover symbols [nasalized 1.3.2] yu and vu [of affixes 2].

1. yu is the cover symbol for KHyuN (3.2.56), Tyu/TyuL (4.3.23), NyuT (3.1.147ff.), yuC (3.2.148), Lyu (3.1.134) and LyuT (3.3.113,115).
2. vu is the cover symbol for DvuN (5.1.24), NvuC (3.3.111), NvuL (3.1.133; 3.10,108ff.), vuK (4.2.103), vuC (5.3.80), vuN̄ (3.2.146ff.; 4.2.39ff.), vuN (3.1.49; 4.2.61) and ŠvuN (3.1.145).

*nand+Lyu* (3.1.134) = *nānd-ana*; *kṛ+NvuL* = *kār-aka-* (7.2.114).

### 7.1.2 <sup>1</sup>āyan-<sup>2</sup>ey-<sup>3</sup>in-<sup>4</sup>ty-<sup>5</sup>iy-aḥ <sup>1</sup>pha-<sup>2</sup>ḍha-<sup>3</sup>kha-<sup>4</sup>cha-<sup>5</sup>gh-ām praty-ay-a=ādī-n-ām

The substitute elements āyan-, ey-, in-, ty- and iy- [respectively 1.3.10] replace the initial phonemes ph, ḍh, kh, ch and gh of affixes.

1. Affixes with initial ph: CphaN̄ (4.1.98), phaK (4.1.99ff.), phaN̄ (4.1.110ff.), phi(N̄) (4.1.149ff.), phiN (4.1.160), Špha (4.1.17) and ŠphaK (4.2.99ff.).
  2. With initial dh: dhaK (4.1.119ff.), dhaKaN̄ (4.1.140; 2.95ff.), dhaN̄ (4.1.135ff.), dḥingK (4.3.109) and dḥraK (4.1.129,131).
  3. With initial kh: kha (4.1.139ff.) and khaN̄ (4.1.142; 3.1 ff.).
  4. With initial ch: cha (4.1.143ff.) chaN̄ (4.1.132,134; 2.80) and chaS (4.2.115).
  5. With initial gh: gha (4.1.138 etc.), ghaC (4.4.117), ghaN̄ (4.2.26 etc.) and ghaS (5.1.106).
1. *nada+phak* = *nāḍḍ-āyanā-* (7.2.117); 2. *vinatā+dhaK* (4.1.120) = *vainatḥ-eyā-*;  
3. *kūla+kha* (4.1.139) = *kulḥ-īna-*; *śālā+cha* = *śālḥ-īya-*; *kṣātra+gha* (4.1.138) = *kṣtarḥ-īya-*.

### 7.1.3 jh-aḥ=anta-ḥ

The substitute element ant- replaces the phoneme jh- occurring [as initial of an affix 2].

The only two affixes with initial jh- are jhi and jha of the l-substitutes denoted by the siglum tiN̄ (3.4.78).

*bhū+ŚaP+jhi* = *bhō+a+ant-i* (7.3.84) = *bhāv-a-nti* (6.1.78,97) 'become'.  
*édh+ŚaP+jha* = *édh-a+ant-a* = *édh-a-nt-a* (6.1.97) 'grow, increase' → *édh-ante* (3.4.79).

### 7.1.4 at=abhy-às-t-āt

The substitute element /at-/ replaces [the phoneme jh- occurring as initial of an affix 3 introduced after 3.1.2] a reduplicated verbal stem (abhy-às-t-āt : 6.1.5).



$jáks$  (+*ŚaP*→*luk* 2.4.72) =  $jáks+\emptyset^1+jhi$  =  $jáks+at-i$  'they eat'.  $dā+Ślu$  (2.4.75)+ $jhi/jha$  =  $dā-dā+at-i/at-a$  (6.1.10) =  $dā-d\emptyset+at-i/at-a$  =  $dā-d-at-i/at-e$  (3.4.79; 6.4.64) 'they give'.

### 7.1.5 ātmane-padé-ṣu=án-aT-aḥ

[The substitute element *at-* 4 replaces the phoneme *jh-* 3 occurring as initial] of an Ātmanepadā (taÑ 1.4.100) l-substitute [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal theme] not [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short *a*(T).

$āsA$  (II 11)  $upa-veś-an-e+\emptyset^1+jha$  =  $ās+at-e$  (3.4.79) 'they sit';  $ās+IoT$  =  $ās+\emptyset^1+jha$  =  $ās-at-\emptysetām$  (3.4.90) 'let them sit'; but  $vid+\emptyset^1+jhi$  (Parasmaipadā) =  $vid-ánt-i$  'they know' and  $édh-a-ntē$  (=  $édh-a+ant-e$ : theme ending in -a-).

### 7.1.6 śīÑ-aḥ=ruṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46]  $ruṭ$  is inserted at the head [of /at/ replacement 5 of *jh* 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal *āṅga* 6.4.1]  $śīÑ$  'lie down, sleep' (II 22).

$śī+\emptyset^1+jha$  =  $śe+ruṭ-at-e$  (7.4.21) =  $śe-r-ate$  'they lie down';  $śī+IoT$  =  $śī+\emptyset^1+ruṭ-at-ām$  (3.4.90) =  $śér-at-ām$  'let them lie down'. Similarly  $d-se-r-ata$  (IAÑ) 'they lay down'.

### 7.1.7 vét-te-r vibhāṣā

[The initial increment 1.1.46  $ruṭ$  is] optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted at the head of the /at/ 4 replacement of *jha* 3 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal *āṅga* 6.4.1]  $vid-$  'know' (II 55).

The governing rule 5 above operates here; while [*vid*] is normally Parasmaipadīn, it takes on Ātmanepadā l-substitutes when co-occurring with the preverb [*sām-* 1.3.29]:  $sām+vid+\emptyset^1+jha$  =  $sām-vid+r-at-e/sām-vid-at-e$  (IAT);  $sām+vid+IoT$  =  $sām-vid+\emptyset^1+jha$  =  $sām-vid-r-at-ām/sām-vid-at-ām$ ;  $sām+vid+IAÑ$  =  $sām+āT-vid-r-at-a/sām-ā-vid-at-a$ ; but from *vid-* (VII 13):  $vid+ŚndM+jha$  =  $vi-nā-d+jha$  =  $vi-n\emptyset-d+jh$  (6.4.111) =  $vind-at-e$  (IAT),  $vind-at-ām$  (IoT),  $ā-vind-at-a$  (IAÑ).

### 7.1.8 bahu-lām chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the initial increment 1.1.46  $ruṭ$  6] is variously (bahulā-m) [inserted at the head of the /at/ replacement 5 of *jh* introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal *āṅga* 6.4.1].

$duh+IA\tilde{N} = \acute{a}T+duh+\emptyset^1+jha = \acute{a}-duh+r-at-a = \acute{a}-duh-r-a$  (41) 'have milked'.  
 $\acute{a}-d\acute{r}\acute{s}-r-am$  *a-syá ketáv-ah* (RV 1.50.30) 'I saw his rays of light':  $d\acute{r}\acute{s}+IU\tilde{N} = \acute{a}T+d\acute{r}\acute{s}+a\tilde{N}+am$  (3.1.57) =  $\acute{a}-d\acute{r}\acute{s}-r-am$  (6.1.97), the expression [bahulá-m] blocking out also the operation of 7.4.16 preventing Guṇá replacement of /r/ of the verbal stem. The initial increment does not appear in  $\acute{a}-duh-at-a$ .

### 7.1.9 aT-ah=bhis-ah=ais

The substitute element *ais* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] *bhis* [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel *a(T)*.

$devá+bhis = deva+ais = dev-ais$  (6.1.88) =  $dev-aiḥ$  (8.3.15), but *śālā-bhiḥ*, *agní-bhiḥ*, *nadí-bhiḥ*, *dhenú-bhiḥ*, *vadhú-bhiḥ*, *pítṛ-bhiḥ* etc.

The expression [at-ah] with svaritá accent 1.3.11 recurs in the following sūtras up to 17 below.

#### 7.1.10 bahu-lá-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute element *ais* 9] variously (*bahulá-m*) [replaces the sUP triplet *bhis* 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel *aT* or not].

1. After stems not ending in short vowel *aT*:  $nadí+bhis = nadí+ais = nady-ais = nady-aiḥ$ .
2. Does not replace [bhis] after stems ending in [aT]:  $púrva+bhis = púrve-bhiḥ$  (Rv. 1.1.2) (3.103 below).

#### 7.1.11 ná=<sup>1</sup>idám=<sup>2</sup>adás-or á-k-oḥ

[The substitute element *ais* 9] does not (*ná*) replace [the sUP triplet *bhis* 9 introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal stems 4.1.1] *idám-* 'this' and *adás-* 'that' when not co-occurring with phoneme /k/.

1.  $idám+bhis = idáa+bhis$  (2.102) =  $id-a-bhis$  (6.1.97) =  $\emptyset-a+bhis$  (2.103) =  $e-bhiḥ$  (6.1.168 for accent).
  2.  $adás+bhis = adáa+bhis$  (2.102) =  $ada+bhis$  (6.1.97) =  $am-í+bhis$  (8.2.80-81) =  $amí-bhiḥ$ .
- idám* and *adás* can contain the phoneme /k/ by introduction of the affix [ákāC 5.3.71] deriving forms  $imá-ka/amú-ka-$  (7.2.108/8.2.80)+*bhis* =  $imá-k-aiḥ/amú-k-aiḥ$ .

### 7.1.12 <sup>1</sup>Tā-<sup>2</sup>ÑasI-<sup>3</sup>Ñas-ām <sup>1</sup>ina=<sup>2</sup>āt=<sup>3</sup>sy-āḥ

The substitute elements -ina, -āt and -sya [respectively 1.3.10 replace the sUP triplets] -Tā (instr. sing.), ÑasI (abl. sing.) and Ñas (gen. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short vowel aT 9].

*devá+Tā/ÑasI/Ñas = devá+ina/āt/sya = dev-éna (6.1.87)/dev-āt (6.1.101)/devá-sya but sákhi+Tā = sákhy-ā (6.1.77).*

### 7.1.13 Ñe-r ya-ḥ

The substitute element ya replaces [the sUP triplet] Ñe (dative sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 in the short vowel aT 9].

*devá+Ñe = devá+ya = devā-ya (3.102), but sákhi+Ñe = sákhy-e.*

### 7.1.14 sarva-nāmn-aḥ smai

The substitute element smai [replaces the sUP triplet Ñe 13 introduced after 3.1.2] a pronominal stem (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 in the short vowel aT 9].

*sarvā+Ñe = sárva+smai = sárva-smai 'for all' (6.1.191 for accent).*

### 7.1.15 <sup>1</sup>ÑasI-<sup>2</sup>Ñy-oḥ <sup>1</sup>smāt-<sup>2</sup>smin-au

The substitute elements smāt and smin [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the sUP triplets] ÑasI (abl. sing.) and Ñi (loc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT 9].

*sarvā+ÑasI/Ñi = sárva+smāt/smin = sárva-smāt / sárva-smin.*

### 7.1.16 pūrva=ādi-bhyaḥ=navá-bhyaḥ=vā

[The substitute elements smāt and smin 15] optionally (vā) replace [the sUP triplets ÑasI and Ñi 15 respectively 1.3.10, introduced after 3.1.2] the nine [pronominal stems 14] beginning with pūrva- 'prior'.

These nine stems are: 1. pūrva- 'prior, eastern'; 2. pára- 'far, distant'; 3. ávara- 'posterior, hinder'; 4. dákṣiṇa- 'right, southern'; 5. út-tara- 'higher, upper,

northern'; 6. *ápara-* 'later, posterior'; 7. *ádharma-* 'lower, inferior'; 8. *svá* 'own' and 9. *ántara-* 'interior'.

1. *púrv-āt/púrva-smāt; púrv-e/púrva-smin.* 2. *pár-āt/pára-smāt; pár-e/pára-smin.*
3. *ávar-āt/ávара-smāt; ávar-e/ávара-smin.* 4. *dákṣiṇ-āt/dákṣiṇa-smāt; dákṣiṇ-e/dákṣiṇa-smin.* 5. *úttar-āt/úttara-smāt; úttar-e/úttara-smin.* 6. *ápar-āt/aspara-smāt; ápar-e/ápara-smin.* 7. *ádhar-āt/ádharma-smāt; ádhar-e/ádharma-smin.* 8. *sv-āt/svá-smāt; sv-e/svá-smin.* 9. *ántar-āt/ántara-smāt; ántar-e/ántara-smin.*

### 7.1.17 Jas-aḥ Śī

The substitute element Śī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Jas [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the short vowel aT 9].

$$sarvá+Jas = sarvá+Śī = sárva+I = sárv-e \text{ (6.1.87).}$$

### 7.1.18 auÑ-aḥ āP-aḥ

[The substitute element Śī 17 replaces the sUP triplet] auÑ (nom. acc. dual) [introduced after 3.1.2 pronominal stems 14 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine-forming affix 3.1.1] āP.

[āP] is a cover term for the feminine forming affixes [CāP, TāP, DāP]. *a-já+TāP* (4.4.4) = *a-ḡḡ-á* = *a-já+au* = *ajá+Śī* = *aj-e* (6.1.87) 'two she-goats'; *kosala+ÑyaÑ* (4.4.171) = *kausal-ya+CāP* = *kausal-ḡḡ-á+Śī* = *kausal-y-e* 'two female descendants of Kosala' (4.1.74). *sīmán+DāP+Śī* (4.1.13) = *sīm-e* 'two borders'.

### 7.1.19 ná-puṁs-ak-āt=ca

[The substitute Śī 17 replaces the sUP triplet auÑ 18 introduced] also (ca) [after 3.1.2] neuter [nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1].

$$ván+au = vána+Śī = ván-e \text{ 'two forests'; } áhan+au = áhan+Śī = áhan-I/áhṇ-I \text{ (6.4.136) 'two days'; } dhánus+au = dhánus+Śī = dhánus-I \text{ (8.3.59) 'two bows'.$$

### 7.1.20 <sup>1</sup>Jas=<sup>2</sup>Śas-oḥ Śī-h

The substitute element Śī replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets] Jas and Śas [introduced after 3.1.2 a neuter 19 áṅga 6.4.1 stem].

$vána+Jas/Śas = vána+Śi = vána+nuṁ+Śi$  (72) =  $vánā-n-i$  (6.4.8). Similarly  
 $vāri+Jas/Śas = vāri-ṇ-i$ ;  $mādhū-n-i$ ;  $mānas+Jas = mānas+Śi =$   
 $mānas+nuṁ+i = mánā-n-s+i = mánā-m-s-i$  (8.3.24).

### 7.1.21 aṣṭā-bhyaḥ=auŚ

The substitute element auŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets Jas and Śas 20 introduced after 3.1.2 the number word] aṣṭān- 'eight'.

By 7.2.84 the substitute phoneme /ā/ replaces the stem-final of [aṣṭān-] before vibhakti affixes:  $aṣṭān+Jas/Śas = aṣṭā-ā+au = aṣṭā$  (the form quoted in the sūtra) +au =  $aṣṭā-á$  (6.1.88).

### 7.1.22 ṣaḍ-bhyaḥ=luK

luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) replaces [the sUP triplets Jas and Śas 20 introduced after 3.1.2 number words] denoted by the technical term ṣaṭ (1.1.24).

This class consists of number words ending in /ṣ/ or /n/: 1. ṣaṣ- 'six', 2. pāñcan- 'five', 3. saptān- 'seven', 4. aṣṭān 'eight', 5. nāvan- 'nine', dāśan- 'ten'.

$ṣaṣ+Jas/Śas = ṣaṣ+Ø^1 = ṣaṭ$  (8.2.39); similarly, *pāñca*, *saptā*, *nāva*, *dāśa*. 21 has already provided for  $aṣṭān+Jas/Śas = aṣṭā-á$ . In the case of numerals, 11-18 end in °-daśan:  $ekā-daśan+Jas/Śas = ekā-daśan+Ø^1 = ekā-daśa$  (8.2.7).

### 7.1.23 <sup>1</sup>sU=<sup>2</sup>am-or ná-puṁs-ak-āt

[luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) 22 replaces the sUP triplets] sU (nom. sing.) and am (acc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2] neuter (ná-puṁs-ak-āt) [āṅga stems 6.4.1].

$dádhi+sU/am = dádhi+Ø^1 = dádhi$  'curds'; similarly *mādhū* 'honey',  $mānas+Ø^1 = mānas = mānaḥ$  (8.3.15) 'mind'.

### 7.1.24 aT-aḥ=am

The substitute element /am/ replaces [the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2 a neuter 23 nominal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] short vowel a(T).

$vána+sU/am = vána+am = ván-a-m$  (6.1.107).

### 7.1.25 adḌ Dātara=ādi-bhyaḥ pañca-bhyāḥ

The substitute element adḌ replaces [the whole 1.1.55 of the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2] five [of the neuter 23 nominal āṅga-s 6.4.1] beginning with the pronominal stems Dātara-.

The five members are: Dātara, Dātama, itara- 'other', anyā- 'another', anyā-tarā- 'either of two, any'. The first two are affixes associated with pronominal stems.

$kim+Dātara = k\emptyset\emptyset+atara-$  (6.4.143)+sU/am =  $k-ātara+ad = k-ātar\emptyset-at = kātarat$  'which of two?'; similarly  $kātam-at$  'which of many?';  $itar-at$  'the other',  $anya-ā-t$  'the other',  $anya-tar-ā-t$  'any, either'.

### 7.1.26 ná=itar-āt=chāndas-i

In the domain of Chāndas [the substitute element adḌ 25] does not (ná) replace [the sUP triplets sU and am 23 introduced after 3.1.2 the neuter 23 pronominal āṅga stem 6.4.1] itara- 'the other'.

$itarasU/am = itara+am = itar-a-m$ .

### 7.1.27 <sup>1</sup>yuṣmád=<sup>2</sup>asmád-bhyām Nās-aḥ=aŚ

The substitute element aŚ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Nās (gen. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1] yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we'.

$yuṣmád+Nās = tāva+a$  (2.96) =  $tāv-a$  (6.1.97) 'thine'; similarly  $asmád+Nās = māma+aŚ = mām-a$  (6.1.97) 'mine'.

### 7.1.28 <sup>1</sup>Ne=<sup>2</sup>prathamáy-or am

The substitute element /am/ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplets] Ne (dat. sing.) and those of the first and second (pathamáy-oḥ nominative and accusative cases) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+Ne = túbhya+am$  (2.95) =  $túbhy-a-m$  (6.1.107);  $yuṣmád+sU = tvá+am$  (2.94) =  $tv-á-m$ ;  $yuṣmád+au = yuvá+am$  (2.92) =  $yuvá+am$  (2.87-88);  $yuṣmád+Jas = yūya+am = yūy-á-m$ .  $yuṣmád+am = tvá+am = tvá+am$  (2.87) =  $tvám$ ;  $yuṣmád+auT = yuv-á-m$  (2.87).

The corresponding forms for asmád- are:  $+Ne = mahy-á-m$ ;  $+su = ah-ám$ ;  $+au = āv-á-m$ ;  $+Jas = vay-á-m$ ;  $+am = mām$ ;  $+auT/au = āvám$ .

### 7.1.29 Śas-aḥ na

The substitute phoneme /n/ replaces [the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the sUP triplet] Śas (acc. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- and asmád- 27].

$yuṣmád+Śas = yuṣmāā+ns = yuṣmā+ns$  (2.87) =  $yuṣmā-n$  (Ø 8.2.23) =  $yuṣmán$  and similarly  $asmád+Śas = asmán$ .

### 7.1.30 bhyas-aḥ=bhyam

The substitute element bhyam replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] bhyas (dat. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+bhyas = yuṣmá-a+bhyam$  (2.102) =  $yuṣmá-bhyam$  (6.1.97);  $asmád+bhyas = asmá-a+bhyam = asmá-bhyam$ .

### 7.1.31 pañcamy-āḥ=at

The substitute element /at/ replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet of] the fifth (ablative plural: pañcamy-āḥ) [bhyas 30 introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+bhyas = yuṣmá-a+at = yuṣm-á+at = yuṣm-á-t$  (6.1.97);  $asmád+bhyas = asmá-a+at$  (2.102) =  $asm-át$ .

### 7.1.32 eka-vac-aná-sya ca

[The substitute element /at/ 31] also [ca] replaces [the whole of 1.1.72 the fifth 31] singular (eka-vac-aná-sya) sUP triplet [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 27].

$yuṣmád+NásI = tvád+at = tvá-a+at$  (2.102) =  $tv-á-t$ ;  $asmád+NásI = mád-d+at = m-á-t$ .

In the examples cited under 27ff. the replacement morphemes for *yuṣmád-*, *asmád-* in the singular, dual and plural numbers are only replacing the portion up to /m/ (2.91) so that the actual forms would be *yuvád/āvád* in the dual (2.92), and by 2.102 *yuvá-a/āvá-a = yuvá-/āvá* (6.1.97) respectively before sUP triplets.

### 7.1.33 sām-aḥ=ākam

The substitute element ākam replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] s-ām (sixth or gen. plur. 52) [introduced after 3.1.2 the pronominal āṅga-s yuṣmád- ‘you’ and asmád- ‘we’ 29].

$$yuṣmád+am = yuṣmád+suT-ām (52) = yuṣmá-a+ākam = yuṣm-á+ākam = yuṣm-ákam; asmád+s-ām = asmá+ākam = asm-á-kam.$$

### 7.1.34 āT-aḥ au NaL-aḥ

The substitute phoneme /au/ replaces [the l-substitute of lIT 3.4.82] NaL [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.1.4 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T).

$$pā+NaL = pa-pā+au (6.1.8; 7.4.59) = pā-p-au (6.1.88) \text{ ‘has/have drunk’}.$$

### 7.1.35 <sup>1</sup>tu-<sup>2</sup>hy-os tātaÑ āśís-i=anya-tará-syām

The substitute element tātaÑ optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the l-substitutes of lOT 3.4.86,87] -tu and -hí when implying a benediction (āśís-i).

The marker Ñ here of tātaÑ is for the purpose of 1.1.5 and not for 1.1.53 and so it replaces the whole of the substituenda by 1.1.55.

*jívu+lOT* = *jívu+ŚaP+tu/hi* = *jívu-a-tāt* ‘may he/mayest thou live long’. The accent will depend upon the original situation: *su+lOT* = *su+Snú+tu/hi* = *su-nó-tu/su-nú/su-nú-tāt*. *krI+lOT* = *krI+Sná+tu/hi* = *krI-ná-tu/krI-ñI-hí* = *krI-ñI-tāt*.

### 7.1.36 víde-ḥ Śatu-r vásU-ḥ

The substitute morpheme vásU (= KvásU 3.2.107) replaces [the affix 3.1.1] ŚátR (3.2.124) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1] víd- ‘know’ (II 55).

*vid+lAT* = *vid+Ø<sup>1</sup>+tiP* = *vét-ti* = *vid+ŚátR* (3.2.124) = *vid+KvásU* = *vid-vás-*. According to some grammarians, through the recurrence of [anya-tará-syām 35], an alternate form is provided by *vid+ŚátR* = *vid-át-*.



### 7.1.37 sam-ās-é á-nañ-pūrv-e Ktv-áh=LyaP

The substitute morpheme LyaP replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1] co-occurring (as a final member) in composition (sam-ās-é), excluding náñ (á-nañ-pūrv-e) as first member.

$prá+kṛ+Ktvā = pra+kṛ+LyaP = pra+kṛ-tuK+Lyap$  (6.1.71) =  $pra-kṛ-t-ya$  'having started or begun'; similarly  $pāśva-taḥ-kṛ-t-ya$  'having placed aside' but  $náñ+kṛ=Ktvā = á-kṛ-tvā$  (6.3.73) 'not having done'.

### 7.1.38 Ktvā=ápi chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the affix 3.1.1] Ktvā as well as [LyaP 37 replace the kṛt affix 3.1.93 Ktvā 37 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1 co-occurring as a final member in composition excluding náñ 37 as first member].

$kṛṇā-m vāso yāja-m-āna-m pari-dhā-p-ay-i-tvā$  (KS 11.10) 'having caused the sacrificer to cover himself with a black cloth';  $praty-ānc-am arkā-m praty-ar-p-ay-i-tvā$  (AV 2.12.55) 'having offered a water oblation to the setting sun'; also with Lyap:  $ud-dhṛ-t-ya ju-hó-ti$  'having raised, offers a sacrificial oblation'.

### 7.1.39 sUP-ām <sup>1</sup>sU-<sup>2</sup>luK-<sup>3</sup>pūrva-savarṇā=<sup>4</sup>ā-<sup>5</sup>āt=<sup>6</sup>Śe-<sup>7</sup>yā-<sup>8</sup>Ḍā-<sup>9</sup>Dyā-<sup>10</sup>yāC=<sup>11</sup>āl-ah

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute elements sU, luK ( $\emptyset^1$ ), a long vowel corresponding to the preceding one (pūrva-sa-varṇā-<sup>°</sup>), ā, āt, Śe, Ḍā, Dyā, yāC and āL replace the sUP triplets [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal ánga 6.4.1].

1.  $an-ṛkṣarā ṛjāv-ah s-antu pánthā-h$  (=  $páthin+eU$  (RV 10.85.23) for  $páthin+Jas = pánthān-ah$ ) 'may the paths be thornless and straight'.
2.  $parma-é vyòman$  ( $vyòman+ñi \rightarrow \emptyset^1$  for  $vyòman-i$ ) 'in the highest heaven'.
3.  $dhṛ-t-í$  for  $dhṛ-ti+Tā = dhṛ-ty-ā$  (RV 5.25.3) 'through prayer'.
4.  $ubhā devā divi-spṛś-ā aśvín-ā tá hav-ā-mahe$  (RV 1.22.2) 'we offer oblations to both divine Aśvins who touch heaven' where the dual ending [au] is replaced by [ā].
5.  $nátād brāhmaṇ-āt nīnd-ā-mi$  (=  $ná tá-n brāhmaṇā-n nīnd-ā-mi$ ) 'I will not curse those brahmins'.
6.  $ná yuṣm-é vāja-bandhav-ah$  (RV 8.68.19) =  $yūy-ā-m$ ;  $asm-é indrā-bṛhas-pati$  (RV 4.49.4) =  $vay-ām$ .
7.  $urú-yā = urú-ṇā$ .

8.  $nābh-á = nābhi + Dā = nābhi + \tilde{N}i = nābh-au : nābh-ā \text{ prthivy-āḥ}$  (RV 1.143.4).  
 9.  $anuṣṭ-yā = anu-ṣṭu-bh + Dyā = anu-ṣṭ-ḥyā = anu-ṣṭú-bh-ā$ .  
 10.  $sādhū-yā = sādhú + sU \rightarrow yā$ .  
 11.  $vas-ánt-ā yáj-e-ta = vas-ánt-e yáj-e-ta$  'one should offer sacrificial oblations in spring'.

### 7.1.40 am-aḥ maś

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element  $maś$  replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] am (for miP 3.4.101).

$vādh-I-m \text{ } vṛtrā-m = han + IUN = vadhā + lu\tilde{N} \text{ (2.4.43)} = vadhā + miP = vadhā + Cl\tilde{i} + miP \text{ (3.1.43)} = vadhā + Cl\tilde{i} + am \text{ (3.4.101)} = vadhā + s\tilde{i}C + am \text{ (3.1.44)}$   
 $= vadh\emptyset + i\tilde{T} + s\tilde{i}C + I\tilde{T} + maś \text{ (6.4.48; 7.3.96)} = vādh-I-m \text{ for } āvadh-i-ṣ-am \text{ (RV 1.165.8)}$  'I have killed (the demon) Vṛtra'; similarly  $krām-I-m \text{ } vṛkṣā-sya śākhā-m$  'I climbed on a branch of a tree' =  $ā-kram-i-ṣ-am$ .

### 7.1.41 lopa-s t-aḥ ātmane-padé-ṣu

[In the Chándas 38] lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) replaces the phoneme /t/ [of an l-substitute] of Ātmane-padā (3.4.78: ta $\tilde{N}$ ).

$gandharv-ā-psarás-aḥ ā-duh-ra (= ā-duh-ata) : ā\tilde{T} + duh + IAN = ā-duh + \emptyset^1 + ru\tilde{T} + ata \text{ (5.8)} = ā-duh-r-a\emptyset a = ā-duh-ra \text{ (6.1.97)}$ .  $duh-ā-m aśv-bhyām páyo aghnyeyā-m \text{ (RV 1.164.27)} = dug-dh-ām : duh + IOT = duh + \emptyset^1 + tām \text{ (3.4.101)} = duh + \emptysetām$  'may the two draw cow's milk for the two Aśvins'.  $dakṣiṇa-tāḥ śay-e (= śe-te) : ś\tilde{T} + IAT = ś\tilde{i} + ta = ś\tilde{T} + te \text{ (3.4.79)} = śe + \emptyset e = śay-e$  'lies down on the right/south side'.

### 7.1.42 dhvam-aḥ dhvāt

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element dhvāt replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the l-substitute] dhvam [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1].

$antār éva ūṣ-māṇ-am vār-ay-a-dhvāt (= vār-ay-a-dhvam) \text{ (Ait.Br. 2.6.14)}$  'cover the heat from within itself'.

### 7.1.43 yáj-a-dhvainam iti ca

[In the Chándas 38] the expression yáj-a-dhv-ai-nam is also (ca) introduced [to denote the  $\emptyset$  replacement of the final phoneme /m/ of affix

3.1.1 dhvam 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051).

$yáj-a-dhvam\ ena-m = yáj-a-dha\emptyset+ena-m = yáj-a-dhv-ai-na-m$  (6.1.88) 'worship him' (RV 8.2.37).

#### 7.1.44 tá-sya tát

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute element tát replaces [the whole of 1.155 l-substitute of IOT̄ Parasmaipadá 2nd person plural] tá (3.4.101) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1].

$gátra-m\ gátra-m\ a-syá\ nūná-m\ kṛ-ṇu-tát$  (Ait.Br. 2.6.15.16) =  $kṛ+IOT̄ = kṛ+Śnú+tá = kṛ-ṇu+tát$ .

#### 7.1.45 <sup>1</sup>taP-<sup>2</sup>tanaP-<sup>3</sup>tána-<sup>4</sup>thán-ā-s=ca

[In the Chándas 38] the substitute elements taP, tanaP, tána and thána (ca) [replace the whole of 1.155 the l-substitute of IOT̄ Parasmaipadá 2nd person plural tá, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1].

1. taP:  $éru+IOT̄ = éṛ+Śnú+ta$  (3.1.74) =  $éṛ-ṇó-ta\ grāṽṇ-aḥ$ .

2. tanaP:  $dhā+IOT̄ = dhā+Ślu+tá = dá-dhā+tana$ .

3. tána:  $jus+IOT̄ = jus+Śá+tá = jus+Ślu+tá = ju-jus+tána$  (6.1.10) =  $ju-jus-tána$ .

4. thana:  $iṣ+IOT̄ = iṣ+Śá+tá = icch+luK+thána$  (39) =  $iṣ-thána$  (8.2.36; 4.41).

#### 7.1.46 iT=anta-ḥ masi

[In the Chándas 38] the l-substitute mas (Parasmaipadá 1st per. plur.) ends in the phoneme short i(T).

$dīp+NiC+ŚaP+mas = dīp-é+a+mas$  (7.3.84) =  $dīp-áy+ā+mas$  (6.1.78; 7.3.101) =  $dīp-áy-ā-masi$  'we light up'.

#### 7.1.47 Ktv-áh yaK

[In the Chándas 38 the final increment 1.1.46] yaK is introduced [after 1.1.67 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvá [when introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1].

$dā+Ktvá = dad+Ktvá$  (4.76) =  $dat-tvá-ya$  'having given'.

### 7.1.48 iṣ-ṭv-īnam iti ca

[In the Chāndas 38] the expression iṣ-ṭv-īnam is also (ca) introduced [with the substitute element Inam replacing the final phoneme of Ktvā introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] yaj- ‘sacrifice, worship’ (I 1051).

$yaj+Ktvā = iaj+Ktvā$  (6.1.15) =  $ij+Ktvā$  (6.1.108) =  $iṣ+tvā$  (8.2.36) =  $iṣ-ṭvā$  (8.4.41) =  $iṣ-ṭv-īnam$  ‘having offered a sacrifice’.

### 7.1.49 snā-tvī=āday-as=ca

[In the domain of Chāndas 38] the class of (gerundial) expressions beginning with snā-tvī ‘having bathed’ are introduced as fully derived forms.

$snā+ktvā = snā-tvī$ ;  $pI-tvī$  *sóma-sya vā-vṛdh-e* (RV 3.40.7) ‘having drunk Soma has grown’.

### 7.1.50 āt=Jas-e-r asuK

[In the Chāndas 38 the final increment 1.1.46] asuK is inserted [after 3.1.67 the sUP triplet] Jas (nom. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal ānga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme-class /a/ (āt).

*brāhmaṇ-ā-saḥ pītar-aḥ sómy-ā-saḥ* (RV 6.75.10); *yé pūrv-a-so yá úpar-ā-saḥ* (RV 10.15.2).

### 7.1.51 <sup>1</sup>ásva-<sup>2</sup>kṣīrá-<sup>3</sup>vṛṣa-<sup>4</sup>lavaṇā-n-ām ātma-prī-t-aú KyáC-i

[The final increment 1.1.46 asuK 50 is inserted after 1.1.67 the nominal ānga-s 6.4.1] ásva- ‘horse’, kṣīrá- ‘milk’, vṛṣa- ‘bull’ and lavaṇa- ‘salt’ [before 1.1.57 the affix 3.1.1] KyáC (3.1.8) to express the delight of the agent in these (ātma-prī-t-aú).

$atmán-aḥ ásva-m icch-á-ti = ásva+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP = aśva-asuK+yá+a=ti = aśv-a-s-y-á-ti$  (6.1.97) *vádavā* ‘the mare desires the stallion’; similarly  $kṣīr-a-s-y-á-ti$  *bālā-h* ‘the child longs for milk’;  $vṛṣ-a-s-y-a-ti$  *gauḥ-h* ‘the cow longs for the bull’;  $lavaṇ-as-y-á-ti$  *ústra-h* ‘the camel longs for salt’. But  $aśvī-yáti$  (4.33) = ‘desires a horse for oneself’;  $kṣīrī-yá-ti/vṛṣī-yá-ti/lavaṇī-yá-ti$  ‘desires milk/a bull/salt for oneself’.

### 7.1.52 ām-i sarva-nāmn-aḥ suṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] suṭ is inserted at the head of the sUP triplet ām (sixth or gen. plur.) [introduced after 3.1.2] pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ).

*sarvā+ām = sarvā+suṭ-ām = sárve+s-ām (3.103) = sárve-śām (8.3.59). tád+ām = táa+sām (2.102) = tá+sām (6.1.97) = té-śām. sarvā+ām = sárva-s-ām; tá-s-ām.*

### 7.1.53 tré-s tráya-h

The substitute morpheme tráya- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal áṅga 6.4.1] trí- 'three' [before 1.1.67 the sixth sUP triplet ām 52].

*trí+ām = tráya+ām = tráya+n-ām = trayā-n-ām (54; 3.102) = trayā-n-ām (6.1.169 for accent, 8.4.2 for retroflexion).*

### 7.1.54 <sup>1</sup>hrasvá-<sup>2</sup>nadī=<sup>3</sup>āP-aḥ nuṭ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] nuṭ [is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet ām 52, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short vowel (hrasvá-°) and those denoted by the t.t. nadī (1.4.3ff.) or those [ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 4.1.3ff.] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP).

1. *devā-/hári-/sūnū-/pi-īf+ām = devā-n-ām/hári-n-ām/sūnū-n-ām/sūnū-n-ām/pitf-n-ām (3.102 for stem-final long vowel and 6.1.177 for alternate accent of sūnū-n-ām).*
2. *nadī/vadhū+ām = nadī-n-ām/vadhū-n-ām.*
3. *śālā+ām = śālā-n-ām.*

### 7.1.55 <sup>1</sup>śāt-<sup>2</sup>catúr-bhyas=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 nuṭ 54] is also (ca) [inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet ām 52, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal áṅga-s 6.4.1 indicating numerals 1.1.23] comprised by the t.t. śaś (1.1.24) and catúr- 'four'.

1. The number words denoted by the t.t. śaś are: *pañcan-* '5', *śaś-* '6', *saptán-* '7', *aṣṭán-* '8', *návan-* '9', *dásan-* '10'. *pañcan+ām = pañcan+n-ām (6.1.179) = pañcān+n-ām (6.4.7) = pañcāṇ-nām (8.2.7); similarly śaś+am = śaś+n-ām = śaḍ+n-ām (8.2.39) = śaṇ-n-ām, aṣṭā-n-ām, navā-n-ām, daśā-n-ām.*

**7.1.56 <sup>1</sup>śrí-<sup>2</sup>grāma-ṇy-ós=chándas-i**

In the domain of Chándas [the initial increment 1.1.46  $\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{T}}$  54 is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet  $\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$  52, introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal ánga-s 6.4.1] śrí ‘glory’ and grāma-ṇí- ‘village head’.

$\acute{\text{s}}\text{rí}+\bar{\text{a}}\text{m} = \acute{\text{s}}\text{rí}+\text{n-}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$  (6.1.168) =  $\acute{\text{s}}\text{rí-}\bar{\text{n-}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$  (8.4.2). By 1.4.5 nadī-stems are optionally covered by that t.t. before affix  $\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$  but by this rule [śrí] is exempted from that option and, so far as Chándas is concerned, [ $\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{T}}$ ] increment is necessarily inserted. In non-Chandas:  $\acute{\text{s}}\text{ríy-}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}/\acute{\text{s}}\text{rí-}\bar{\text{n-}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ .

**7.1.57 gó-ḥ pāda=ant-é**

[In the Chándas 56 the initial increment 1.1.46  $\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{T}}$  is inserted at the head of the sixth sUP triplet  $\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$  52, introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal ánga 6.4.1] gó- ‘cow/bull’, occurring at the end of a quarter verse of RV (pāda-ant-é).

*vid-mā hí tvā gó-pati-m sūra gó-n-ām* ‘we recognize you, O hero! as the protector of (all) cattle’. (RV 10.47.2). When not so occurring: *gáv-ām go-trá-m ud-á-śṛj-o yád āngirah* (RV 2.23.18) ‘O Ángiras! that you have released the cattle pen’. This form also occurs occasionally at the end of a pāda: *vi-ráj-am gó-pati-m gáv-ām* (RV 10.166.1).

**7.1.58 iT=IT-aḥ  $\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{u}}\text{M}$  dhāto-ḥ**

[The infixed increment 1.1.47]  $\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{u}}\text{M}$  [is inserted after the last vowel of a verbal ánga 6.4.1] with marker short phoneme i(T) as IT [when first introduced (in the Dhātupāṭha)].

$\text{T}\bar{\text{U}}\text{-nád-}\acute{\text{I}} \text{ sām-}\acute{\text{I}}\text{-d-dh-au}$  (I 67)+ $\text{IAT}$  =  $\text{ná-}\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{u}}\text{M-d-}\acute{\text{S}}\text{aP+tiP}$  =  $\text{náand-a-ti}$  ‘rejoices’;  
 $\text{kúḍ-I dāh-e}$  (I 289)+ $\text{IAT}/\text{tumuN}$  =  $\text{kúṇḍ-a-te}$  ‘burns’/ $\text{kúṇḍ-iT-tum}$  =  $\text{kúṇḍ-i-tum}$  ‘to burn’ (2.35).

**7.1.59 Ś-e muc-ādī-n-ām**

[The infixed increment 1.1.47  $\text{ṇ}\bar{\text{u}}\text{M}$  58 is inserted after 1.1.67 the last vowel of the class of verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] beginning with muc- ‘release’ (VI 136) [before 1.1.66 the present system class marker] Śa [3.1.71].

The stems included in this class are listed in the Dhṛp. VI 136-43: 136 *mucḥ*.

*mókə-aŋ-e*; 137 *lupl̥ chéd-an-e*; 138 *vidl̥ lābh-é*; 139 *lipÀ upa-deh-é*; 140 *šicÀ kšár-aŋ-e*; 241 *kʏt-Ī chéd-an-e*; 142 *khidÁ pari-ghāt-é*; 143 *piśÁ ava-yav-é*.  
*muc+Ša+tiP* = *mu-nuM-c+á=ti* = *muñc-á-ti* 'releases'; similarly *lump-á-ti* 'cuts';  
*vind-á-ti* 'gains'; *limp-á-ti* 'smears'; *siñc-a-ti* 'sprinkles'; *kʏnt-á-ti* 'cuts';  
*khind-á-ti* 'strikes'; *piñś-á-ti* 'cuts, divides'. But *muc+tumuN* = *mók-tum*  
 (3.84; 8.2.30).

### 7.1.60 <sup>1</sup>masji-<sup>2</sup>naś-or jhaL-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nuM* 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *ānga-s* 6.4.1] *masj-* 'sink, plunge, immerse' (VI 122) and *naś* 'disappear' (IV 85) [before 1.1.67 affixes 3.1.1] beginning with a non-nasal consonant (jhaL-i).

1. *masj+tumuN* = *má-nuM-sj+tum* = *má-n-∅j+tum* (8.2.29) = *má-n-k+tum* (8.2.30) = *má-m-k-tum* (8.3.24) = *má-n-k-tum* (8.4.58) 'to plunge, immerse'.
2. *naś+tumuN* = *ná-nuM-ś+tum* = *ná-m-ś+tum* (8.2.36; 3.24) = *ná-m-ś-tum* (8.4.41) 'to disappear'. But *masj+LyuT* = *májj-ana-* (8.4.53) 'immersion'.

### 7.1.61 <sup>1</sup>rádhi-<sup>2</sup>jábh-or aC-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nuM* 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *ānga-s* 6.4.1] *rádhi-* 'subdue' (IV 84) and *jábh-* 'gape, snap out' (I 451) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

1. *rádhi+NĪC+ŠaP+tiP* = *ra-n-dh-f-a-ti* = *randh-é-a-ti* (3.84) = *randh-áy-a-ti* (6.1.78) 'cooks, delivers'; *radh+NvuL* = *rá-n-dh-aka-*; *radh+GHaÑ* = *rá-n-dh-a-* 'subjection'.
2. *jábh+NĪC+ŠaP+tiP* = *ja-n-bh-áy-a-ti* = *ja-m-bh-áy-a-ti* (8.3.24) = *ja-m-bh-áy-a-ti* (8.4.58) 'snaps at'; *jábh+GHaÑ* = *já-m-bha-* 'tooth'.

### 7.1.62 ná=iṬ-i=á-lIṬ-i rádhe-h

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nuM* 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *ānga* 6.4.1] *rádhi-* 'subdue' (IV 84) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ, excluding such l-substitutes of lIṬ.

*rádhi+tumuN* = *rádhi+iṬ-tum* (2.35) = *rádhi-i-tum*; similarly *radh-i-távya-*, but  
*radh+lIṬ* = *ra-ra-n-dh-i-vá/°-i-má*; *radh+LyuṬ/NvuL* = *rá-n-dh-ana/°-aka-*.

### 7.1.63 rabhē-r á-<sup>1</sup>ŚaP=<sup>2</sup>lIT-oh

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *ánga* 6.4.1] *rabh-* ‘grasp, clasp, seize’ (I 1023) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vowels 61] excluding ŚaP and the l-substitutes of lIT (Perfect).

*á-rabh+NIC+ŚaP+tiP* = *á-ra-n-bh=ay-a-ti* = *á-rambh-ay-a-ti* ‘causes to undertake’;  
*á-rabh+GHaÑ* = *á-ra-m-bh-á-* ‘beginning’, but *á+rabh+ŚaP+te* = *á-rabh-a-te*;  
*á-rabh+lIT á-rebh-e(Ś)* (6.4.120).

### 7.1.64 labhē-s=ca

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is] also (ca) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *ánga* 6.4.1] *labh-* ‘gain’ (I 1024) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vowels 61, excluding ŚaP and such l-substitutes of lIT 63].

*labh+NIC+ŚaP+tiP* = *la-m-bh-áy-a-ti* ‘causes to gain’, but *labh+ŚaP+te* = *lábh-a-te*; *labh+lIT* = *labh+eŚ* = *lebh-é*.

### 7.1.65 áÑ-ah y-i

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal *ánga* 6.4.1] *labh-* ‘gain’ (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with the preverb *áÑ* [before an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme /y-°/.

*á+labh+NyàT* = *á-la-m-bh-yà+TāP* = *á-la-m-bh-y-à gaú-h/vádavā* ‘a cow/mare to be sacrificed’, but *labh+yàT* = *lábh-ya-* ‘to be gained’.

### 7.1.66 úp-āt pra-śamsā-y-ām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 *nyM* 58 is introduced after the last vowel of the verbal *ánga* 6.4.1] *labh-* ‘gain’ (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with the preverb *úpa-*° [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme y-° 65] to denote praise (*pra-śams-á-y-ām*).

*úpa+labh+NyàT+TāP* (3.1.124; 4.1.4) = *upa-la-m-bh-y-à vid-yá* ‘wisdom worthy of being acquired’, but *upa+labh+yàT* = *upa-lábh-ya-* ‘obtainable’.



### 7.1.67 upa-sarg-āt <sup>1</sup>KHaL-<sup>2</sup>GHaÑ-oh

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' (I 1024) 64] co-occurring with preverbs [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] KHaL and GHaÑ.

*Ṛsat+prá+labh+KHaL* (3.3.126) = *Ṛsat-pra-lá-m-bh-a-* 'easily deceived';  
*prá+labh+GHaÑ* = *pra-la-m-bh-á-* 'gaining, acquisition'. But *labh+GHaÑ* =  
*lābh-a-* 'gain, profit'; *Ṛsát+labh+KHaL* = *Ṛsal-lābh-a-* (8.4.60) 'to be obtained for  
a little'.

### 7.1.68 ná <sup>1</sup>sú-<sup>2</sup>dúr-bhyām kévalā-bhyām

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' 64 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 KHaL and GHaÑ 67] when co-occurring singly with the preverbs sú- ° and dúr- °.

*su+labh+KHaL* = *su-lābh-a-* 'easy to obtain'; similarly *dur-lābh-a-* 'difficult to obtain, rare'. *su+labh+GHaÑ* = *su-lābh-á-/dur-lābh-á-* 'easily obtainable/rare'.  
But *su+pra+labh+KHaL* = *su-pra-lá-m-bha-*.

### 7.1.69 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>CiN-<sup>2</sup>NamuL-oh

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted after the last vowel of the verbal ánga 6.4.1 labh- 'gain' before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] CiN and NamuL.

1. *labh+CíN* = *áT+labh+CiN* (6.4.71) = *á-la-m-bh-i-/á-lābh-i* : (*labh+IUÑ* = *á+labh+CiN+ta-Ø*<sup>1</sup> 6.4.104) 'was gained'.
2. *labh+NamuL* = *lá-m-bh-am la-m-bh-am/lābh-am lābh-am* 'having gained'.

### 7.1.70 <sup>1</sup>úK=IT-<sup>2</sup>ac-ām sarva-nāma-sthān-é=á-dhāt-oh

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58 is inserted after the last vowel of a nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] with IT marker denoted by the siglum uK (= U, R, L) or one [ending in 1.1.72 such affix] excluding verbal stems (a-dhāto-h), and the verbal stem ac- (= anc- : aØc-6.4.24) [before 1.1.66] strong sUP triplets (sarva-nāma-sthān-é).

1. *bhávātU+sU* = *bháv-ā-n-t+sU* (6.4.14) = *bháv-ā-n-t+Ø* (6.1.68) = *bhávā-nØ* (8.2.23); \**+au* = *bháva-n-t+au*: \**Jas/am* = *bháva-n-t-ah/bháva-n-t-am*.
2. *gam+ŚatR* = *gám+ŚaP+atR* (3.1.68) = *gácch-a+at+sU* = *gácch-a-t+sU* (6.1.97) = *gácch-a-n-t+Ø* (6.1.68) = *gácch-a-nØ* (8.2.23); *gácch-a-nt-au*, *gácch-a-n-tah*, *gácch-a-n-t-am*.

3.  $prá+añc-a-ti = prá+añc+KviN$  (3.2.59) =  $prāñc+Kviñ$  (6.1.101) =  $prāñc+KviN$  (6.4.24) =  $prāc+θ$  (6.1.67)+ $sU = prā-ñ-c+θ$  (6.1.68) =  $prā-ñθ$  (8.2.23) =  $prāñ$  (8.2.30).  $prāñc-au$ ,  $prāñc-aḥ$ ,  $prāñc-am$ ;  $prāc+Śas = prāc-aḥ$ ;  $prāc+Śi$  (1.1.42)  $prāñ-c-i$ .
4.  $śra+ṛyasUN = śréyas+sU$  (6.2.25) =  $śréyā-n-s+sU$  (6.4.14) =  $śréyā-n-s+θ$  (6.1.68) =  $śréyā-nθ$  (8.2.23);  $śréyā-m-s-au$  (8.3.23);  $śréyā-m-s-aḥ$ ,  $śréyā-m-s-am$ ;  $śréyas+Śi = śréyā-m-s-i$ ;  $śréyas+Śas = śréyas-aḥ$ .
- But  $ukhā-y-ām srāms-a-ti = ukhā+θ^1+srāms+KviP = ukhā-srāθs+KviP = ukhā-srās+sU = ukhāsrās+θ$  (6.1.67) =  $ukhā-srāt$  (8.2.72) 'falling in the cauldron' from the verbal stem  $srāns-Ū$  *ava-srāms-an-e* (I 790). The only exception to the constraint [á-dhāto-h] of this rule is in respect of  $āncŪ$   $gāti-pūj-anay-oḥ$  I 203.

### 7.1.71 yuje-r á-sam-ās-e

[The infixed increment 1.1.47  $nyM$  58 is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal  $āṅga$  6.4.1]  $yuj-$  (VII 7) [before 1.1.66 the strong  $sUP$  affixes ( $sUT$  and  $Śi$  1.1.42-3) 70].

$yu-ná-k-ti = yuj+KviN$  (3.2.59) =  $yúj+sU = yú-ñ-j+θ$  (6.1.68) =  $yunθ$  (8.2.23) =  $yún$ ,  $yú-ñ-j-au$ ,  $yú-ñ-j-aḥ$ ,  $yú-ñ-j-am$  but  $ásavam yu-ná-k-ti = áśva+θ^1+yuj+KviP$  (3.2.61) =  $áśva-yúj+sU = áśva-yúj+θ$  (6.1.68) =  $áśva-yúk$  (8.2.30).

### 7.1.72 ná-puṁs-aka-sya <sup>1</sup>jhaL=<sup>2</sup>aC-aḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47  $nyM$  58 is inserted after the last vowel of] a neuter ( $ná-puṁs-aka-sya$ ) [nominal 4.1.1  $āṅga$  6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] a non-nasal consonant ( $jhaL-$ ) or a vowel ( $-aC-aḥ$ ) [before 1.1.66 the strong  $sUP$  1.1.42-3 triplets 70].

In the case of neuter nominal stems the only strong  $sUP$  triplet is the substitute morpheme  $Śi$  replacing both  $Jas$  and  $Śas$  (7.1.20; 1.1.42).

1.  $yásas+Śi = yásā-n-s-i$  (6.4.10) =  $yásā-m-s-i$  (8.3.24) 'renowns';  $uda-śvft+Śi = uda-śví-n-t-i$  'mixtures of water and buttermilk'.
2.  $vána+Śi = vānā-n-i$  (6.4.8) 'forests';  $dádhi+Śi = dadh-ñ-n-i$  'curds',  $mádhūn-i$  'honeys';  $kartṛ-ñ-i$  (8.4.1) 'agents'; but  $bahu-púr+Śi = bahu-púr-i$  'possessing many fortified cities';  $vīmala-div+Śi = vīmala-div-i$  'possessing a clear sky';  $catúr+Śi = catu-ā-r-i$  (98) =  $catu-ā-r-i$  '4'.

### 7.1.73 iK-aḥ=aC-i vi-bhák-t-au

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM is inserted after the last vowel of a neuter 72 nominal 6.4.1 ánga ending in 1.1.72] one of the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [before 1.1.66] vibhákṭi (1.4.104) [affixes = sUP triplets here, beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

*vári+Tā/Ñe/ÑasI/Ñas/os/Ñi* = *vári-n/ā/e/as/as/os/i*; *mádhun-ā/e/as/as/os/i*;  
*kartṭi-n-ā/e/as/as/os/i*.

### 7.1.74 ṭṛ-tíyā=ādi-ṣu bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁs-k-āt puṁ-vát= gālava-sya

[A neuter 72 nominal 4.1.1 ánga ending in 1.1.72 one of the vowels denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) 73] which has a masculine counterpart (bhāṣ-i-tá-puṁs-k-āt) is treated like a masculine (puṁ-vát) [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets beginning with a vowel 73] starting with the third case (ṭṛ-tíyā-ādi-ṣu) according to the grammarian Gālava.

*grāma-m náy-a-ti* = *grāma+nI+KviP* = *grāma-ní- m.*, *grāma-ní- n.*  
 (1.2.47)+*Tā/Ñe/Ñas(I)/os/i* = *grāma-ni-n/ā/e/as/os/i* : *grāma-ny/ā/ás/ós/ám* (3.116).

### 7.1.75 <sup>1</sup>ásthi-<sup>2</sup>dádhi-<sup>3</sup>sákthi=<sup>4</sup>ákṣ-ṇ-ām áṇaÑ udátta-ḥ

The substitute element áṇaÑ with a high pitch (udátta-ḥ) accent replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] ásthi- 'bone', dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets with initial vowels 73 beginning with the third case 74].

1. *ásthi+Tā/Ñe/Ñas(I)/os/Ñi* = *asth-án+ā/e/as/os/i* = *asthñn-ā/* (6.4.134)/  
*e/aḥ/oh/asthán-i/asth-n-f*; 2. *dadhán-i/dadhn-f*; 3. *sakthán-i/sakth-n-f*; 4.  
*asthán-i/asth-n-f* (6.4.136).

### 7.1.76 chándas-i=ápi dṛś-yá-te

In the Chándas [the substitute element áṇaÑ with udátta accent 75] is also (ápi) seen (dṛś-yá-te) [to replace the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ásthi- 'bone', dádhi- 'curd', sákthi- 'thigh' and ákṣi- 'eye' 75].

[dṛś-yá-te 'is seen'] implies contexts other than those specified in 75 above: (a) before

affixes beginning with consonants: *ásthi+bbhis* = *asth-án+bbhis* = *astháḥ-bbhiḥ* (8.2.7; 3.15); (b) before first and second sUP triplets: *ásthi+Śi* = *asth-án-i* (6.4.8); (c) before non-vibhákṭi affixes: *ákṣi+matuP* = *akṣ-án+matUP* (8.4.2) = *akṣ-áḥ+nuT-matUP* (8.2.7,16) = *akṣ-a-n-vát-* (8.2.9; 6.1.176 for accent) = *akṣ-a-n-vát* (8.4.2); *asth-a-n-vát-*.

### 7.1.77 í ca dvi-vac-an-é

[In the Chándas 76] the substitute phoneme long /í/ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.552 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ásthi- ‘bone’; dádhi- ‘curd’, sákthi- ‘thigh’ and ákṣi- ‘eye’ 75 before 1.1.66] dual sUP triplets (dvi-vac-an-é).

The expression [*udátta-h*] recurs here from 75 above, so that the substitute has the high-pitched accent.

*ákṣi+Śi* (19) = *akṣi+í* = *akṣ-í te indra pingal-é* ‘your eyes, O Indra, are tawny-brown’; *akṣ-í-bhyām*.

### 7.1.78 ná=abhy-às-t-āt=Śatuḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is not (ná) [inserted after the last vowel of the affix 3.1.1] ŚatR̥- [introduced after 3.1.2] reduplicated verbal [ánga-s 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 70].

*dā+ŚátR̥* = *dā+Ślu+ŚátR̥* = *dā-dā+átR̥* (6.1.10; 7.4.59) = *dā-dḥ-atR̥* (6.4.112) = *dád-at+su/au/Jas/am* = *dad-at+ḥ* (6.1.68), *dad-at=au/aḥ/am*.  
*jakṣ+ŚátR̥+sU/au/Jas/am* = *jákṣat+ḥ*, *jákṣ-at=au/aḥ/am*. Exception to 70 above.

### 7.1.79 vā ná-puṁs-aka-sya

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nuM 58] is optionally (vā) [inserted after the last vowel of] a neuter (ná-puṁs-aka-sya) [nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1 derived from a reduplicated verbal stem with affix 3.1.1 ŚátR̥ 78 before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 70].

*dhā+ŚátR̥* = *dhā+Ślu+átR̥* = *dā-dhā-at* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54)+*Śi* = *dā-dhḥ-at+Śi* (6.4.112) = *dádih-a-n-t-i/dádih-at-i*.

### 7.1.80 ā-t <sup>1</sup>Śī-<sup>2</sup>nady-ór nūM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] nūM is [optionally 79 inserted after the last vowel of the affix 3.1.1 ŚātṚ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the vowel phoneme /a/ [before 1.1.66 the affixes] Śī and those denoted by the t.t. nadī (3.4.3ff.).

$$\begin{aligned} tud+\acute{Ś}ātṚ &= tud+\acute{Ś}ā+\acute{Ś}ātṚ = tud-\acute{a}-at- = tud-\acute{a}-t- \quad (6.1.97)+\acute{Ś}ī = \\ &tud-\acute{a}-n-t-Ṛ/tud-\acute{a}t-Ṛ; tud-\acute{a}t+\acute{N}iP \quad (4.1.6) = tud-\acute{a}-n-t-Ṛ/tud-at-Ṛ; yā+\acute{Ś}ātṚ = \\ &yā+\emptyset^1+\acute{a}tṚ = yā+\acute{a}t+\acute{Ś}ī = yā-n-t-Ṛ/yāt-Ṛ \quad (6.1.173 \text{ for accent when } nūM \text{ is not} \\ &\text{inserted}). \text{ Similarly } yāt+\acute{N}iP = yā-n-t-Ṛ/yāt-Ṛ. \end{aligned}$$

The reason for repeating [nūM] in this rule when it was already recurring from 58 onwards is to block out the recurrence of particles [ná 78] and [vā 79] simultaneously in this sūtra and avoid undesirable interpretations such as the increment may be optionally inserted before the affixes [Śī, nadī] and not at all after āṅga-s ending in the phoneme-class /a/, leading to false forms like [\*kurv-á-n-t-Ṛ] as alternative to [kurv-at-Ṛ] but not to [kar-i-ṣy-á-n-ti].

### 7.1.81 <sup>1</sup>ŚaP-<sup>2</sup>ŚyaN-or nitya-m

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nūM 80] is necessarily (nitya-m) [inserted after the last vowel of affix 3.1.1 ŚātṚ 78 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the present class markers] ŚaP and ŚyaN [before 1.1.66 the affixes Śī and nadī (1.4.3ff.) 80].

1.  $pac+\acute{Ś}ātṚ = pác+\acute{Ś}aP+\acute{a}tṚ = pác-a+at+\acute{Ś}ī/\acute{N}iP = pác-a-n-t-Ṛ \quad (6.1.97).$
2.  $div+\acute{Ś}yaN+\acute{Ś}ātṚ = dīv-ya-at+\acute{Ś}ī/\acute{N}iP \quad (8.2.76) = dīv-y-a-n-t-Ṛ \quad (6.1.97).$

### 7.1.82 s-AU anaḍuh-aḥ

[The infixed increment 1.1.47 nūM 80 is inserted after the last vowel of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] anaḍ-úḥ- 'ox' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU.

$$\begin{aligned} anaḍ-úḥ+sU &= anaḍ-ú-ā-h+sU \quad (98) = anaḍ-vāḥ+sU \quad (6.1.77) = anaḍ-vā-n-h+sU = \\ &anaḍ-vānh+\emptyset \quad (6.1.68) = anaḍ-vān\emptyset \quad (8.2.23). \end{aligned}$$

### 7.1.83 <sup>1</sup>dṛś=<sup>2</sup>sv-ávas=<sup>3</sup>svá-tavas-ām chāndas-i

In the Chāndas [the infixed increment 1.1.47 nūM 80 is inserted after the last vowel of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-dṛś- 'appearing like', sv-ávas- 'affording good protection' and svá-tavas 'self-strong' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

1.  $I-d\acute{f}\acute{e}+sU = I\acute{d}\acute{f}-n-\acute{e}+sU = I-d\acute{f}-\acute{n}-\acute{e}+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $I-d\acute{f}-\acute{n}-\emptyset$  (8.2.23) =  $I-d\acute{f}-\acute{n}$  (8.2.30).
2.  $sv-avas+sU = sv-av\acute{a}-n-s+sU$  (6.4.14) =  $sv-av\acute{a}ns/\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $sv-av\acute{a}-n\emptyset$  (8.2.23).
3.  $sv\acute{a}-ta-v\acute{a}-n$ .

### 7.1.84 div-áh=auT

The substitute phoneme au(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] div- 'sky, heaven' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

$$dív+sU = d\acute{i}-au+sU = dyaú-s = dyaú-h \text{ (8.2.66; 3.15).}$$

### 7.1.85 <sup>1</sup>pathí(n)<sup>2</sup>mathí(n)=<sup>3</sup>ṛbhukṣ-ām āT

The substitute phoneme long ā(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning rod or stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra or the first of the Ṛbhu-s' [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 82].

1.  $pathín+sU = pathí-\acute{a}+sU = path\acute{a}-\acute{a}+sU$  (86) =  $panth\acute{a}-\acute{a}+sU$  (87) =  $pánth-\acute{a}-h$  (6.1.199 for accent; 6.1.97; 8.2.66; 3.15). Similarly 2.  $mánth-\acute{a}-h$ ; 3.  $\acute{r}bhukṣ-\acute{a}-h$ .

### 7.1.86 iT-ah=aT sarva-nāma-sthān-é

The substitute phoneme short a(T) replaces the short phoneme i(T) [of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning rod or stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra' 85 before 1.1.66] strong sUP (affixes 1.1.42-3).

- Exx. before [sU] cited under 85 above.  $pathín+au/Jas/am = p\acute{a}than+au$  (6.1.199) =  $pánthan+au$  (87) =  $pánth\acute{a}n+au$  (6.4.8)/ $pánth\acute{a}n-ah/pánth\acute{a}n-am$ . Similarly:  $mánth\acute{a}n+au/ah/am$ ;  $\acute{r}bhukṣ\acute{a}n+au/ah/am$ .

### 7.1.87 th-ah nth-ah

The substitute phoneme /nth/ replaces the phoneme /th/ [of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] pathín- 'path' and mathín- 'churning stick or rod' 85 before strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

Exx. cited under 86 above.

### 7.1.88 bha-sya ṬE-r lópa-ḥ

Lópa (Ø) replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of BHA (1.4.18-9) stems [of the nominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 pathín- 'path', mathín- 'churning stick' and ṛbhukṣín- 'n.pr. of Indra' 85 before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel or y- ° 1.4.18].

*pathín+Śas/Ṭā/Ñe/Ñas(1)/os/Ñi* = *path-ā/é/áh/óh/í*; +*ām* = *path-ām* wherein Ø replaces °-ín. *math-ā/é/áh/óh/ām/í*; *ṛbhukṣ-ā/é/áh/óh/ām/í*.

### 7.1.89 púrns-aḥ=asUN

The substitute element asUN replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1] púrns- 'man, male' [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

*púrns+sU/au/Jas/am* = *púm-as+sU/au/Jas/am* = *púma-n-s+sU/au/Jas/am* (70)  
= *púmāns+sU/au/Jas/am* = *púmāns+Ø* (6.1.68)/*au/as/am* = *púmān-*  
(8.2.23)/*pumāns-au/ah/am* = *púmāns-au/ah/am* (8.3.23).

### 7.1.90 gó-taḥ=N-IT

[The strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] gó- 'cow/bull' are treated like those having marker N as IT.

*gó+sU/au/Jas* = *gaú-sU/au/ah* = *gaú-h*, *gáv-au/ah* (6.1.78). For *gó+am/Śas* cf. 6.1.93 *gām/gās* (= *gá-h*).

### 7.1.91 NaL uttama-ḥ vā

[The Parasmaipadá first person l-substitute of IIT 3.4.82] NaL is optionally (vā) [treated like those having N as IT marker 90].

*pac+NaL* = *pa-pac+NaL* = *pa-pác-a/pa-pác-a* (6.1.8; 7.4.60). But *pac+NaL* (3rd pers. sing.) = *pa-pá-ca*.

### 7.1.92 sákhy-ur á-sam-bud-dh-au

[The strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86] excluding the vocative sing. (á-sam-bud-dh-au) [introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] sákhi- 'friend, companion' [are treated like those with marker N as IT 90].

*sákhi+sU/au/Jas/am* = *sákh-ai+au/Jas/am* (7.2.115) = *sákhāy-au/as/am* (6.1.78). For *sákhi+sU* cf. 93 below.

*sakhi+sU (sam-bud-dh-au)* = *sákh-e* (3.108; 6.1.69).

### 7.1.93 anāÑ s-AU

The substitute element anāÑ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 2.2.53 phoneme of the nominal stem 4.1.1 *sákhi-* ‘companion’ 92 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] sU [excluding that of the vocative singular 92].

*sákhi+sU* = *sákh-an+sU* = *sákhān+s* (6.4.8) = *sákhān+∅* (6.1.68) = *sákhā∅* (8.2.7);  
before voc. sing.: *sákh-e* (92 above).

### 7.1.94 <sup>1</sup>ṛT=<sup>2</sup>uśánas=<sup>3</sup>puru-dámś-as=<sup>4</sup>an-eh-ás-ām ca

[The substitute element anāÑ 93] also (ca) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 of the nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short ṛ(T) and uśánas- ‘n.pr.’, puru-dámś-as- ‘abounding in marvelous deeds’ and an-eh-ás- ‘unrivaled’ [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet sU 93 excluding that of the vocative singular 92].

1. <sup>1</sup>ṛT: *kartṛ+sU* = *kart-án+sU* = *kart-án+∅* (6.4.8; 6.1.68) = *kar-tā∅* (8.2.7);  
*kar-tṛ+sU* (voc.) = *kar-tar+sU* (3.110) = *kár-tar+∅* (8.2.24) = *kar-táh* (8.3.15).

2. *uśánas+sU* = *uśána+an+sU* = *uśán-a-n+sU* (6.1.97) = *uśán-ān+∅* (6.1.68) =  
*uśánā∅* (8.2.7) = *uśánā*; +sU (vocative) = *úśanas+∅* = *úśanas* = *úśanaḥ*.

Similarly 3. *puru-dámśā*, *aneḥā*; voc.: *púru-dámśaḥ*, *áneḥaḥ*.

### 7.1.95 tṛC=vát króṣ-ṭu-ḥ

[Before 1.1.66 strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86, excluding the vocative singular 92, the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] *króṣ-ṭu* ‘jackal’ is treated like one [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] tṛC.

*krúṣ+tuN (Uñādi)* = *króṣ-ṭu+sU/au/Jas/am* = *krúṣ+tṛC+sU/au/Jas/am* =  
*króṣ-tṛ+sU/au/as/am* = *króṣ-ṭ-án+sU* (94) = *króṣ-ṭ-án+∅* = *króṣ-tā∅* (6.1.68;  
4.8; 8.2.7); *króṣ-tṛ+au/as/am* = *króṣ-tār-au/as/am* (3.110; 6.4.11); +sU (voc.)  
= *króṣ-ṭo* (3.108; 6.1.69).



### 7.1.96 striy-ām ca

[Before 1.1.66] a feminine [affix 4.1.3ff.] also (ca) [the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga 6.4.1 krōṣ-tu- ‘jackal’ 95 is treated like one ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 tḥC 95].

$$krōṣ-tu + \dot{N}fS \text{ (4.1.63)} = krōṣ-tḥ + \dot{N}fS \text{ (4.1.41)} = krōṣ-tr-f.$$

### 7.1.97 vibhāṣā tṛ-tīyā-ādi-ṣu=aC-i

[The nominal 4.1.1 āṅga 6.4.1 krōṣ-tu- ‘jackal’ 95 is treated like one ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1 tḥC 95] optionally (vibhāṣā) [before 1.1.66] sUP triplets with initial vowels (aC-i), beginning with the third (case: tṛ-tīyā-ādi-ṣu).

$$krōṣ-tu-/krōṣ-tḥ + Tā/\dot{N}e/\dot{N}as(I)/os/\dot{N}i = krōṣ-tu-nā \text{ (3.120)}/krōṣ-tr-ā; krōṣ-tav-e \text{ (3.111)}/krōṣ-tr-é; krōṣ-t-o-h \text{ (6.1.110)}/krōṣ-t-ú-h \text{ (6.1.111)}; krōṣ-t-au \text{ (3.118-19)}/krōṣ-tár-i \text{ (3.110)}.$$

### 7.1.98 <sup>1</sup>catúr-<sup>2</sup>anaḍ-úh-or āM udātta-h

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] āM with high-pitched accent (ud-ātta-h) [is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga-s 6.4.1] catúr- ‘four’ and anaḍ-úh- ‘beast of burden’ [before 1.1.66 the strong sUP triplets (1.1.42-3) 86].

$$catúr + Jas/\dot{S}i = catu-á-r-as/i = catvār-aḥ/catvār-i.$$

$$anaḍ-úh + sU = anaḍ-u-á-h + sU = anaḍ-vá-n-h + sU \text{ (82)} = anaḍ-vá-n\emptyset \text{ (6.1.68)} = anaḍ-vān\emptyset \text{ (8.2.23)}; anaḍ-vāh=au/as/am.$$

### 7.1.99 aM sam-búd-dh-au

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] aM [is inserted after the last vowel of the nominal 4.1.1 āṅga-s 6.4.1 catúr- ‘four’ and anaḍ-úh- ‘beast of burden’ 98 before 1.1.66] the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au).

$$1. \text{ priy-á-catur} + sU = \text{priy-á-catu-a-r} + \emptyset \text{ (6.1.68)} = \text{priy-á-catv-a-r} = \text{príy-a-catv-a-h} \text{ (8.3.15)}.$$

$$2. \text{ anaḍ-úh} + sU = \text{ánaḍ-u-a-h} + sU = \text{ánaḍ-v-a-n-h} + \emptyset \text{ (82; 6.1.68)} = \text{ánaḍ-van}\emptyset \text{ (8.2.23)} = \text{ánaḍ-van}.$$

### 7.1.100 $\bar{f}$ T-ah iT=dhāto-ḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] phoneme long  $\bar{f}$ (T) of a verbal [ánga 6.4.1] (dhāto-ḥ).

$k\bar{f} + \acute{S}á + tiP = kir-á-ti$  'scatters';  $k\bar{f} + Ktá- = kir + ná-$  (8.2.42) =  $k\bar{r}r-ná-$  (8.2.76) =  $k\bar{r}r-ná-$  (8.4.1) 'scattered'. But  $pit\bar{f}-ṇ-ám$ .

### 7.1.101 upa-dhā-y-ās=ca

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 100] also replaces [the ánga 6.4.1] penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [phoneme long  $\bar{f}$ (T) of a verbal stem 100].

$k\bar{f}t + N\bar{f}C + \acute{S}aP + tiP = kirt + í + a + ti = k\bar{r}t$  (8.2.76) +  $é + a + ti$  (7.3.84) =  $k\bar{r}t-áy-a-ti$  (6.1.78) 'extols, celebrates'.

### 7.1.102 uT óṣṭh-ya-pūrva-sya

The substitute phoneme short u(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel long  $\bar{f}$ (T) of a verbal stem 100] preceded by a labial (consonant: óṣṭh-ya-purva-sya).

$p\bar{f} + Ktá- = pur + Ktá- = pūr-tá-$  (8.2.57,76) 'filled up';  $p\bar{f} + saN + \acute{S}aP + tiP = pú-pur-sa + a + ti$  (6.1.9) =  $pú-pūr-ṣa-ti$  (8.2.76; 3.59) 'desires to fill'.

### 7.1.103 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute short vowel u(T) 102] variously replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel long  $\bar{f}$  of verbal stems 100].

This is in contexts other than those specified above.

1. when  $\bar{f}$  is preceded by a consonant other than a labial:  $t\bar{f} + KiN$  (3.2.171) =  $tá-t\bar{f} + i$  (6.1.8; 7.4.66); =  $tá-tur-i-$ ; +  $Kí = ta-tur-í$ .
2. Does not operate when  $\bar{f}$  is preceded by a labial:  $p\bar{f} + KiN + tamaP = pa-p\bar{f} + i\bar{T} + tama = pá-pr-i-tama-$ ; but  $pá-pur-i/pa-pur-í$  (3.2.171).

### 7.2.1 siC-i vřd-dhi-h parasmai-padé-ṣu

Substitute vowels denoted by the t.t. vřd-dh-i (1.1.1 = ā, ai, au) replace [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ř, ǵ 1.1.3) of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker] siC (3.1.44), co-occurring with Parasmaipadá l-substitutes.

By metarule 1.1.3 Vřddhi and Guṇá used by themselves imply the substituenda as vowels represented by the siglum iK. So the ánga vowels involved are i, u, ř or ǵ.

$\acute{a}T+ci+siC+tiP = \acute{a}-cai-ṣ-IT-t$  (3.4.100; 7.3.96; 8.3.59) =  $\acute{a}-cai-ṣ-I-t$  'has heaped up'; similarly  $pū+IUN = pū+siC+iT+ṣ+IT-t$  (35; 3.96) =  $\acute{a}-pāu-i-Ṭ-I-t$  (8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}-pāu-I-t$ ;  $kṛ+siC = \acute{a}-kṛ+siC+IT-t = \acute{a}-kār-ṣ-I-t$ , but before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes.  $cya+siC+ta = \acute{a}-cyo-ṣ-ta$  (3.84; 8.3.59; 4.41);  $kṛ+siC+ta = \acute{a}-kṛ-Ṭ-ta$  (1.2.12; 8.2.27) =  $\acute{a}-kṛ-ta$ .

### 7.2.2 aT-aḥ r-lá=anta-sya

[Substitute vřddhi 1 (ā 1.1.1) replaces] the short vowel a(T) [of a verbal ánga 6.4.1] ending in (° anta-sya) the phonemes /r/ or /l/ [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker siC followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

$kṣar+siC+t = \acute{a}-kṣār+iT-siC+IT-t = \acute{a}-kṣār-i-Ṭ-I-t$  (8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}-kṣār-I-t$  'has trickled or oozed'; similarly  $jval+siC+t = \acute{a}-jval-I-t$  'has burnt'. Prior exception to 7 below.

### 7.2.3 <sup>1</sup>vádÁ-<sup>2</sup>vrájÁ-<sup>3</sup>hāL-anta-sya aC-aḥ

[Substitute vřddhi 1] replaces the vowel (aC) [of the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] vād- 'speak' (I 1058), vráj- 'wander; (I 272) and those ending in a consonant (hāL-anta-sya) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker siC co-occurring with Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

The expression [aC] here, like [aT in the preceding rule] is to remove the constraint of metarule 1.1.3 which stipulates that the substituenda are the vowels comprised by the siglum iK. [vād-, vráj-] though ending in a consonant, are included to block out the option introduced under 7.

1.  $vād+siC+t = \acute{a}-vād+iT-siC+IT-t$  (35; 3.96) =  $\acute{a}-vād-i-Ṭ-I-t$  (8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}-vād-I-t$ .
2.  $\acute{a}-vrāj=I-t$ .  $pac+siC = \acute{a}-pāk-ṣ-I-t$  (3.96; 8.2.30) 'has cooked';  $bhid+siC = \acute{a}-bhait-ṣ-I-t$  (8.4.55) 'has broken';  $rudh+siC = \acute{a}-raut-ṣ-I-t$  'has blocked'.

## 7.2.4 ná=iṭ-i

[Vṛddhi (1.1.1) 1] does not (ná) replace [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel 3 of verbal stems ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 3 before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker siC 1] co-occurring with [initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ [followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

$div+siC = \acute{a}-div+iṭ-siC+IT-t$  (35.3.96) =  $\acute{a}-dev-i-ṭ-I-t$  (3.86; 8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}-dev-I-t$  'has sported or gambled'; similarly:  $muṣ+siC = \acute{a}-moṣ-I-t$  'has stolen', but from stems ending in vowels, cf. 1 above.

## 7.2.5 <sup>1</sup>h-<sup>2</sup>m-<sup>3</sup>y=anta=<sup>4</sup>kṣaṇa-<sup>5</sup>śvása-<sup>6</sup>jāgr-<sup>7</sup>ñi-<sup>8</sup>śvi=<sup>9</sup>éT=IT-ām

[Vṛddhi (1.1.1) 1] does not 4 replace the vowel 3 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes /h, m, y/ as also of kṣaṇ- 'injure' (VIII 3), śvása- 'breathe' (II 60), jāgr- 'wake up' (II 63) and those [ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] ñiC, as also śvi- 'swell' (I 1059) and those with marker E(T) as IT [when first introduced in the Dhṛp.] [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker siC 1 co-occurring with initial increment iṭ 4 followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

1. -h:  $grah+siC+t = \acute{a}-grah+i-s-I-t$  (35, 3.96) =  $\acute{a}-grah-i-ṭ-I-t$  (8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}-grah-I-t$  (6.1.101) 'has grasped or seized'; similarly: 2.  $syam+siC+t = \acute{a}syam-I-t$  'has made a sound'. 3.  $\acute{a}-vyay-I-t$  'has spent money'. 4.  $\acute{a}-kṣaṇ-I-t$  'has injured'. 5.  $\acute{a}-śvas-I-t$  'has breathed'. 6.  $jāgr+siC = \acute{a}-jāgar-I-t$  (3.84) 'woke up'. 7.  $\acute{a}+ān+ñiC+siC+t$  (6.4.72) =  $\acute{a}T+ān-e+i-s-I-t = \acute{a}n-ay-i-ṭ-I-t$  (6.1.90, 78; 8.2.28) =  $\acute{a}n-ay-I-t$  (3.1.41 blocking 3.1.48) 'caused to ebb'. This is restricted to the three other verbal stems *dhvan-*, *il-*, *ard-* in the domain of Chāndas only; elsewhere affix [Cañ] replaces [siC]. 8.  $śvi+siC+t = \acute{a}-śvay-I-t$  (3.84) 'has swollen'. 9.  $rag-É+i-s-I-t = \acute{a}-rag-I-t$  'has doubled'. Examples 1, 5 and 9 are exceptions to 7 below.

## 7.2.6 ūṛṇ-ó-te-r vibhāṣā

[Vṛddhi 1 does not 4] optionally (vibhāṣā) [replace the vowel 3 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ūṛṇu- 'cover' (II 30) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist marker siC 1 co-occurring with initial increment iṭ 4 followed by Parasmaipadā l-substitutes 1].

$prá+ūrṇu+iṭ-siC+IT-t = pra+\acute{a}T-ūrṇu+i-ṭ-I-t = praūrṇav-I-t$  (3.84)/ $praūrṇāv-I-t$ /  
 $praūrṇuv-I-t$  (1.2.3; 6.4.77).

### 7.2.7 aT-ah hál-āde-r laghó-ḥ

[Vḡddhi (1.1.1) 1 does not 4 optionally 6 replace] the light vowel (laghó-ḥ) a(T) [of an ánga 6.4.1] beginning with a consonant (hál-āde-ḥ) [before Aorist marker siC 1, co-occurring with initial increment iT 4 followed by Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 1].

*ran+iT-siC+IT-t* = *á-ran-i-t/á-rān-i-t* 'has sounded', but by 3 above: *á-vāḍ-i-t*, *á-vrāj-i-t*; by 2 above *á-juḍ-i-t*; but in the case of a heavy syllable: *á-takṣ-i-t* 'has fashioned'.

### 7.2.8 ná=iT vaś-i kṛt-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iT is not (ná) [inserted at the head of] a kṛt [affix 3.1.1] (3.1.93ff.) [beginning with semivowels] and voiced stops (vaś) excluding /y/.  
Exception to 35 below.

1. *īś+varāC* (3.2.175) = *īś-varā-* 'ruler, lord, god'. 2. *dīp+rá* (3.2.167) = *dīp-rá-* 'shining'. 3. *bhas+manin* = *bhás-man-* (3.2.75) 'ashes'. 4. *yāc+ná+TāP* (3.3.90, 4.1.4) = *yāc-nā-* 'begging'.

Before other kṛt affixes: *īś-i-tum*, *dīp-i-tum*, *bhás-i-tum*, *yāc-i-tum*. Before non-kṛt affixes, however, 35 below operates: *rud+IT+ivá/má* = *ru-rud-i-vá/má* (6.1.8; 7.4.60).

### 7.2.9 <sup>1</sup>ti-<sup>2</sup>tu-<sup>3</sup>tra-<sup>4</sup>ta-<sup>5</sup>tha-<sup>6</sup>sí-<sup>7</sup>sú-<sup>8</sup>sára-<sup>9</sup>ka-<sup>10</sup>sé-su ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT is not inserted 8] also (ca) [at the head of kṛt 8 affixes 3.1.1] °-ti-, °-tu-, °-tra-, °-ta-, °-tha-, °-sí-, °-sú-, °-sára-, °-ka- and °-sá-.

Except for the first and third, all the remaining affixes are Uṇādi.

1. °-ti- = KtiN/KtiC: *tan+KtiC* = *tan-tí-* 'cord, line, string', but *tán-i-tum*; *dīp+KtiN* = *dīp-ti-* 'lustre', but *dīp-i-tum*.
2. °-tu(N uṇ 1.69): *sac+tu(N)* = *sák-tu-* 'barley meal', but *sác-i-tum* 'to associate with'.
3. °-tra (ṢtraN uṇ 4.158): *tan+ṢtraN* = *tán-tra-* (f. *tan-tr-f*): *tán-i-tum* 'loom/to extend'; *pat+ṢtraN* (3.2.182) *-pát-tra-* 'vehicle, cart', but *pát-i-tum*.
4. °-ta(N uṇ): *has+taN* (uṇ 3.86) = *hás-ta-* 'hand', but *hás-i-tum*.
5. °-tha (KthaN uṇ 2.2): *kuṣ+KthaN* = *kú-ṣtha-* 'n. of a plant', but *kós-i-tum*.
6. °sí (Ksí uṇ 3.155): *kuṣ+Ksí* = *kuṣ-sí* (8.2.36) = *kuk-sí-* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'stomach'.
7. °sú (súK uṇ 3.157): *iṣ+suK* = *ik-sú-* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'sugar-cane', but *éṣ-i-tum*.
8. °sára (uṇ 3.70): *aś+sára-* = *aṣ-sára-* (8.2.36) = *ak-ṣára-* (8.2.41; 3.59) 'syllable' but *ás-i-tum*.
9. °-ka (kaN uṇ 3.43): *śal+kaN* = *śál-ka-* 'chip', but *śál-i-tum*.

10. °-sá- (uN 3.62): *vad+śá-* = *vat-śá-* 'calf', but *vád-i-tum*; *han+śá-* = *ham-śá-* (8.3.24) 'swan'.

Exceptions to this rule (by vārttika): °-KtiN: *ni-gḥ-i-ti-* (37) 'restraint'; *upa-sniḥ-i-ti-* 'becoming wet, moistening'; *ni-kūc-i-ti-* 'contraction'; *ni-pāth-i-ti-* 'study, recitation'.

## 7.2.10 eká=aC-aḥ upa-deś-é=án-udātt-āt

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is not inserted 8 at the head of an affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] a monosyllabic (ekáC-aḥ) verbal stem bearing a low-pitched (ánudātta) accent when first introduced (in the Dhṛp. upa-deś-é).

By 35 below this initial increment is generally inserted at the head of an árdhahātuka affix beginning with all consonants excluding the semivowel y-°. The present rule is a prior exception to that and blocks this insertion. Such verbal stems are I 906-9,912; 946-1014; II 1-7; 31-57,59; III 1-13; IV 26-40,57-91; V 1-17; VI 1-6; 109-42; VII 1-7,12-17; VIII 10; IX 1-9,29-36. There are, however, some exceptions which are dealt with in separate rules. Kāśikā and Siddhanta-Kaumudī provide special kārīkās to enumerate these for ease of reference. A few general rules may be specified here. Verbal stems end either in a vowel or a consonant. Of those ending in vowels, all except those ending in short °a- are án-udātta and so on.

*pūN pav-an-e* IX 12 has the udātta accent and so we have *á-pāv-i-ṣ-am* in the Aorist (IUN) and *páv-i-tum*, but from *DU-ky-N kár-aṇ-e* (VIII 10) which is ánudātta the corresponding forms are *á-kār-ṣ-am/kár-tum*.

## 7.2.11 <sup>1</sup>śrí=<sup>2</sup>uK-aḥ K-IT-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is not inserted 8 at the head of an affix 3.1.1] with marker K as IT [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] śrí- 'lean or depend upon' (I 945) and those [which end in 1.1.72] a vowel denoted by the siglum uK (= u,ṛ,ḷ).

1. *śrí-N sevā-y-ām* bears the udātta accent but the initial increment is blocked only for K-IT affixes after this stem: *śrí+Ktá* = *śrí-tá*; °+*Ktvá* = *śrí-tvá*, but *śrí+tfC* = *śrí+iṭ-tf-* = *śre-i-tf-* (3.84) = *śray-i-tf-*; *śray-i-tum*.
2. °uK: *yú mīśr-aṇ-e* (II 23)+*Ktá* = *yu-tá*; +*Ktvá* = *yu-tvá*; +*tumuN* = *yáv-i-tum*; *lūN chéd-an-e*+*Ktá/Ktvá* = *lū-ná* (8.2.44)/*lū-tvá*; *vṛN var-aṇ-e*+*Ktá/Ktvá* = *vṛ-tá*/*vṛ-tvá*; +*tumuN* = *vár-i-tum*/*vár-i-tum* (38).

### 7.2.12 saN-i <sup>1</sup>gráh-<sup>2</sup>gúh-os=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̣ is not inserted 8 at the head of the desiderative affix 3.1.1] saN also (ca) [when introduced after 3.1.1 the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] gráh- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61) or gúh- 'hide' (I 944) as well as (ca) [after those ending in 1.1.72 vowels denoted by the siglum uK 11].

1. *gráh+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jí-grah-sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.60,62,79) = *jígrh-sa-ti* (6.1.16,97) = *jí-gr̥dh-sa-ti* (8.2.31) = *jíghr-k-ṣa-ti* (8.2.37,41; 3.59).
  2. Similarly: *guh+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jú-ghuk-ṣa-ti*.
  3. \*uK: *rú+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *rú-rū-ṣa-ti* (6.4.16; 8.3.59).
- śrf- (11) is not included in this rule because of the option in 49 below.

### 7.2.13 <sup>1</sup>kṛ-<sup>2</sup>ṣṛ-<sup>3</sup>bhṛ-<sup>4</sup>vṛ-<sup>5</sup>stu-<sup>6</sup>dru-<sup>7</sup>sru-<sup>8</sup>śruv-aḥ Iṭ̣-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̣ is not inserted 8 at the head of l-substitutes of] Iṭ̣ (Perfect) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10), ṣṛ- 'move, flow' (I 982, III 17), bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5), vṛ-Ñ 'cover' (V 8), vṛ-Ñ 'choose, share' (IX 38), stu- 'praise' (II 34), dru- 'run' (I 992), sru- 'run, ooze' (I 987) and śru- 'hear' (I 989).

The verbal stems listed above, except for the cover term [vṛ] are all ánudātta while [vṛ-Ñ, vṛ-Ñ] are both udātta. In the former case the constraint is with reference to the nature of the stem (10) and with the latter to the affix (11). 1. *kṛ+Iṭ̣+vá/má* = *ca-kṛ-vá/má*; 2. *sa-ṣṛ-vá/má*; 3. *ba-bhṛ-vá/má*; 4. *va-vṛ-vá/má*; *va-vṛ-váhe/máhe*; 5. *tu-stu-vá/má* (4.61, 8.3.59); 6. *du-dru-vá/má*; 7. *su-sru-vá/má*; 8. *śu-śru-vá/má*.

The constraint here is limited only to K-IT l-substitutes with reference to the general rule 11 above. For the stems [stu-, dru-, sru-, śru-] the option provided by 63 below is also blocked by this prior exception.

### 7.2.14 <sup>1</sup>śví=<sup>2</sup>īṭ̣=IT-aḥ niṣṭhā-y-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̣ is not inserted 8 at the head of] niṣṭhā (Ktá-, KtávatU 1.1.26) [affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] śví- 'swell' (I 1059) and those with marker long ī(T) as IT [when first introduced in the Dh̥p. 10].

1. *ṬU-O-śví+Ktá-* = *śuí+tá* (6.1.15) = *śu-ná-* (8.2.45) = *śū-ná-* (6.4.2) 'swollen'.
2. *O-laj-ī vr̥ddā-y-ām* (VI 10)+*Ktá* = *lag+ná* (8.2.30,45).

The word [niṣṭhā-y-ām] recurs in the following rules up to 35 below.

### 7.2.15 ya-sya vibhāṣā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 after which 1.1.67 insertion of the initial increment] has been made optional (yá-sya vibhāṣā).

Rule 45 below prescribes this option for the verbal stem [dhū-Ñ] 'shake, agitate' and for those with marker long Ū(T) as IT: 1. *ví+dhū+Ktá-* = *ví-dhū-ta-* 'shaken or tossed about' (6.2.49 for accent). 2. *gúh-Ū sam-vár-aṇ-e* (I 944)+*Ktá* = *gudh+Ktá-* (8.2.31) = *gudh-dhá* (8.2.40) = *gudh+dhá-* (8.4.41) = *guḥ=dhá* (8.3.13) = *gū-dhá-* (6.3.111) 'hidden, secreted'.

### 7.2.16 āT=IT=as=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] with marker Ā(T) as IT also [when first introduced in the Dhp. 10].

*ÑI-míd-Ā sneh-an-e* (I 779)+*Ktá* = *míd+tá* = *min-ná* (8.2.42).

### 7.2.17 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>bhāvá=<sup>2</sup>ādi-kar-māṇ-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1] optionally (vibhāṣā) when [introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 with marker Ā as IT 15 when first introduced in the Dhp. 10] to denote an impersonal (bhāvá-°) or inceptive meaning (°-ādi-kar-māṇ-i).

The present rule blocks the operation of 15 above in the impersonal and inceptive meanings and permits the optional insertion of the initial increment.

*ÑI-mid-Ā+Ktá* = *min-ná-m/med-i-tá-m* (1.2.19, 7.3.86) *an-éna; pra-min-ná-/pra-med-i-tá-* (3.4.71).

### 7.2.18 <sup>1</sup>kṣub-dhá-<sup>2</sup>svān-tá-<sup>3</sup>dhvān-tá-<sup>4</sup>lag-ná-<sup>5</sup>mliṣ-ṭá-<sup>6</sup>ví-rib-dhá-<sup>7</sup>phāṇ-ṭá-<sup>8</sup>bā-dhá-n-i <sup>1</sup>manthá-<sup>2</sup>mánas=<sup>3</sup>támas=<sup>4</sup>saktá=<sup>5</sup>á-vi-spaṣ-ṭa-<sup>6</sup>svará=<sup>7</sup>án-ā-yās-a-<sup>8</sup>bhṛṣe-su

The expressions 1. kṣub-dhá-, 2. svān-tá-, 3. dhvān-tá-, 4. lag-ná-, 5. mliṣ-ṭá-, 6. ví-rib-dhá-, 7. phāṇ-ṭá- and 8. bā-dhá- are introduced [with affix Ktá 14, not co-occurring with initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 8] to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 1. a mixed beverage or churning rod, 2. mind, 3. darkness, 4. attached, 5. indistinct, 6. tone, 7. made without effort and 8. strong, vehement.



In other senses the expressions are: *kṣubh-i-tá-* 'stirred'; *śvan-i-tá-* 'sounded', *dhvan-i-tá-* 'indicated, suggested', *lag-i-tá-* 'adhered', *mlecch-i-tá-* 'spoken wrongly or indistinctly', *vī-rebh-i-tá-* 'chattered', *phāṇ-i-tá-* 'inspissated or condensed juice of sugar-cane' and *bāh-i-tá-* 'exerted'.

The irregularly derived forms either constrain the meaning or undergo special modifications not regulated by rules framed: In the case of verbal stems *mlecch-*, *rebh-* the stem vowels are shortened (by 1.1.48); in the case of *lag-*, *Ktá*→*Kná*.

### 7.2.19 <sup>1</sup>dhṛṣi-<sup>2</sup>śás-<sub>1</sub> vaiyāt-y-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhá 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] *dhṛṣ-* 'dare' (V 22) and *śás-* 'hurt, injure' (I 763) to denote insolence (*vai-yāt-y-e*).

1. *ñI-dhṛṣ-Ā prā-galbh-y-e+Ktá-* = *dhṛṣ-tá-* (8.4.41) 'impudent, audacious', but *dhars-i-tá-* (1.2.29) 'over-powered, ill-treated'. The operation of 16 above is restricted by this rule in the specific sense of 'insolence' only.
2. *vi-śas+Ktá-* = *vi-śas-tá-* 'rude, ill-mannered' but *vī-śas-i-ta-* 'cut up, dissected'. This stem is also introduced with marker U as *ñt*: *śás-U himśá-y-ām* and by 56 below and 15 above both forms are realized, but the present rule delimits their use in specific senses.

### 7.2.20 dṛ-dhá-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sthū-lá-<sup>2</sup>bál-ay-oḥ

The expression *dṛ-dhá-* is introduced [without initial increment iṭ 8 inserted at the head of affix 3.1.1 *Ktá* 14, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1 *dṛmḥ-* 'grow' (I 770)] to denote 'stout' (*sthū-lá-°*) and 'strong' (*°-bálay-oḥ*).

*dṛmḥ+Ktá-* = *dṛḥḥ+Ktá-* = *dṛdh+dhá-* = *dṛdha+dhdá-* = *dṛḥ-dhá-*. In other senses: *dṛmḥ-i-tá/dṛh-i-tá-* from the twin verbal stems *dṛnh-/dṛh-* (I 770/769). The irregular derivative cited in this rule presupposes a *ḥ* replacement of phonemes /nh/ in the first stem and of /h/ in the second and substitute [dh] replacing [t] of the affix. The derivation shown above becomes defective in deriving further derivatives of [dṛ-dhá-] on account of the governing rule 8.2.1 in *dṛ-dhá+imániC* (5.1.123) = *dra-dḥ-imán-* by 6.4.161 which stipulates the restriction that /ra/ replaces /ṛ/ preceded by a consonant only when it is a light syllable, but by metarule 8.2.1 *dṛdh+dhdá-* = *drḥ-dhá-* by 8.3.13 does not fulfil the conditions laid down by 6.4.61, and /ra/ replacement of [ṛ] is blocked. Hence the need for special introduction of the finished form without subjecting it to normal derivation.

## 7.2.21 pra-bh-aú pari-vṛ-ḍhá-ḥ

The expression *pari-vṛ-ḍhá-* is introduced as a fully formed one to denote ‘a sovereign, king’ (*pra-bh-aú*) [derived with affix *Ktá* introduced after the verbal ánga 6.4.1 *vṛmh-/vṛh-* (I 772, 221) without the initial increment *iṭ* 8].

Its derivation is similar to that of [*ḍṛ-ḍhá-*] above. In other senses: *pári-vṛmh-i-ta/vṛh-i-ta-* ‘increased, augmented’. Cf. *pari-vraḍh-imán-* (6.4.61) ‘capability’.

## 7.2.22 <sup>1</sup>kṛcch-rá=<sup>2</sup>gáh-anay-oh káṣ-ah

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iṭ* is not inserted 8 at the head of *niṣṭhá* 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] *káṣ-* ‘rub’ (I 716) to denote ‘difficult’ (*kṛcch-rá-°*) or ‘impenetrable, impervious’ (*°-gáh-anay-oh*).

*káṣ+Ktá-* = *kaṣ-tá-* (8.4.41): *kaṣ-tá-ḥ agní-ḥ* ‘fire is troublesome’ or *kaṣ-tá-m vana-m* ‘the forest is impenetrable’. But *kaṣ-i-tá-m su-várṇa-m* ‘gold has been tested on the touchstone’.

## 7.2.23 ghúṣ-ÍR á-vi-śabd-an-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iṭ* is not inserted 8 at the head of *niṣṭhá* 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] *ghúṣ-ÍR* (I 683) when the sense is ‘not to proclaim’ (*á-vi-śabd-an-e*).

*ghuṣ+Ktá+TāP* = *ghuṣ-ṭ-ā* (8.4.41) *rājju-ḥ* ‘the rope has been rubbed’; similarly *ghuṣ-ṭ-auṣ pād-au* ‘the two feet have been massaged’; but from the verbal stem *ghuṣIR vi-śabd-an-e* (X 187)+*Ktá-* = *ghuṣ-i-tá-* ‘proclaimed, declared, sounded’.

## 7.2.24 árd-e-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sám=<sup>2</sup>ní=<sup>3</sup>ví-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 *iṭ* is not inserted 8 at the head of *niṣṭhá* 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] *árd-* ‘go, beg’ (I 56), co-occurring with the preverbs *sám-°*, *ní-°* and *ví-°*.

*sám+ard+Ktá* = *sám-arṇ-ṇa* (8.2.42; 4.2) = *sám-arṇa-* (8.4.64) ‘wounded, injured’; similarly *ny-arṇa-* ‘dissolved’; *vṛ-arṇa-* ‘oppressed, harassed’, but *ard-i-tá-* ‘asked, requested’.

### 7.2.25 abhé-s=ca ā-vi-dūr-y-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̥ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga 6.4.1 ārd- 'beg, request, ask' (I 56) 24] co-occurring with the preverb abhí-° to denote 'proximity' (ā-vi-dūr-y-e).

*abhí+árd+Ktá+TāP* = *abhy-arṇ-ā senā* 'the army is in the vicinity'; *abhy-arṇ-ā śarāt* 'autumn is approaching', but *abhy-ārd-i-ta-* 'afflicted, distressed'.

### 7.2.26 Né-r adhy-áy-an-e vṛt-tá-m

The expression vṛt-tá- is introduced [without initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̥ being inserted at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2] the causative (Né-ḥ) [āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem 3.1.1 vṛt- 'turn' (I 795)] to indicate 'completed a course of study' (adhy-áy-an-e).

*vṛt+Ni(C)+Ktá* = *vṛt+θ+td-* in this particular sense, but in other senses:  
*vṛt+NiC+iṭ̥+Ktá* = *vart-i-tá-* (= *vart-θ-i-tá-* 6.4.52) 'turned'.

### 7.2.27 vā <sup>1</sup>dān-tá-<sup>2</sup>śān-tá-<sup>3</sup>pūr-ṇá-<sup>4</sup>das-tá-<sup>5</sup>spāṣ-ṭá-<sup>6</sup>chan-ná-<sup>7</sup>jña-p-tá-ḥ

The expressions dān-tá- 'subdued', śān-tá- 'calm', pūr-ṇá- 'full, filled up', das-tá- 'exhausted', spāṣ-ṭá- 'manifested', chan-ná- 'covered' and jña-p-tá- 'informed' are introduced optionally (vā) [without initial increment 1.46 iṭ̥ being inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affix Ktá- introduced after 3.1.2 the causative stems 26 of the corresponding verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1 dām- 'tame, subdue' (IV 94), śam- 'be quiet' (IV 92, X 156), pṛ- 'fill' (III 4, X 15), das- 'waste' (IV 104), spāṣ- 'perceive, observe' (I 936, X 141), chād- 'cover' (I 851, X 290) and jña-p- 'inform' (X 81)].

*dam+NiC+Ktá* = *dān-tá-* (6.4.15)/*dam-i-tá-*; similarly *śān-tá-/śam-i-tá-*;  
*pūr-ṇá-/pūr-i-tá-*; *das-tá-/dās-i-tá-*; *spāṣ-ṭá-/spāṣ-i-tá-*; *cha-ná-/chād-i-tá-*;  
*jñap-tá-/jñap-i-tá-* (6.4.92).

### 7.2.28 <sup>1</sup>rúṣi=<sup>2</sup>ámĀ-<sup>3</sup>tvára-<sup>4</sup>sám-ghuṣa=<sup>5</sup>ā-svan-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ̥ is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhā 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] rūṣ- 'be angry' (IV 120), ám- 'be ill, ail' (I 493), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812), sám+ghuṣ- 'proclaim' (I 683) and ā+svan- 'resound, echo' (I 879) [optionally 17].

*ruṣ+Ktá-/ruṣ+iT+Ktá-* = *ruṣ-tá-/ruṣ-i-tá-*; *abhy-ān-tá-* (6.4.15; 8.4.58)/*abhy-am-i-tá-*; *tvár+Ktá/tvár+iT+Ktá* = *tūr-ṇá-* (6.4.20; 8.2.42)/*tvar-i-tá-*; *sám-ghuṣ-ṭa-/sám=ghuṣ-i-tá-*; *ā-svān-tá-/ā-svan-i-ta-(kartár-i)*, *ā-svān-ta-/ā-svan-i-ta-(kárman-i)*. The present rule becomes necessary for the optional insertion of iT in order to block the operation of 15 above, since option for [rúṣ-] is prescribed by 48; similarly for [tvár-] this blocks out the constraint of 16 above; for [sám-ghuṣ-] 23 becomes inoperative, while for [svan-] co-occurring with [āN] the restriction of 18 becomes inoperative.

### 7.2.29 hṛṣe-r loma-su

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT is not inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhá 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] hṛṣ- 'rejoice' (I 741) with reference to hair (lóma-su).

*hṛṣ-Ktá+Śi* = *hṛṣ-tá-n-i lómān-i* (6.4.8) 'hair standing on end, horripulated'. There are two verbal stems involved here: *hṛṣ-Ú álīk-e* I 741 *hṛṣ.Á tús-ṭ-au* IV 119; the first one with marker [U] is necessarily an-iT before Ktá by 11 above while the other is not. The present option applies to both. When the reference is not to hair, the seT is associated with IV 119 and the an-iT form with I 741: *hṛṣ-i-tá-h deva-dattá-h* 'D. is pleased' but *hṛṣ-tá-h* 'D. has lied'.

### 7.2.30 ápa-ci-ta-s=ca

The expression ápa-ci-ta- 'honored, respected' is introduced [optionally 27, without initial increment 1.1.46 iT being inserted 8 at the head of niṣṭhá 14 affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1 cáy- (I 929) co-occurring with preverb ápa-° 'to honor, respect'].

*ápa-cāy+Ktā-* = *ápa-ci-ta-* (with irregular allomorph *ci-* for *cāy-*)/*ápa-cāy-i-ta-*.

### 7.2.31 hru hvare-s=chándas-i

In the Chándas the substitute element hru- replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 verbal ánga 6.4.1] hvṛ- (I 978) [be crooked' before 1.1.67 niṣṭhá 14 affixes 3.1.1].

*hvṛ+Ktá* (10) = *hru-tá-* 'crooked'; in non-Chándas: *hvṛ-tá-*.

### 7.2.32 á-pari-hv̥-ta-s ca

[In the domain of Chándas 31] the expression á-pari-hv̥-ta- 'not endangered' is introduced.

Exception to 31 above.

### 7.2.33 sóm-e hva-r-itá-h

[In the Chándas 31] the expression hvar-i-tá- is introduced with reference to Sóma.

Guṇá and initial increment iṭ are associated with the affix Ktá: hv̥+iṭ+ktá- = hvar-i-tá-: *mā nah sómo hvar-i-tá-h* 'let not Soma mislead us'.

7.2.34 <sup>1</sup>gras-i-tá-<sup>2</sup>skabh-i-tá-<sup>3</sup>stabh-i-tá-<sup>4</sup>út-tabh-i-ta=  
<sup>5</sup>cat-tá-<sup>6</sup>vī-kas-ta-<sup>7</sup>vi-sas-tf̥-<sup>8</sup>sāms-tf̥-<sup>9</sup>sās-tf̥-<sup>10</sup>taru-tf̥-  
<sup>11</sup>tarū-tf̥-<sup>12</sup>váruṭ-<sup>13</sup>varū-tf̥-<sup>14</sup>váru-trī-r=<sup>15</sup>új-jval-i-ti-  
<sup>16</sup>kṣár-i-ti-<sup>17</sup>kṣám-i-ti-<sup>18</sup>vám-i-ti=<sup>19</sup>ám-i-ti=itica

[In the Chándas 31] the expressions beginning with gras-i-tá- 'devoured' and ending with 18 am-i-ti 'goes, ails, etc.' are introduced as fully derived forms.

1. Initial increment iṭ is inserted at the head of [Ktá] introduced after the verbal stems *grás-U* (I 661), *skánbh-Ú* (IX 8), *stánbh-Ú* (IX 7), whereas it is blocked by 56 and 15: *gras-i-tá-* 'devoured'; *ska-bh-i-tá-* (6.4.24) 'arrested'; *staṭbh-i-tá-* 'fixed, supported'. In non-Chándas *gras-tá-*, *skab-dhá-* (8.2.40; 4.53), *stab-dhá-*.
2. Initial increment iṭ is blocked after verbal stems *cát-Ē* (I 918), *kás-Á* (I 913, II 14): *cat+Ktá+TāP* = *cat-t-á varṣ-éna vi-dyút* 'the lightning is hidden by the rain'; in non-Chándas *cat-i-tá-*. *uttānāy-ā hṛd-aya-m yád ví-kas-ta-m* (MS 2.7.4) 'the heart of one lying on the back is rent asunder': non-Chándas *ví-kas-i-ta-* 'blown'.
3. The initial increment iṭ is blocked in the case of affix [tf̥C] introduced after the verbal stems *sāns-Ú* (I 764), *sās-Ú* (I 763), *sās-Ú* (II 66): *vi+sas+tf̥C* = *vi-sas-tf̥-* 'dissector'; *sāms+tf̥C* = *sāms-tf̥-* 'a reciter'; *sās-tf̥-* 'instructor'; in non-Chándas *vi-sas-i-tf̥-*, *sāms-i-tf̥-*, *sās-i-tf̥-*.
4. Initial increment uṭ/uṭ are inserted at the head of affix [°-tf̥C] introduced after the verbal *ángas-tf̥-* (I 1018), *v̥r-N* (V 8), *v̥r-N* (IX 38) instead of iṭ/iṭ: *tar-u-tf̥-/tar-ū-tf̥-* 'who crosses', *vár-u-tr-/var-ū-tf̥-* 'chooser/protector'; in non-Chándas: *tar-i-tf̥-/tar-ī-tf̥-*; *var-i-tf̥-/var-ī-tf̥-*. *vár-u-tr+NIP* (4.1.5) = *vár-u-trN=I* = *vár-u-tr-I* 'female protector, guardian goddess'. The long increment is by 38 below. It may be noted by the accentuation of this last form that the affix is [trN] instead of [tf̥C] in the masculine form.
5. In the remaining five forms substitute phoneme /i/ replaces *ángas-* final /a/ before

[tiP] or substitute Ø for class-marker [ŚaP] and initial increment iṬ inserted at the head of [tiP]:  $\acute{u}d+j\acute{v}al+\acute{Ś}aP+tiP = \acute{u}j-j\acute{v}al-i-ti$  (8.4.40) 'flares'; similarly  $kṣár-i-ti/kṣám-i-ti/\acute{a}m-i-ti$ ; alternatively  $kṣár+Ø+iṬ+ti$ ;  $\acute{u}j-j\acute{v}al-a-ti/kṣár-a-ti/kṣám-a-ti/vám-a-ti/\acute{a}m-a-ti$  in non-Chándas.

### 7.2.35 árdha-dhātuka-sya iṬ=vāL-āde-h

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted at the head of an árdha-dhātuka (3.4.114) affix beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-° (vāL=āde-h).

This is a governing rule. The expression [árdha-dhātuka-] recurs in the following sūtra-s up to 76 below, while [vāL-ādi-] recurs up to 79. The repetition of the word [iṬ] here while it was recurring from 8 above is to block out the privative particle [ná] from that sūtra.

$lā+tf/tumN/távya = lā+iṬ+tf/tum/távya = lav-i-tf/láv-i-tum/lav-i-távya$  (3.84; 6.1.78). But  $\acute{a}s+Ø^1+te = \acute{a}s-te$  'sits' since the affix is sārva dhātuka.

### 7.2.36 <sup>1</sup>snú-<sup>2</sup>krámo-r an-ātmanepada-ni-mit-t-é

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-° 35, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] <sup>1</sup>snú- 'ooze' (II 28) and <sup>2</sup>krám- 'tread' (I 502) when they do not cause the introduction of Ātmanepadā (middle) l-substitutes.

Ātmanepadā l-substitutes are occasioned where the impersonal (bhāv-é) or passive (kármaṇ-i) constructions, or in the active construction when reflexive (karma-kartár-i 3.1.62) or reciprocal (karma-vy-ati-hār-é 1.3.13-4) usage are involved.

1.  $pra+snú+tfC = pra-snú+iṬ+tf = pra-snav-i-tf/-távya-/pra-snáv-i-tum$  'to pour out', but from  $snú-té$ :  $pra-sno-tf/-távya-/pra-sno-tum$ .
2.  $kram-$ :  $krám-a-ti$   $pra-kram-i-tf/-távya-/pra-krám-i-tum$ ;  $krám-a-te$ :  $pra-kran-tf/-távya-/pra-krán-tum$  (8.3.23; 4.58).

### 7.2.37 gráh-aḥ=á-IIṬ-i dīrghá-h

A substitute long (dīrgha-h vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of árdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels except y-°, and consonants (vāL-ādi) 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] gráh- 'seize, grasp' (IX 61), excluding l-substitutes of IIṬ.

$gráh+tfC/távya/tumN = grah+iṬ+tfC/távya/tumN = grah-i-tf-/grah-i-távya-$ ,

*grāh-I-tum*. But *grāh+IIṬ* = *grāh+IIṬ+vā/mā* (6.1.16) = *ja-grāh-i-vā/mā* (6.1.8; 7.4.60,62)

### 7.2.38 ${}^1vṛ=2\bar{r}T$ -ah vā

[A substitute long vowel 37] optionally (vā) [replaces the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of ārdhadrhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y-° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 626.4.1]  $vṛ-\tilde{N}$  'cover' (V 8)  $vṛ-\tilde{N}$  'choose' (IX 38) and those [ending in 1.1.72] long  $\bar{r}(T)$  [excluding those of IIṬ 37].

1.  $vṛ-\tilde{N}+tṣC/tādvya/tumN$  =  $vṛ+iṬ+trC/tavaya/tumN$  = *var-i-tṣ-/tādvya-/vār-i-tum*; *var-I+tṣ-/tādvya-/vār-I-tum*. But  $vṛ-\tilde{N}+IIṬ+vā/mā$  = *va-var-i-vā/mā*;  $prā-vṛ+tṣC/tādvya/tumN$  = *prā-var-i-I+tṣ-/tādvya-/prā-vār-i-I-tum* 'to cover'.
2.  $tṣ+tumN$  = *tār-i-tum/tar-I-tum*, but  $hṛ+tumN$  = *hār-tum*.

### 7.2.39 ná IIṆ-i

[A substitute long vowel 37] does not (ná) [replace the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of ārdhadrhātuka affixes beginning with semivowels and consonants excluding y-° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1  $vṛ\tilde{N}$  (V 8) 'cover' and  $vṛ\tilde{N}$  'choose, share' (IX 38) and those ending in long  $\bar{r}(T)$  38] when they are l-substitutes of IIṆ (3.4.116: Precative or Benedictive Mood).

$prā/vf+vṛ+IIṆ$  =  $prā/vf+vṛ+iṬ+sṭyṭ+ta$  (102, 107) =  $prā/vf-var-i-sṭy+s+ta$  (6.1.66) =  $prā/vf+var-i-sṭ-s-ta$  (8.3.58; 4.41).  $ā/vf+stṛ+IIṆ$  =  $ā/vf+star-i-sṭ-s-dta$ . Initial increment is provided by 42 below.

### 7.2.40 $sṭC$ -i ca parasmai-padé-ṣu

[A substitute long vowel 37 does not 39 replace the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ inserted at the head of the ārdhadrhātuka 31 Aorist marker 3.1.44]  $sṭC$  co-occurring [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadā l-substitutes introduced [after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1  $vṛ\tilde{N}$  (V 8) 'cover' and  $vṛ\tilde{N}$  (X 38) 'share, choose' and those ending in long  $\bar{r}(T)$  38].

$prā+vṛ\tilde{N}$  (V 8)+ $IUN$  =  $prā+āṬ$  (6.4.71)+ $vṛ+iṬ+siC+tām$  (3.4.101) =  $prā-vāri-s-tām$  (8.3.59, 4.41);  $ā+āṬ+stṛ+iṬ+siC+tām$  =  $ā=stār-i-s-tām$ . Before Ātmanepadā l-substitutes:  $prā-vari-s-ta/prā-var-I-s-ta$  (38, 42).

## 7.2.41 iṭ saN-i vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ is optionally (vā) [inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s vṛñ (V 8) 'cover' and vṛñ (IX 38) and those ending in 1.1.72 long ī(T) 38].

$$\begin{aligned} vṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP/vṛ+iṭ+saN+ŚaP+tiP &= vū-vūr-ṣa-a-ti \text{ (1.2.9; 7.1.102; 6.4.16)} = \\ vū-vūr-ṣa-ti \text{ (6.1.97)/} &vī-var-i-ṣa-te/vī-var-i-ṣa-te \text{ (38); } tṛ+saN+ŚaP+tiP = \\ tī-tīr-ṣa-ti \text{ (1.2.9; 7.1.100)/} &tī-tar-i-ṣa-ti/tī-tar-i-ṣa-ti \text{ (38).} \end{aligned}$$

## 7.2.42 <sup>1</sup>līN-<sup>2</sup>siC-or ātmanepadé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdha-dhātuka 35 l-substitutes of] līN (3.4.116) and [the Aorist marker 3.1.44] siC [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1 vṛñ- (V 8) 'cover' and vṛñ (IX 38) 'share, choose' and those ending in long ī(T) 38 co-occurring before 1.1.66] Ātmanepadá l-substitutes.

1.  $vṛ+līN+ta = vṛ+ṣṛyūT+ṣuT+tá \text{ (3.4.102, 107)} = vṛ-ṣṛy-s-ta = vṛ-ṣñ-s-ta \text{ (6.1.66; 1.2.11)} = vṛ-ṣṛ-s-tá \text{ (8.3.59; 4.41)/} var-i-ṣṛ-s-tá \text{ (3.84).}$
2.  $vṛ+lūN+ta = áT+vṛ+siC+ta = á+vṛ+ṭ ta \text{ (8.2.27; 1.2.11)/} á-var-i-ṣ-ta/ á-var-i-ṣ-ta \text{ (38).}$
3. Similarly:  $á-stīr-s-ta/á-star-i-s-ta/á-star-i-s-ta.$

## 7.2.43 ṛT-as=ca saṁ-yog-á=āde-ḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 l-substitutes of līN and the Aorist marker 3.1.44 siC co-occurring before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of Ātmanepadá 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T) with initial conjunct consonants (saṁ-yog-á=āde-ḥ).

$$\begin{aligned} dhvṛ+ṣṛyūT+ṣuT+tá &= dhvṛ-ṣṛ-s-tá/dhvar-i-ṣṛ-s-tá, \text{ but } kṛ-ṣṛ-s-tá; \\ dhvṛ+siC+ādtām &= á=dhvṛ-ṣ-ātām/á-dhvar-i-ṣ-ātām \text{ but } á-kṛ-ta. \end{aligned}$$

## 7.2.44 <sup>1</sup>svár-a-ti-<sup>2</sup>sū-ti-<sup>3</sup>sū-ya-ti-<sup>4</sup>dhūñ=<sup>5</sup>ūT=IT-aḥ vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a semivowel or a consonant excluding y-° 35, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] svṛ- 'resound' (I 979), sū- 'give birth to' (II 21, IV 24), dhū- 'shake' (V 9) and those with marker U as IT (when first introduced in the Dhṛ.: upadesé).



The repetition of the expression [vā] in this rule, when it was already recurring from 41 above is to block out the recurrence of the expressions of 42 above, thus reverting to the general governing rule 35.

1. *sv̥+tumuN* = *svár-tum/svár-i-tum*; *svar-tf-/svar-i-tf*; *svar-távya-/svar-i-távya*.
2. *sū: pra-sū+tiC* = *pra-so-tf-/pra-sav-i-tf*.
3. *dho-tf-/dhav-i-tf*.
4. *gup-Ū: gop-tf-/gop-i-tf* etc.

In the case of [sv̥-] 70 below blocks out this option and yields the correct form *svar-i-syá-ti*. Similarly in the case of affixes with marker K as IT, 11 above blocks out this option by a special device which commentators call *pūrva-vipratishedha* (contra 1.4.2). Patañjali, however, interprets [pāra- 1.4.2] as equivalent to [istā-] 'what is appropriate in the context of actual speech'; this yields the correct forms such as *sv̥+Ktvā* = *sv̥-tvā*, *sū-tvā*, *dhū-tvā*.

## 7.2.45 radhÁ=ādi-bhyas=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y- ° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] beginning with radh- 'submit, surrender' (IV 84).

This class consists of: 84. *radhÁ himsā-sam-rād-dhy-oh*; 85. *naśÁ á-darś-an-e* 'disappear'; 86. *tṛpÁ pr̥ṇ-an-e* 'be pleased'; 87. *dṛpÁ harṣa-mōhanay-oh* 'be mad'; 88. *druhÁ jī-ghām-sā-y-ām* 'be hostile'; 89. *muhÁ vaś-cit-ty-e* 'be perplexed'; 90. *ṣnuhÁ ud-gīr-aṇe* 'throw up, vomit'; 91. *ṣnihÁ pr̥f-t-au* 'be affectionate, stick, adhere'.

1. *radh+tumuN* = *rād̥h+dhum* (8.2.40) = *rād̥-dhum* (8.4.53)/*rād̥h-i-tum*; 2. *naś+tumuN* = *nām̥ṣ-tum* (1.60; 8.2.38, 4.41)/*nāś-i-tum*; 3. *tṛp-tum/tṛ+aM-p-tum* = *tráp-tum* (6.1.59)/*tárp-i-tum*; 4. *dṛp-tum/dárp-tum/dárp-i-tum* (3.86); 5. *druh+tumuN* = *drogh+dhum* (8.2.32,40) = *dróg-dhum* (8.4.53)/*dróh-i-tum/drodh+dhum* (8.2.33,38; 4.41) = *dróḥ-dhum* (8.3.13); 6. *móg-dhum/mó-dhum/móh-i-tum*; 7. *snóg-dhum/snó-dhum/snóh-i-tum*; 8. *snég-dhum/sné-dhum/snéh-i-tum*.

## 7.2.46 nír-aḥ kúṣ-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is optionally 41 inserted at the head of ārdhahātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with semivowels or consonants excluding y- ° 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] *kúṣ-* 'hurt, injure' (IX 46), co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverb *nír-* °.

- nír+kúṣ+tumuN* = *niḥ-kós-tum* (8.3.15) = *nis-kós-tum* (8.3.34) *niṣ-kos-tum* (8.3.59; 4.41)/*niṣ-kós-i-tum* 'to extract, pull out'.

## 7.2.47 iṭ niṣṭhā-y-ām

The initial increment (1.1.46) iṭ is inserted at the head of niṣṭhā (1.1.26: Ktá, KtavatU) [affixes 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1 kús- 'hurt, injure' (X 46), co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb nír- ° 46].

Exception to 15 above. The repetition of iṭ here is for the purpose of indicating that this is a necessary insertion in this context and the option-indicating [vā] will still continue in the following rules.

*nir+kus+Ktá = nís-kus-i-ta* 'extracted, pulled out'.

## 7.2.48 ti=<sup>1</sup>ís-<sup>2</sup>sáhA-<sup>3</sup>lúbhÁ-<sup>4</sup>rúṣA-<sup>5</sup>rís-ah

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of an árdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 beginning with] phoneme t-° (t-i) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] íṣ- 'desire' (VI 59), sáh- 'endure, bear' (I 905), lúbh- 'covet' (IV 238), rúṣ- 'be angry' and rís- 'hurt, injure' (I 725).

1. *ís+tumyN = éṣ-tum/éṣ-i-tum*; 2. *sáh+tumyN = sódh-tum* (6.3.112; 8.2.31) = *sódh-dhum* (8.2.40) = *sódh+dhum* (8.4.41) = *sódh-dhum* (8.3.13) = *só-dhum/sáh-i-tum*; 3. *lúbh+tum = lóbh+dhum* (8.2.40) = *lób-dhum* (8.4.53)/*lóbh-i-tum*; 4. *róṣ-tum/róṣ-i-tum*; 5. *rés-tum/rés-i-tum*.

## 7.2.49 saN-i <sup>1</sup>ív=anta=<sup>2</sup>ḡdhā-<sup>3</sup>bhrasjA-<sup>4</sup>dánbhU-<sup>5</sup>śrí-<sup>6</sup>svṛ-<sup>7</sup>yú=<sup>8</sup>ūrṇú-<sup>9</sup>bhara-<sup>10</sup>jñapi-<sup>11</sup>sán-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7] saN [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the syllable °-iv-, and ḡdh- 'increase' (IV 135), bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4), dánbhU 'deceive' (V 23), śrí- 'lean or depend on' (I 945), svṛ- 'sound' (I 979), yú- 'mix' (II 23), bhṛ- 'bear' (III 5), jñap- 'inform' (X 81) and sán- 'gain' (VIII 2).

1. *div+saN = dī-div+sa+ŚaP+tiP = dī-div-i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.9,97; 8.3.59)/*diūTH+saN-a-ti* (1.2.10; 6.4.19) = *dyū+saN-a-ti = dú-dyū-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97; 6.4.59-60; 8.3.59).
2. *ḡdh+saN+ŚaP+tiP = ḡd-irdh-sa-ti* (6.1.2; 7.4.55; 1.1.51) = *ḡ-írdh+sa+ti* (7.4.58) = *írt-sa-ti* (8.4.55)/*árd-i-dhísa-ti* (3.86).
3. *bhrasj+saN+ŚaP+tiP = bhraṭj-sa-a-ti* (8.2.29) = *bhraṣ+saN+a+ti* (8.2.36) = *bí-bhṛk-ṣa-ti* (8.2.41; 3.59; 6.1.97)/*bí-bhrajj-i-ṣa-ti* (8.4.40,53).
4. *dánbh+saN+ŚaP+tiP = dī-dambh+sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 8.3.24; 4.58) = *ḡ=dñbh+sa=ti* (7.4.56,58; 1.2.10; 6.4.24) = *dhñbh+sa-ti* (8.2.37) = *dhñp-sa-ti* (8.4.55)/*dhñp-sa-ti* (7.4.56)/*dī-dambh-i-ṣa-ti*.

5.  $\acute{s}r\acute{i}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{s}i\acute{s}r\acute{i}-sa-a-ti = \acute{s}i\acute{s}r\acute{i}-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.1.97; 4.16)/ $\acute{s}i\acute{s}ray-i-\acute{s}a-ti$  (3.84; 6.1.78).
6.  $sv\acute{r}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = sv\acute{u}-sv\acute{u}r-\acute{s}a-ti$  (1.102; 9.2.77; 3.59; 6.1.97)/ $\acute{s}i\acute{s}var-i-\acute{s}a-ti$  (7.4.79).
7.  $y\acute{u}-y\acute{u}-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.4.16)/ $y\acute{i}-yav-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ .
8.  $\acute{u}r\acute{n}u+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{u}r\acute{n}u-nu+sa-a-ti$  (6.1.2) =  $\acute{u}r\acute{n}u-n\acute{u}-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.1.2; 4.16)/ $\acute{u}r\acute{n}u-nuv-i-\acute{s}ds-a-ti$  (1.2.3; 6.4.77)/ $\acute{u}r\acute{n}u-nav-i-\acute{s}a-ti$  (3.84; 6.1.78).
9.  $bh\acute{r}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = b\acute{u}-bhur-sa-a-ti$  (8.2.77) =  $b\acute{u}-bh\acute{u}r-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.1.97; 7.2.77)/ $bf-bhar-i-\acute{s}a-ti$  (8.3.59).
10.  $j\acute{n}ap-i+saN+\acute{S}aP+riP = j\acute{n}\acute{f}p-sa-ti$  (4.55,58)/ $j\acute{i}-j\acute{n}ap-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ .
11.  $san+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = si-s\acute{a}-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.4.42)/ $si-\acute{s}an-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ .

## 7.2.50 kliś-aḥ <sup>1</sup>Ktvā-<sup>2</sup>niṣṭháy-oḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with v<sub>2</sub>L 35] Ktvā and those denoted by the t.t. niṣṭhā (1.1.26 Ktá, KtávatU) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] kliś- ‘torment’ (IV 52a).

1.  $kliś+Ktvā/Ktá = kliś-tvā$  (8.2.36; 4.41)/ $kliś-i-tvā$ ; 2.  $kliś-tá-/kliś-i-ta-$ .

## 7.2.51 pūñ-as=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is optionally 41 inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with v<sub>2</sub>L 35: Ktvā and niṣṭhā (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] pūñ- ‘purify’ (I 1015) also (ca).

- $$pū+Ktvā = pū-tvā/pav-i-tvā \text{ (1.2.18); } pū+Ktá = pū-tá-/pav-i-tá- \text{ (1.2.22).}$$

## 7.2.52 <sup>1</sup>vás-a-ti=<sup>2</sup>kṣudh-or iṬ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted at the head of [árdhadhātuka 35 affixes beginning with v<sub>2</sub>L 35: Ktvā and niṣṭhā (Ktá, KtávatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] vás- ‘reside’ (I 1054), and kṣudh- ‘be hungry’ (IV 81).

1.  $vás+Ktvā=vás+iṬ-Ktvā = uas+i-tvā$  (6.1.15) =  $us-i-tvā$  (6.1.108)  $us-i-tvā$ ;  $vás+iṬ+Ktá = u\acute{s}-i-tá-$  (8.3.60).
2.  $kṣudh+iṬ+Ktvā/Ktá = kṣudh-i-tvā/kṣudh-i-tá-$ .

The repetition of [iṬ] in this rule is to block out the recurrence of the option introduced from 41 onwards.

### 7.2.53 ánce-ḥ pūjā-y-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL: Ktvā and niṣṭhā (Ktā, KtāvatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] ánc- when denoting ‘honor, worship’ (pūjā-y-ām) (I 203).

The verbal stem *áncŪ gati-pūjanay-oḥ* has two main meanings and the present rule restricts the operation to only one.

*anc+iṭ+Ktvā/Ktā = añc-i-tvā/añc-i-tā* ‘honored, worshiped’. By having marker [U] as IT the initial increment is inserted optionally after it before niṣṭhā affixes (56 below) which would have blocked that insertion by 15 above, but by this rule the operation of 15 is also blocked.

In other senses: *úd+anc+Kta = údaḥk-ta-m* (6.4.24; 8.2.30) *udakā-m káp-at* ‘water has been lifted up from the well’.

### 7.2.54 lúbh-aḥ vi-móh-an-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ is inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL 35: Ktvā and niṣṭhā (Ktā, KtāvatU) 50 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] lúbh- (VI 22) when denoting ‘perplexity’ (vi-móh-an-e).

*lubb+iṭ+Ktvā/Ktā = lubb-i-tvā* (1.2.26)/*lubb-i-tā*.

48 above, read with 15 would normally block out this initial increment after [lúbh-], but in this particular meaning the present rule supervenes. In other senses 15 prevails: *lubb+Ktā = lub-dhā-ḥ vṛśalā-ḥ=śīt-éna pīd-i-tā-ḥ* ‘afflicted by cold’.

### 7.2.55 <sup>1</sup>jṛ-<sup>2</sup>vraścy-oḥ Ktv-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka affix beginning with vaL 35]: Ktvā [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] ‘grow old’ (I 863, IX 24) and vraśc- ‘tear, cut’ (VI 11).

1. *jṛ+iṭ+Ktvā = jār-i-tvā/jār-i-tā* (38). Since this verbal stem is here introduced without an IT marker, this rule does not apply to *jṛS* (IV 22): *jṛ+Ktvā = jṛ-tvā* (1.100, 8.2.77). Exception to 11 above.
2. *vraśc+Ktvā = vraśc+iṭ+Ktvā = vraśc-i-tvā*. Since the verbal stem is *vraśc-U chéd-an-e*, this is an exception to 44 above. Also, as seṭ (Ktvā) is not deemed a K-IT by 1.2.18, vocalization by 6.1.16 is effectively blocked.

## 7.2.56 uT=IT-ah vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35] is optionally (vā) [inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a semivowel or a consonant other than y-° 35: Ktvā 55 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1] whose stem is marked with U as IT [when first introduced in the Dhp.: upa-deś-é].

*sāmŪ ūpa-sām-é* (IV 92)+*Ktvā* = *sām-i-tvā/sān-tvā* (6.4.15) and *sām+Ktd* = *sān-tā-* (15; 6.4.15); *bhrāmŪ cāl-an-e* (I 903) *bhram-i-tvā/bhrān-tvā*.

## 7.2.57 se=a-siC-i <sup>1</sup>kṛta-<sup>2</sup>cṛta-<sup>3</sup>chṛda-<sup>4</sup>tṛda-<sup>5</sup>nṛta-ah

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is optionally 56 inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] s-° excluding the Aorist marker siC (3.1.44) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] kṛt- 'cut' (VII 10), cṛt- 'attach' (VI 35), chṛd- 'vomit' (VII 8), tṛd- 'pierce' (VII 9) and nṛt- 'dance' (IV 9).

1. *kṛt+lṛṬ* = *kṛt+syá+tiP* = *kart-syá-ti/kart-i-sya-ti* (3.86; 8.3.59); *+lṛṆ* = *áṬ+kṛt+syá+t* = *á-kart-sya-t/á-kart-i-sya-t*; *+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cí-kṛt-sa-ti* (1.2.10)/*cí-kart-i-sa-ti*. But *áṬ+kṛt+iṬ+siC+IT+t* = *á-kart-i-ṭ-i-t* = *á-kart-i-t*.
2. *cṛt+syá+ti* = *cart-syá-ti/cart-i-syá-ti*; *á-cart-syá-t/á-cart-i-sya-t*, *cí-cṛt-sa-ti/cí-cart-i-sa-ti*; *á-cart-i-t*.
3. *chart-syá-ti* (8.4.55)/*chard-i-syá-ti* (8.3.59); *á-chart-sya-t/á-chard-i-sya-t*; *cí-cchṛt-sa-ti/cí-cchard-i-sa-ti*; *á-chard-i-t*.
4. *tart-syá-ti/tard-i-syá-ti*; *á-tart-sya-t/á-tard-i-sya-t*; *tf-tṛt-sa-ti/tf-tard-i-sa-ti*; *á-tard-i-t*.
5. *nart-syá-ti/nart-i-syá-ti*; *á-nart-sya-t/á-nart-i-sya-t*; *ní-nṛt-sa-ti/ní-narti-i-sa-ti*; *á-nart-i-t*.

## 7.2.58 game-r iṭ parasmaipadé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṭ [is inserted at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] gám- 'go' (I 1031) [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadá l-substitutes.

*gam+iṬ+syá-ti* = *gam-i-syá-ti*, *á-gam-i-sya-t*; *+saN*: *jí-gam-i-sa-ti*. But before

Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *sám=gam-sya-te* (1.3.29)/*sám-gam-si-s-ṭa* (Precative).

The repetition of [iṭ] in this rule is to block out [vā] of 56 above.

## 7.2.59 ná vřt=bhyaś catúr-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35] is not inserted [at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] of four verbal stems beginning with vřt- 'turn, occur' (I 795) [before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 58].

The four verbal stems are: 795. *vřtU vart-an-e*; 796. *vřdhU vřd-dh-au*; 797. *śřdhU śabda-kutsā-y-ām*; 798. *syánd-Ū pra-srāv-aṇ-e*. 1-2. *vřt/vřdh+syá+tiP* (1.3.92) = *vart-syá-ti/vart-syá-ti* (8.4.55); *á-vart-sya-t/vř-vřt-sa-ti* (1.2.10). 3. *śřdh+syá+tiP* = *śart-syá-ti/á-śart-syá-t/śi-śřt-sa-ti* (1.2.10); 4. *syand+syá+tiP* = *syant-syá-ti/á-syant-sya-t/śi-syant-sa-ti*. But before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *vart-i-syá-te/vardhi-syá-te śardh-i-syá-te/syand-i-syá-te* etc. In the case of the fourth stem, this rule blocks the operation of the option in 44 above.

## 7.2.60 tās-i ca křp-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of árdhadhātuka 35 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with s-° 57] as well as (ca) tās (the marker of IUṬ 3.1.33) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] křp- 'be able, accomplish' (I 799) [before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 58].

*křp+tās+miP* = *kalp-tās-mi*; *kalp-syá-ti/á-kalp-sya-t/cf-křp-sa-ti* (1.2.10). Before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes: *kalp-i-syá-te/á-kalp-i-sya-ta/cf-kalp-i-sa-te*.

## 7.2.61 aC-as tās-vát thaL-i=án-iṬ-aḥ=nřtya-m

[After 1.1.67 verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-aḥ) which do not operate the initial increment necessarily [at the head of the affix 3.1.1 tās 60, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of an árdhadhātuka 35 l-substitute of IUṬ 3.4.82] thaL, as in the case of tās.

*yā+tās+mi*: *ya-yá-tha*; *ce-tās-mi*: *ci-cé-tha*; *ne-tās-mi*: *ni-né-tha*; *ho-tās-mi*: *ju-ho-tha*; but *ya-y-i-vá/má*.

## 7.2.62 upa-deś-é áT=vat-aḥ

[As in the case before 1.1.66 tās 61, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of the árdhadhātuka 35 l-substitute of IUṬ 3.4.82 thaL 61 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ánga 6.4.1] of a stem which contains a short a(T) when first introduced (in the Dh.p.: upa-deś-é) [and which does not necessarily introduce it before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 tās 60].

This rule is in respect of verbal stems which do not end in a vowel (61).  
*pac-tās-miP* = *pak-tās-mi* (8.2.30); *pa-pák-tha* from the verbal stem  
*DU-pac-À-Ṣ pāk-é* (I 1045); but from *kṛṣ-Á vi-lékh-an-e* (I 1039): *kars-tās-mi*:  
*ca-kárs-i-tha* since it does not contain the short vowel [a(T)] when first introduced in the Dhp.

### 7.2.63 ṛT-aḥ bhāradvāja-sya

[As in the case before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1 *tās* 61, the initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is not 59 inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 l-substitute of liṬ 3.4.81 *thaL* 61, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1 of a stem ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] short ṛ [which does not necessarily operate it before 1.1.66 affix 3.1.1 *tās* 60] according to the grammarian Bhāradvāja.

*smṛ-tās-miP* = *smar-tās-mi*: *sa-smār-tha*. According to this grammarian, then, 61 is applicable only to verbal stems ending in the short phoneme /ṛT/ and not to any others: thus *ya-y-f-tha/ya-y-i-vá/má* (61), *pec-f-tha* (62), thus making these rules optional.

### 7.2.64 <sup>1</sup>ba-bhū-tha=<sup>2</sup>ā-ta-tán-tha-<sup>3</sup>ja-grbh-má-<sup>4</sup>va-vár-tha= iti ni-gam-é

The expressions *ba-bhū-tha* 'thou has become', *ā-ta-tán-tha* 'thou hast spread', *ja-grbh-má* 'we have seized', and *va-vár-tha* 'thou hast covered' are introduced in the Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é).

1. *tvám hí hótā prathamó ba-bhū-tha* 'thou hast become the first officiating priest' (TS 3.1.4.4), (for *ba-bhū-i-tha*).
2. *y-éna=antárikṣa-m urv-ā-ta-tán-tha* 'by which (power) thou hast spread out' (RV 3.11.1) (for *ā-tén-i-tha* 6.4.121).
3. *ja-grbh-má te dáksina-m indra hásta-m* 'we have grasped your right hand, O Indra!' (RV 10.47.1), (for *ja-grh-i-má*).
4. *va-vár-tha tvám hí jyótiṣ-ā* 'thou hast covered thyself with light' (for *va-vár-i-tha*).

### 7.2.65 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>sṛjī-<sup>2</sup>dṛṣ-oh

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 25 is not 59 inserted] optionally (vibhāṣā) [at the head of ārdhadhātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 *thaL* 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] *sṛj-* 'project' (VI 121) and *dṛś-* 'perceive' (I 1037).

1.  $srj+iT = sa-srj-(+iT)+thaL = sa-sr-aM-j+tha: (6.1.58)/sa-srj+iT-thaL = sa-srás-ṭha (8.2.36; 4.41)/sa-sárj-i-tha.$
2.  $drś+thaL = da-drás-ṭha/da-dárs-i-tha.$

## 7.2.66 iṬ <sup>1</sup>át-ti=<sup>2</sup>ar-ti=<sup>3</sup>vyáy-a-ti-n-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46] iṬ is inserted [at the head of the árdhahātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 thaL 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] ad- ‘eat’ (II 1), ṛ- ‘go’ (III 16) vye- ‘cover, clothe’ (I 1056).

The repetition of [iṬ] in this rule is to block out the recurrence of [vibhāṣā] from the preceding rule.

1.  $ad+thaL = ā-ād-iṬ-thaL = ād-i-tha (4.70).$
2.  $ṛ+iṬ-thaL = ā-ár-i-tha = ár-i-tha.$
3.  $vye+thaL = vye+iṬ+thaL = vi-vyé+i-tha = vi-vyáy-i-tha (3.84; 6.1.78).$

## 7.2.67 vásU <sup>1</sup>éka=aC=<sup>2</sup>āT=<sup>3</sup>ghas-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ 35 is inserted at the head of the árdhahātuka 35 affix 3.1.1] (K)vásU (3.2.107) [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] of a (reduplicated) monosyllabic stem (ek=aC- °) and stems [ending in 1.1.72] the long vowel ā(T) as well as ghas- ‘eat’ (I 747).

The qualified \*reduplicated\* for monosyllabic stems arises from the fact that there is no polysyllabic stem without reduplication to block which the word monosyllabic is necessary here [with the exception of *ārnu-* and *jāgr-* (for which special vārttikas have been provided)].

1.  $ad+KvásU (3.2.107) = ā-ad+iṬ+vas = ād-i-vás-$  ‘who has eaten’ where, after euphonic combination the theme before [vás] is monosyllabic; similarly  $aś+KvásU = ā-aś+vás = āś-i-vás-$ .  $pac+KvásU = pa-pac+KvásU = ∅-pec+iṬ=vás = pec-i-vás-$  ‘has cooked’ where *pec-* before *KvásU* is monosyllabic by virtue of ∅ replacement of the reduplicated syllable by 4.58.
2.  $yā+KvásU = ya-yā+iṬ-KvásU = ya-y∅-i-vás (6.4.64) = ya-y-i-vás-$  ‘who has gone’.
3.  $ghas+KvásU = ja-ghas+KvásU = ja-gh∅s+i-vás (6.4.98) = jakṣ-i-vás-$  (8.3.60; 4.55).

## 7.2.68 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>gáma-<sup>2</sup>hanÁ-<sup>3</sup>vidÁ-<sup>4</sup>viś-ām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṬ] is optionally (vibhāṣā) [inserted at the head of the árdhahātuka 35 affix 3.1.1 vásU 67 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] gám- ‘go’ (I 1031), han- ‘kill, strike’ (II 2), víd- ‘know’ (II 55) and viś- ‘enter’ (VI 130).

1.  $gám+KvásU/gám+iṬ+KvásU = ja-gam+vás/ja-gam+i-vás = ja-gan-vás (8.2.64)/ja-g∅m-i-vás (6.4.98) = ja-gmi-vás-$ .



2.  $han+Kv\acute{a}sU = ja-han+v\acute{a}s/ja-han-i-v\acute{a}s = ja-ghan+v\acute{a}s/ja-ghan-i-vas- (3.55) = ja-ghan-v\acute{a}s- (8.2.64)/ja-gh\bar{n}-i-v\acute{a}s- (6.4.98) = ja-gh\bar{n}-i-v\acute{a}s-$ .
3.  $vid+Kv\acute{a}sU = vi-vid+v\acute{a}s-/vi-vid+i-v\acute{a}s- = vi-vid-v\acute{a}s-/vi-vid-i-v\acute{a}s-$ .
4.  $vi\acute{s}+Kv\acute{a}sU = vi-vi\acute{s}-v\acute{a}s-/vi-vi\acute{s}-i-v\acute{a}s-$ .

## 7.2.69 sanim-sa-san-i-vāms-am

The expression sanim-sa-san-i-vāms-am is introduced [as a derivative in KvásU from the verbal stem san- 'gain' (VIII 2) co-occurring after sanim-° with initial increment iT inserted at the head of vásU 67].

This non-classical form corresponds to classical Sk.  $san+Kv\acute{a}sU = sa-san+v\acute{a}s- = \emptyset-sen-i-v\acute{a}s- (67)$ .

## 7.2.70 <sup>1</sup>rT=<sup>2</sup>han-oh sy-é

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT 25 is inserted at the head of the árdhahātuka 35 tense-marker 3.1.33] syá [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short phoneme r(T) as well as han- 'kill, strike' (II 2).

1.  $kr+l\bar{r}T/l\bar{r}N = kar-i-sy\acute{a}-ti/\acute{a}-kar-i-sya-t (3.84; 8.3.59)$ .
2. Similarly:  $han-i-sy\acute{a}-ti/\acute{a}-han-i-sya-t$ .

## 7.2.71 anje-h siC-i

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT 35 is inserted at the head of the árdhahātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44] siC [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] anj- 'anoint' (VII 21).

$anj+lUN = \acute{a}T+anj+iT+siC+IT+t (6.4.72; 7.3.96) = \acute{a}ñj-i-\emptyset-I-t (8.2.28) = \acute{a}ñj-I-t/; ^\circ+t\bar{a}m/^{\circ}us = \acute{a}ñj-i-s-tam/\acute{a}ñj-i-s-uh. anjU+tumUN = \acute{a}ñk-tum/\acute{a}ñj-i-tum (44)$ .

## 7.2.72 <sup>1</sup>stu-<sup>2</sup>su-<sup>3</sup>dhūñ-bhyaḥ parasmai-padé-ṣu

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT 34 is inserted at the head of the árdhahātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44 siC71 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga-s 6.4.1] stu- 'praise, extol' (II 34), su- 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) and dhūñ 'shake' (V 9, IX 17) [before 1.1.66] Parasmaipadá I-substitutes.

1.  $stu+siC = \acute{a}T+stu+iT+siC+IT+t = \acute{s}-stau-i-\emptyset-I-t (1; 3.93; 8.2.28) = \acute{a}-st\bar{a}v-I-t (6.1.78) \text{ but } \acute{a}-sto-s-ta (8.3.59, 4.41)$ .

2.  $su+siC = \acute{d}sau+i-\emptyset-I-t = \acute{d}-s\acute{d}v-I-t.$

3.  $dhu+siC = \acute{d}-dhau+i-\emptyset-I-t = \acute{d}-dh\acute{d}v-I-t.$

The corresponding Ātmanepadá forms for 2-3 are:  $\acute{d}-so-\acute{s}-ta.$   $\acute{d}-dho-\acute{s}-ta/$   
 $\acute{d}-dhav-i-\acute{s}-ta$  (44).

### 7.2.73 $^1y\acute{a}m\acute{A}-^2ramA-^3n\acute{a}m\acute{A}=^4\bar{a}T-\bar{a}m\ s\acute{a}K\ ca$

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 Aorist marker 3.1.44 siC 71 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1]  $yam-$  'restrain, control' (I 1033),  $ram-$  'sport' (I 906),  $n\acute{a}m-$  'bend down, bow' (I 867) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long  $\bar{a}(T)$ , and [the final increment 1.1.46]  $s\acute{a}K$  is inserted after the verbal [āṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 Parasmaipadá l-substitutes 72].

1.  $yam+siC = \acute{d}T+yam+s\acute{a}K+iT+siC+iT+t$  (3.96) =  $\acute{d}-yam-s-i-\emptyset-I-t$  (8.2.28) =  $\acute{d}-yam\acute{s}-I-t$  (8.3.23). On the same lines: 2.  $\acute{d}-ram\acute{s}-I-t$ ; 3.  $\acute{d}-na\acute{m}\acute{s}-I-t$ ; 4.  $\acute{d}-y\acute{a}\bar{a}-s-I-t.$

But before Ātmanepadá l-substitutes:  $\acute{d}-yam\acute{s}-ta/\acute{d}-ram\acute{s}-ta/\acute{d}-na\acute{m}\acute{s}-ta.$  This type of Aorist is known as the  $s-i-\acute{s}$ -Aorist.

### 7.2.74 $^1smi-^2p\acute{u}\tilde{N}=^3\acute{r}=^4\acute{a}nj\bar{U}=^5\acute{a}\acute{s}-\bar{a}m\ saN-i$

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7]  $saN$  [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1]  $smi-$  'smile' (I 996),  $p\acute{u}\tilde{N}-$  'purify' (I 1015),  $\acute{r}-$  'go' (I 983, III 16),  $\acute{a}nj-$  'anoint' (VII 21) and  $\acute{a}\acute{s}-$  'reach, attain' (V 18).

1.  $smiN+saN+\acute{S}aP+te = s\acute{f}-smi+iT-sa+a-te$  (6.1.9) =  $s\acute{f}-sme-i-\acute{s}a-a-te$  (3.84; 8.3.59) =  $s\acute{f}-smay-i-\acute{s}a-te$  (6.1.78, 97). Similarly 2.  $p\acute{u}\tilde{N}+saN = p\acute{f}-pav-i-\acute{s}a-te$  (4.80); 3.  $\acute{r}+saN = \acute{r}+iT+sa(N)+\acute{S}aP+tiP = \acute{a}ri-ri-sa-a-ti$  (6.1.2) =  $\acute{a}ri-ri-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.1.97; 8.3.59). 4.  $\acute{a}nj+saN = \acute{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{j}\tilde{i}-\acute{j}\tilde{i}-\acute{s}a-ti.$  5.  $\acute{a}\acute{s}+saN = \acute{a}\acute{s}\tilde{i}-\acute{s}\tilde{i}-\acute{s}a-te.$  But  $p\acute{u}\tilde{N}$  (IX 12) +  $saN = p\acute{u}-p\acute{u}-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.4.16).

### 7.2.75 $kir-as=ca\ pañc\acute{a}-bhyah$

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iṭ 35 is inserted at the head of the ārdhadhātuka 35 desiderative marker 3.1.7  $saN$  74 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal āṅga-s 6.4.1] consisting of five stems beginning with  $k\acute{f}-$  'scatter' (VI 116).

These five stems are: 116.  $k\acute{f}\ vi-ksep-\acute{e}$ ; 117.  $g\acute{f}\ ni-g\acute{a}r-a\tilde{n}-e$  'swallow'; 118.  $d\acute{r}-\tilde{N}$   $\bar{a}-dar-\acute{e}$  'respect, honor'; 119.  $dh\acute{r}-\tilde{N}$   $\acute{a}va-sth-\acute{a}-n-e$  'live, remain, continue; and 120.  $prach-\acute{A}$   $\acute{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{i}p-\acute{s}\acute{a}-y-\bar{a}m$  'ask, request, interrogate'.

1.  $kṛ+saN = kṛ+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP = cī-kar-i-ṣa-a-ti$  (4.62,66,79; 3.84; 8.4.59) =  $cī-kar-i-ṣa-ti$  (6.1.97).
2.  $gṛ+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP = jī-gar-i-ṣa-ti$ .
3.  $dṛN+iT+saN+ŚaP+te = dī-dar-i-ṣa-te$ .
4.  $dhṛN+iT+saN+ŚaP+te = dī-dhar-i-ṣa-te$ .
5.  $prach+iT+saN+ŚaP+ti = pī=pracch-i-ṣa-ti$  (6.1.73).

## 7.2.76 rud-ādi-bhyaḥ sārva-dhatuk-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT 35 is inserted at the head of sārva-dhatuka [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with vaL (semivowels and consonants excluding y-°) 35 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 consisting of five verbal stems 75] beginning with rud- 'cry, weep' (II 58).

These five are: 58. *rudīR aśru-vi-moc-an-é*, 59. *ñI-ṣvap-Á śay-é* 'lie down, sleep', 60. *śvās-Á pr-ā-ṇ-an-e* 'breathe', 61. *án-Á ca (pr-ā-ṇ-an-e)* 'breathe', and 62. *jāks-Á bhakṣā-hās-anay-oḥ* 'eat, laugh'.

1.  $rud+θ^1+mi/vas/mas = ród-i-mi/rud-i-vás/más$  etc. Similarly: 2.  $śváp-i-mi, śvap-i-vás/más$ .
3.  $śvās-i-mi, śvas-i-vaś/más$ .
4.  $án-i-mi/an-i-vás/más$ .
5.  $jāks-i-mi, jakṣ-i-vás/más$  etc.

## 7.2.77 íś-aḥ sé

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT 35 is inserted at the head of the sārva-dhātuka 76 l-substitute] sé [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga 6.4.1] íś- 'rule, govern' (II 10).

$ís+θ^1+thās = íś+iT+se$  (3.4.80) =  $íś-i-ṣe$  (8.3.59). (6.1.186 for accent.)

## 7.2.78 íḍA=²ján-or dhvé ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 iT 35 is inserted at the head of the sārva-dhatuka 76 l-substitute 34.78] dhvé (3.4.79) as well as [sé 77, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] íḍ- 'praise, laud' (II 9) and jan- 'be born' (IV 34).

1.  $íḍ+θ^1+dhve = íḍ-i-dhve; íḍ-i-ṣe$  (8.3.59).
2.  $ján-i-dhve/ján-i-ṣe$ .

The expressions [sé] and [dhvé] stand for the second person singular and plural l-substitutes of Ātmanepadā, including their allomorphs: *íḍ-i-dhvam, íḍ-i-ṣva; ján-i-dhvam, ján-i-ṣva* where the class marker [ŚyaN] is zeroed in the domain of Chándas. (Accent by 6.1.186).

## 7.2.79 IĪÑ-aḥ sa-lopá-ḥ=án-ant-ya-sya

Lopa (Ø) replaces the non-final (án-ant-ya-sya) phoneme /s/ [of the sāravadhatuka 76] IĪÑ (Optative Mood) markers (yāsuṬ 3.4.103 and sīyuṬ 3.4.102 and suṬ 1.4.107).

$$\begin{aligned} bhá+IĪÑ &= bhá+ŚaP+yásuṬ+suṬ+tiP = bhá+a+yāØ-Ø-t (3.4.102) = bhá-a-yāt (3.84) \\ &= bháv-a+yā-t (6.1.78) = bháv-a+iy+t (80) = bháv-ey+t (6.1.87) = bháv-eØ-t \\ (6.1.66) &= bháv-e-t. édh+ŚaP+sīyuṬ+suṬ+ta = édh-a+Øiy-Ø+ta = édh-eØ-ta = \\ &= édh-e-ta. kṛÑ+IĪÑ = kṛ+u+yás+s+t/°-sīy+s+tá = kur-u+yāØ+Ø-t \\ (6.4.110)/kur-u-Øiy+Ø+tá &= kur-u-yá-t/kur-v-Ø-tá (6.1.66) = kur-Ø-yá-t \\ (6.4.109)/kur-v-ṛ-tá &= kur-yá-t/kur-v-ṛ-tá. \end{aligned}$$

In the Precative or Benedictive Mood (āśr-IĪÑ or IĪÑ āśiṣ-i) which is ārdhadhātuka by definition (3.4.116), the corresponding forms derived from the verbal stem [kṛÑ] are:

1. kṛ+yás+s+tām/us = kri-yás-s-tām/us (7.4.28) = kri-yāØ-s-tām/us (8.2.29) = kri-yá-s+tām/uḥ.
2. kṛ+sīy+s+tá/ātām = kṛ-sØ-s-tá/kṛ-sīy-āstām.

## 7.2.80 aT-aḥ yā=iyā-ḥ

The substitute element iy replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sāravadhātuka 76 augment 3.4.103] yā [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] short phoneme a(T).

$$\begin{aligned} pác+ŚaP+yás+s+t (3.1.103,107) &= pác-a+yāØ+Ø+t (79) = pác-a+iy+t = pác-e-y+t \\ (6.1.87) &= pác-e-Ø-t (6.1.66) = pác-e-t/pác-e-tām/pác-e-y-uḥ. \text{ Accent by 6.1.186.} \end{aligned}$$

## 7.2.81 āT-aḥ Ñ-IT-aḥ

[The substitute element iy 80] replaces the phoneme long ā(T) [of sāravadhātuka 76 l-substitutes of l-members] with marker Ñ as IT (Ñ-IT-aḥ) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal ānga 6.4.1 ending in the phoneme short a(T) 80].

By 1.3.12 the marker Ñ with reference to l-substitutes denotes a member of the Ātmanepadá or middle voice (taÑ) and so the l-substitutes involved are [ātām, āthām 3.4.78] and their allomorphs.

$$\begin{aligned} yáj+ŚaP+āte/āthe &= yáj+a+iyte/iythe = yáj-eyte/cythe = yáj-eØ+te/the (6.1.66) = \\ &= yáj-e-te/the; yáj-e-tām/thām (= yáj+ŚaP+ātām/āthām = yáj-a+iy-tām/iythām \\ &3.4.90). \end{aligned}$$

### 7.2.82 ān-é muK

[The final increment 1.1.46] muK is inserted [after 1.1.67 a verbal ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme short a(T) 80 before 1.1.66 the sárvadhātuka 76 affix 3.1.1] °-ān-á- (= ŚānāC 3.2.127).

*pac+ŚānāC* = *pác+ŚaP+ānā-* = *pác-a+muK+āna-* = *pác-a-m-āna-* ‘who is cooking’. Accent by 6.1.186.

### 7.2.83 īT ās-aḥ

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces [the initial 1.1.54 of the sárvadhātuka 76 affix 3.1.1 ān-á- 82 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal ánga 6.4.1] ās- ‘sit’ (II 11).

*ās+θ<sup>1</sup>+ānā-* = *ās-ma-* ‘who is sitting’.

### 7.2.84 aṣṭán-aḥ ā vi-bhák-t-au

The substitute phoneme long ā replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṣṭán- ‘eight’ [before 1.1.66] sUP triplets (1.4.103-4).

*aṣṭán+bhis/bhyas/su* = *aṣṭā-a+bhis/bhyas/su* = *aṣṭā-bhīḥ/bhyāḥ/sú* (6.1.172 for accent). For the form *aṣṭā-n-ām* cf. 7.1.55 and 6.4.7, though Kāśikā records this form under the present rule. Before non-vibhákṭi affixes: *aṣṭán+tva/taL* = *aṣṭaṭ-tvá-/aṣṭaṭ-tā* = *aṣṭaṭ-tvá* (8.2.7)/*aṣṭā-tā*. In the rules of accentuation 6.1.172 stipulates that when *aṣṭán-* ends in a long vowel the accent falls on the sUP triplets, implying that when it does not end in a long vowel it retains its original accent: *aṣṭā-bhīḥ/bhyāḥ/su* as alternate forms.

### 7.2.85 rāy-áḥ=haL-i

[The substitute long vowel ā 84 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] raí- ‘wealth, riches’ [before 1.1.66 vibhákṭi 84 affixes (= sUP triplets) beginning with] a consonant (haL-i).

*raí+bhis/bhyām/bhyas/su* = *rā-bhīḥ/bhyām/bhyāḥ/sú* (6.1.168 for accent).

### 7.2.86 <sup>1</sup>yuṣmád=<sup>2</sup>asmád-or án-ā-deś-e

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yuṣmád- ‘you’ and asmád- ‘we’ [before 1.1.66 vibhákṭi 84 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 95]

and are not subject themselves to replacement (án-ā-deś-e according to 1.27ff.).

*yusmád/asmád+bhis* = *yusmá-ā/asmá-ā+bhis* = *yusmá-bhih/asmá-bhih*.  
Similarly *yusmá-su/asmá-su*; but *yusmád/asmád+bhyas* = *yusmá-a/asmá-a+bhyam* (102; 1.30) = *yusmá/asmá+bhyam* (6.1.97).

## 7.2.87 dvi-tíyā-y-ām ca

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 *yusmád-* ‘you’ and *asmád-* ‘we’ 86] also (ca) [before 1.1.66] the second (dvi-tíyā-y-ām) [vibhakti 81 sUP triplets 1.4.103-4].

*yusmád+am* = *tva-ád+am* (97) = *tva-āā+am* = *tvá-ā+m* (6.1.97) = *tv-ā-m*; (6.1.107); similarly *asmád+am* = *ma-āā+am* = *m-ā-m*.  
*yusmád/asmád+au* = *yuvá-ád/āvá-ád+au* (92) = *yuvá-āā/āvá-āā+am* (1.28) = *yuv-ā-m/āv-ā-m*; *yusmád/asmád+Śas* = *yusmá-ā/asmá-ā+ne* (1.19) = *yusmá-n/asmá-n* (8.2.23) = *yusmá-n/asmá-n*.

## 7.2.88 prathamā-y-ās=ca dvi-vac-an-é bhāṣā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme long ā 84] also (ca) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems *yusmád-* ‘you’ and *asmád-* ‘we’ 86 before 1.1.66] the first dual (prathamā-y-ās=ca dvi-vac-an-é) [vibhakti 84 sUP triplet] in the domain of the spoken language (bhāṣā-y-ām).

*yusmád/asmád+au* = *yuvá-ad/āvá-ad+au* (92) = *yuvá-aā/āvá-aā+am* (1.28) = *yuv-ā-m/āv-ā-m* (6.1.107), but in Chándas *yuv-ā-m/āv-ā-m* also.

## 7.2.89 ya-ḥ=aC-i

The substitute phoneme y replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the pronominal stems *yusmád-* ‘you’ and *asmád-* ‘we’ 86 before 1.1.66 vibhakti 84 (sUP triplets) beginning with] vowels (aC-i) [which are not subject to replacement themselves 86].

*yusmád/asmád+Tā/Ñi/os* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+ā/i* (97) = *tva-áy/ma-áy+ā/i* = *tváy-ā/i*; *máy-ā/i*. *yuvá-ád/ava-ád+os* = *yuváy/āváy* (6.1.97)+*os* = *yuváy-oh*, *āváy-oh*.

## 7.2.90 *śéṣ-e lópa-ḥ*

Lópa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 *yusmád-* ‘you’ and *asmád-* ‘we’ 86 before 1.1.66] the remaining (*śéṣ-e*) [vibhákṭi 84 sUP triplets (which do not condition replacement by ā 86-88 or y 89)].

*yusmád/asmád+sU* = *tva-ád/aha-ád+am* (94, 1.28) = *tva-áØ/aha-áØ+am* = *tv-á-m/ah-á-m* (6.1.107); +*Jas* = *yūya-ád/vaya-ád+am* (93; 1.28) = *yūya-áØ/vaya-áØ+am* = *yūy-á-m/vay-á-m* (6.1.107); +*ŊasI* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+at* (97; 1.32) = *tv-á-t/m-á-t* (6.1.97). +*Ŋe* = *tubhya-ád/mahya-ád+am* (95; 1.28) = *tubhya-áØ/mahya-áØ+am* = *tubhy-á-m/mahy-á-m* (6.1.107); +*bhyas* (5) = *yusmád/asmád+at* (1.31) = *yusmáØ/asmá-Ø+at* = *yusm-á-t/asm-á-t*. +*Ŋas* = *tava-ád/mama-ád+aŚ* (1.27) = *tava-áØ/mama-áØ+a* = *táv-a/mám-a* (6.1.211 for accent). +*ām* (6 pl.) = *yusmád/asmád+s-ām* (1.52) = *yusmáØ/asmáØ+ākam* (1.33) = *yusm-ākam/asm-ākam*.

## 7.2.91 *mā-pary-anta-sya*

[The replacements introduced in the following rules up to 98 below are of that part of the nominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusmád-* ‘you’ and *asmád-* ‘we’ 86] which ends with the phoneme /m/ [*mā-pary-anta-sya*].

This is a governing rule and recurs through 98 below.

## 7.2.92 <sup>1</sup>*yuva=*<sup>2</sup>*āv-au dvi-vac-an-é*

The substitute morphemes *yuva-* and *āva* [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1 *yusm-ád-* ‘you’ and *asm-ád-* ‘we’ 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 vibhákṭi sUP triplets 84] when denoting the dual (*dvi-vacane*’).

*yusm-ád/asm-ád+au/auT* = *yuva-ád/āva+ád+am* (1.28) = *yuva-ád/āva-á-ā+am* (87, 88) = *yuvām/āvām*; +*bhyām* = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+bhyām* = *yuva-áā/āva-áā+bhyām* = *yuvá-bhyām/āvá-bhyām*; +*os* = *yuva-ád/āva-ád+os* = *yuva-áy/ava-áy+os* (89) = +*yuváy-oh/āváy-oh* (6.1.97).

## 7.2.93 <sup>1</sup>*yūva-*<sup>2</sup>*vay-au Jas-i*

The substitute morphemes *yūya-* and *vaya-* [respectively 1.3.10] replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád-* ‘you’ and *asm-ád-* ‘we’ 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákṭi sUP triplet 84] *Jas*.

$$y\text{u}\text{ṣ}\text{m}-\acute{a}d/\text{a}\text{sm}-\acute{a}d+\text{Jas} = y\ddot{u}y\text{a}-\acute{a}d/\text{vaya}-\acute{a}d+\text{am} \text{ (1.28)} = y\ddot{u}y\text{a}-\acute{a}\emptyset/\text{vaya}-\acute{a}\emptyset+\text{am} \text{ (90)} = y\ddot{u}y\acute{a}m/\text{vay}\acute{a}m \text{ (6.1.107)}.$$

### 7.2.94 <sup>1</sup>tva=<sup>2</sup>ah-au s-AU

The substitute morphemes tva- and aha- [respectively replace the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga-s of the pronominal stems yuṣm-ád ‘you’ and asm-ád- ‘we’ 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákṭi sUP triplet 84] sU.

$$y\text{u}\text{ṣ}\text{m}-\acute{a}d/\text{a}\text{sm}-\acute{a}d+sU = \text{tva}-\acute{a}d/\text{aha}-\acute{a}d+\text{am} = \text{tva}-\acute{a}\emptyset/\text{aha}-\acute{a}\emptyset+\text{am} = \text{tv}\acute{a}m/\text{ah}\acute{a}m \text{ (6.1.107)}.$$

### 7.2.95 <sup>1</sup>tubhya=<sup>2</sup>mahy-au Ńay-i

The substitute morphemes tubhya- and mahya- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- ‘you’ and asm-ád- ‘we’ 86 up to the part ending with m 91, before 1.1.66 the vibhákṭi sUP triplet 84] Ńe.

$$y\text{u}\text{ṣ}\text{m}-\acute{a}d/\text{a}\text{sm}-\acute{a}d+\ddot{N}e = \text{tubhya}-\acute{a}d/\text{mahya}-\acute{a}d+\text{am} \text{ (1.28)} = \text{tubhya}-\acute{a}\emptyset/\text{tubhya}-\acute{a}\emptyset+\text{am} \text{ (90)} = \text{t}\acute{u}bhyam/\text{m}\acute{a}hyam \text{ (6.1.107)}. \text{ Accent by 6.1.212.}$$

### 7.2.96 <sup>1</sup>tava=<sup>2</sup>mam-au Ńas-i

The substitute morphemes tava and mama [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1.ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- ‘you’ and asm-ád- ‘we’ 86 up to the part ending with m 91 before 1.1.66 the vibhákṭi sUP triplet 84] Ńas.

$$y\text{u}\text{ṣ}\text{m}-\acute{a}d/\text{a}\text{sm}-\acute{a}d+\ddot{N}as = \text{tava}-\acute{a}d/\text{mama}-\acute{a}d+\acute{a}\acute{S} \text{ (1.27)} = \text{tava}-\acute{a}\emptyset/\text{mama}-\acute{a}\emptyset+\acute{a}\acute{S} = \text{t}\acute{a}va/\text{m}\acute{a}ma \text{ (6.1.211 for accent)}.$$

### 7.2.97 <sup>1</sup>tva=<sup>2</sup>m-au eka-vac-an-é

The substitute morphemes tva- and ma- [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 yuṣm-ád- ‘you’ and asm-ád- ‘we’ 86 up to the part ending with m 91, before 1.1.66 vibhákṭi sUP triplets 84] when denoting the singular (eka-vac-an-é).

$$y\text{u}\text{ṣ}\text{m}-\acute{a}d/\text{a}\text{sm}-\acute{a}d+\text{am} \text{ (2nd sg.)} = \text{tva}-\acute{a}d/\text{ma}-\acute{a}d+\text{am} = \text{tva}-\acute{a}\acute{a}/\text{ma}-\acute{a}\acute{a}+\text{am} = \text{tv}\acute{a}m/\text{m}\acute{a}m \text{ (87)}. +\acute{T}\acute{a} = \text{tva}-\acute{a}d/\text{ma}-\acute{a}d+\acute{a} = \text{tva}-\acute{a}y/\text{ma}-\acute{a}y+\acute{a} \text{ (89)} =$$



*tváy-ā/máyā* (6.1.97). +*ÑasI* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+at* (1.32) = *tva-āḥ/ma-āḥ+at* (90) = *tvát/mát* (6.1.97). +*Ñi* = *tva-ád/ma-ád+i* = *tva-áy/ma-áy+i* = *tváy-i/máy-i* (\*89).

## 7.2.98 <sup>1</sup>prat-ay-á=<sup>2</sup>uttara-padáy-os=ca

[The substitute morphemes *tva-* and *ma-* 97 respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of 1.1.55 the pronominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 *yusm-ád-* 'you' and *asm-ád-* 'we' 86 up to the part ending with *m* 91 before 1.1.66 (a *taddhitá* 4.1.76)] affix (*praty-ay-á-°*) or a final member (*°-ut-tara-padáy-oḥ*; in composition) [when denoting the singular 97].

*yusm-ád/asm-ád+cha* (4.2.114) = *tva-ád/ma-ád+cha* = *d tvad-íya-/mad-íya* (6.1.97; 7.1.2). *táva putrá-ḥ* = *tvad+putrá-ḥ* = *tvat-putrá-ḥ*; *mat-putrá-ḥ* 'your son/my son'.

## 7.2.99 <sup>1</sup>trí-<sup>2</sup>catúr-oḥ striy-ām <sup>1</sup>tisṣ-<sup>2</sup>cátasṣ

[The substitute morphemes] *tisṣ-* and *cátasṣ-* replace [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga-s of nominal stems 4.1.1] consisting of the number words *trí-* 'three' and *catúr-* 'four' [before 1.1.66 *vibhákṭi* sUP triplets 84] when denoting the feminine (gender *striy-ām*).

*tri+Jas/Śas/bhis/bhyas/n-ām/su* = *tisṣ+Jas/Śas/bhis/bhyas/n-ām/su* *tisr-dḥ*, *tisṣ-bhiḥ/bhyah/su/tisṣ-n-ām* (6.1.166, 180).  
*cátasr-aḥ*, *cátasṣ-bhiḥ/bhyah/su*, *cátasṣ-n-ām* (6.1.167, 180 for accent).

## 7.2.100 aC-i rā rT-aḥ

The substitute phoneme *r* replaces [the ángá 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short *r*(T) [of the feminine nominal stems *tisṣ-* 'three' and *cátasṣ-* 'four' 99 before 1.1.66 *vibhákṭi* sUP triplets 84 beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

*tisṣ+Jas/Śas* = *tisr-dḥ* (6.1.166); *cátasṣ+Jas/Śas* = *cátasr-aḥ*

## 7.2.101 jará-y-āḥ jarás anya-tará-syām

The substitute allomorph *jarás-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] *jará* 'old age' [before 1.1.66 *vibhákṭi* sUP triplets 84 beginning with a vowel 100] variously (*anya-tará-syām*).

*jará/Tā/Ñe/Ñas* (I)/*Ñi/os* = *jarás+Tā/Ñe/Ñas* (I)/*Ñi/os* = *jaráy-ā/jarás-ā*;

*jarā+yā+e* (3.113) = *jarā-y-ai/jarās-e*; *jarā-y-āh/jarās-ah*; *jarā-y-ām/jarās-i*;  
*jaráy-oh* (3.105)/*jarās-oh*; *jarā-ŋ-ām/jarās-ām*.

## 7.2.102 tyád-ādī-n-ām a-h

The substitute phoneme /a/ (short) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the class of pronominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with tyád- 'that' [before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

This group is a sub-set of the word-class beginning with sarvá- 1.1.27 and consists of: *tyád-*, *tád-* 'that', *yád-* 'which, what, who (relative)', *etád-* 'this', *adás-* 'that', *idám-* 'this', *eka-* 'one' and *dvī-* 'two'.

*tyád+sU* = *tyáa+sU* = *syáa+sU* (106) = *syá-h* (6.1.97); *etád+sU* = *eṣád-h* (8.3.58).  
*tyád+au* = *tyáa+au* = *tyaú*; *+Jas* = *+Śī* (1.17) = *tyáa+ī* = *tyé* etc.  
*dvī+bhyām/os* = *dvá+bhyām/os* = *dvā-bhyām* (3.102)/*dvay-oh* (3.104; 6.1.78) etc.

## 7.2.103 kím-aḥ ká-h

The substitute allomorph *ká* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1] *kím-* 'who, what, which' (interrogative) [before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

*kím+sU* = *ká+sU* = *ká-h* (8.3.15); *+au* = *k-aú*; *+Śī* = *k-é* etc.

## 7.2.104 kú <sup>1</sup>tī-<sup>2</sup>h-oh

The substitute allomorph *kú* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *kím-* 'who, what, which' 103 before 1.1.66 vibhákti triplets 84 beginning with] phonemes *t-°* or *h-°*.

1. *kím+tasiL* (5.3.7) = *kú-tah* (8.3.15) 'whence?' *kím+traL* (5.3.10) = *kú-tra* 'where?'.

2. *kím+há* = *ku-há* (5.3.13) 'where?'.

## 7.2.105 kva àT-i

The substitute allomorph *kva* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *kím-* 'who, what, which' 103 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti 84 affix 3.1.1] àT (5.3.12).

Here the marker T of [àT] is not connected with 1.1.70 but with 6.1.185 by which the affix [àT] bears the svaritá accent.

*kím+àT* = *kva+àT* = *kva* (6.1.97) 'where?'.

### 7.2.106 ${}^1t\grave{a}-{}^2d-oh\ s\grave{a}-h\ s-AU\ \acute{a}n-antyay-oh$

The substitute phoneme *s* replaces non-final ( $\acute{a}n-ant-yay-oh$ ) phonemes *t* or *d* [of the  $\acute{a}nga$ -s 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem-class 4.1.1 beginning with  $ty\acute{a}d-$  'that' 102 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

$$ty\acute{a}d+sU = ty\acute{a}a+sU\ (102) = sy\acute{a}a+s = sy\acute{a}-h\ (6.1.97; 8.3.15). \quad ad\acute{a}s+sU = as\acute{a}s+sU = as\acute{a}a+au\ (107) = asau.$$

### 7.2.107 $ad\acute{a}s-ah\ au\ sU-lop\acute{a}-s=ca$

The substitute phoneme *au* replaces [the  $\acute{a}nga$  6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stem 4.1.1]  $ad\acute{a}s-$  'that' [before 1.1.66 the vibhákti triplet 84 sU 106] and (*ca*)  $lop\acute{a}$  ( $\emptyset$ ) replaces the sUP triplet sU.

$$ad\acute{a}s+sU = as\acute{a}+au\emptyset = asau\text{ 'that one'}.$$

### 7.2.108 $id\acute{a}m-ah\ m\grave{a}-h$

The substitute phoneme *m* replaces [the  $\acute{a}nga$  6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal stem 4.1.1]  $id\acute{a}m-$  'this' [before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84 sU 106].

$$id\acute{a}m+sU = id\acute{a}-m+\emptyset^1 = id\acute{a}-m\ (1.23). \text{ By 1.1.63 } \emptyset^1 \text{ blocks the operation of 108-9.} \\ id\acute{a}m+sU = id\acute{a}-m+\emptyset\ (6.1.68) = iy\acute{a}-m\ f. \ (110), ay\acute{a}-m\ m. \ (111). \text{ Exception to } \\ 102 \text{ above.}$$

### 7.2.109 $d-as=ca$

[The substitute phoneme *m* 108] also replaces the phoneme *d* [of the  $\acute{a}nga$  6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1  $id\acute{a}m-$  'this' 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84].

$$id\acute{a}m+au/Jas/am/\acute{S}as = im\acute{a}a\ (102, 108)+au/Jas/am/\acute{S}as = im-au\ (6.1.97), \\ im-\acute{e}/im-\acute{a}-m, im-\acute{a}n.$$

### 7.2.110 $y-ah\ s-AU$

The substitute phoneme *y* replaces [the phoneme *d* 109 of the  $\acute{a}nga$  6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1  $id\acute{a}m-$  'this' 108 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84] sU.

Since in the following rule the constraint [pu $\acute{m}s$ -f] is introduced, here the form generated is restricted to the feminine gender only:  $id\acute{a}-m+sU = iy\acute{a}-m+\emptyset\ (6.1.68) = iy\acute{a}-m\ f.$

### 7.2.111 id-áh=ay puṁs-í

The substitute element *ay* replaces the element *id* [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *idám-* ‘this’ 108 before 1.1.66 the vibhákti sUP triplet 84 sU 110] when denoting the masculine (puṁs-í).

$$idá-m+eU = ay-á-m+0 \text{ (6.1.68)} = ayám \text{ m.}$$

### 7.2.112 ana=āP-i á-k-ah

The substitute element /*ana*/ replaces [the element /*id*/ 111 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *idám-* ‘this’ 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84] denoted by the siglum āP (from the third singular to the locative plural), provided the stem is not co-occurring with [the infixed increment] *k* (= ákaC 5.3.71).

The siglum āP starts with [ā: Tā] and ends with marker P of [suP]. *idám+Tā* = *ana-áa+Tā* = *aná+Tā* (6.1.97) = *aná+ina* (1.12) = *an-éna* (6.1.87). *aná+os* = *ane+os* (3.104) = *anáy-oh* (6.1.78), but *imák-ena/imákay-oh*.

### 7.2.113 haL-i lópa-h

Substitute *lópa* (0) replaces [the element *id-* 111 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the pronominal stem 4.1.1 *idám-* ‘this’ 108 before 1.1.66 vibhákti sUP triplets 84 beginning with] a consonant (*haL-i*).

*idám+bhyām* = 0-á-a+bhyām = *á+bhyām* = *ā-bhyám* (6.1.97; 7.3.102); *á+bhis* (6.1.97) = *e-bhīh* (8.3.15); *á-Ñe* = *a+emaf* (1.14); +*NasI* = *a-smát* (1.15); +*Ñas* = *a-syá* (1.12); +*Ñi* = *a-smfn* (1.15). +*ām* = *e-sām* (1.52; 3.103); +*eu* = *e-sú* (3.103).

Similarly in the feminine gender the pre-affixal stem will be 0-á-a+TāP before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel and *ana-á+TāP* before sUP triplets beginning with a vowel starting with the instrumental singular: (a) *anáy-ā* (3.105); +*os* = *anáy-oh* (3.105) (b) *ā-bhyám*, *ā-bhīh*; *a-syaf* (3.114); +*Nas(I)* = *a-syáh* (3.114); +*Ñi* = *a-syám* (3.114, 116); *ā-sām* (1.52); *ā-sú*.

### 7.2.114 mrje-r vfd-dhi-h

The substitute phoneme denoted by the t.t. *vfd-dhi* (1.1.1 ā, ai, au) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel denoted by the siglum iK 1.1.3 of the verbal stem] *mrj-* ‘wash, cleanse, purify’ (II 57) [before 1.1.66 vibhákti 84 (l-substitutes of l-members)].

Since the verbal stem *mrj-Ū súd-dh-au* is the substituendum, [vibhákti] here

represents l-substitutes  $ti\tilde{N}$  (1.4.104).  $mrj+\emptyset^1+tiP$  (2.4.72) =  $m\acute{a}rj+ti$  (1.1.51) =  $m\acute{a}rs-ti$  (8.2.36; 4.41);  $^*tum\tilde{N} = m\acute{a}rs-tum$ ;  $+t\acute{a}vya = m\acute{a}rs-t\acute{a}vya$ -. Vibhakti sUP triplets and taddhitá affixes are not involved in this replacement.

### 7.2.115 aC-aḥ=Ñ-N-IT-i

[A substitute vḡd-dhi 114 vowel replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52] vowel phoneme (aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ñ or N as IT.

The expression [aC-aḥ] is for the purpose of blocking the restriction of the metarule 1.1.3 to [iK].  $nís-ci+GHa\tilde{N} = nís-cai+GHa\tilde{N} = nís-c\acute{a}y-á$  (6.1.78; 2.144);  $nís-p\acute{u}+GHa\tilde{N} = nís-p\acute{a}v-á$ ;  $kṛ+GHa\tilde{N} = k\acute{a}r-á$  (6.1.159).  $n\acute{i}/sru/kṛ+N\tilde{a}L = n\acute{i}-n\acute{á}y-a$  (7.4.59; 6.1.78)/ $sru-sr\acute{a}v-a$  (7.4.60)/ $ca-k\acute{a}r-a$  (7.4.62, 66).

### 7.2.116 aT-aḥ upa-dhā-y-āḥ

[The substitute vḡd-dhi 114 vowel (ā) replaces the ánga 6.4.1] penultimate vowel short a(T) (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [before affixes 3.1.1 with markers Ñ or N as IT 115].

$pac+GHa\tilde{N} = p\acute{a}c-á = p\acute{a}k-á$  (3.53) 'cooking'.  $pac+N\tilde{K}C+\acute{S}aP+tiP = p\acute{a}c-é-a-ti$  (3.84) =  $p\acute{a}c-á-y-a-ti$  (6.1.78) 'makes (someone) to cook'.

### 7.2.117 taddhité-ṣu aC-ām āde-ḥ

[A substitute vḡd-dhi 114 vowel (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 6.4.1] first (āde-ḥ) [vowel 115 before 1.1.66] taddhitá (4.1.76ff.) [affixes 3.1.1 with markers Ñ or N as IT 115].

$garg\acute{a}-sya\ gotr\acute{a}paty\acute{a}-m = garg\acute{a}+ya\tilde{N}$  (4.1.105) =  $g\acute{a}rg\emptyset-ya-$  (6.4.148).  $d\acute{a}kṣa+i\tilde{N} = d\acute{a}kṣ-i$  (4.1.95).  $upagu+\acute{a}N$  (4.1.92) =  $aupago+\acute{a}$  (6.4.146) =  $aupa-gav-á$  (6.1.78).

### 7.2.118 K-IT-i ca

[A substitute vḡd-dhi 114 vowel (ā, ai, au)] also (ca) [replaces the nominal 4.1.1 ánga 4.1.2 first vowel 117 before 1.1.66 taddhitá 117 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ñ or N as IT 115] as well as (ca) marker K.

$nad\acute{a}+phaK = n\acute{a}d\acute{a}+āyan\acute{a}$  (1.2) =  $n\acute{a}d\emptyset-āyan\acute{a}$  (6.4.148).

### 7.3.1 <sup>1</sup>dévika-<sup>2</sup>śimsápā-<sup>3</sup>ditya-vāh-<sup>4</sup>ḍīrgha-sattrá-<sup>5</sup>śréyas-ām āT

The substitute long vowel ā(T) replaces [the first vowel 2.117 of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] dév-ik-ā ‘n. of a river’, śimsáp-ā ‘n. of a tree’, ditya-vāh- ‘an animal aged two years’, ḍīrgha-sattrá- ‘a long-lasting sacrificial session’ and śr-é-yas- ‘the better’ [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 1.227 with marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118 as IT 2.115].

1. *dévika-y-ām bhāv-am udaká-m* = *devikā+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *dāvikā+á* = *dāvikθ-á-m* (6.4.148) ‘water from the river D.’
2. *śimsápā-y-āḥ vikārā-ḥ* = *śīmśapā+aÑ/áṆ* (4.3.141) = *śāmśapa-h/śāmśapá-ḥ* ‘made from the Ś. tree’.
3. *ditya-vāh+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *dātya-āTH-h+á-* (6.4.132) = *dāty-au-h-á-* (6.1.89) ‘pertaining to D.’
4. *ḍīrgha-sattrá+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *dārgha-sattrθ-á* (6.4.148) ‘occurring in a long-lasting sacrificial session’.
5. *śréyas-i bhāv-a-* = *śréyas+áṆ* (4.3.53) = *śráyas-á-* ‘patronymic of Kaṇvá.

### 7.3.2 <sup>1</sup>kekaya-<sup>2</sup>mitray-ú-<sup>3</sup>pra-layā-n-ām yá=āde-r iy-aḥ

The substitute element /iy/ replaces the syllable beginning with the phoneme /y- ° / [of the áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] kekaya- ‘n.pr., mitray-ú- ‘friendly-minded’ and pra-lay-á- ‘final dissolution’ [before 1.1.66 taddhitá affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *kekaya-sya ápatya-m* = *kekaya+aÑ* (4.1.168) *kaśka-iy+a* (2.117) = *kaśkey-a-* (6.1.87).
2. *mitray-u-bhāv-éna ślāgh-a-te* = *mitray-u+vuÑ* (5.1.134) = *maśtra-iy+aka* (1.1) = *maśtrey-aka-* ‘applauds in a friendly way’.
3. *pra-lay-át ā-ga-ta-* = *pra-lay-á+áṆ* (4.3.74) = *prāla-iy+á* = *prāley-á-* (2.117; 6.1.87) ‘resulting from final dissolution of the universe’.

### 7.3.3 ná <sup>1</sup>y-<sup>2</sup>vā-bhyām pada=antā-bhyām pūrv-au tu tá-bhyām aiC

[The substitute vřd-dhi vowel 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1)] does not (ná) replace [the first vowel 2.117 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of (the posterior member of a compound) preceded by] a padá-final (pad-ā-ntā-bhyām) phoneme y or v, but before them (tā-bhyām pūrv-au) the augment denoted by the siglum aiC (= ai, au, respectively 1.3.10) are inserted [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá affix with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*vi-sēs-ēna ā-kriy-a-nte śābd-ā-h an-ēna* = *vi+ā+kr+Lyut* (3.3.117) =  
*vy-ā-kār-ana-m* (8.4.2), *tā-m adh-f-te* = *vy-ā-kār-ana+āN* (4.2.59) =  
*vaiy-ā-kar-anθ-ā* (6.4.148) = *vaiy-ā-kar-an-ā-h* 'grammarian, linguist'.  
*śōbh-ana-h āśvaḥ* = *sv-aśva-h*, *tā-sya āpatya-m* = *sv-asva+āN* = *sauv-aśvā-h*  
 'offspring of a good horse'.

### 7.3.4 dvāra=ādī-n-ām ca

[The substitute vḡd-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not 3 replace the first vowel 2.117 of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with dvāra- 'door' also (ca) [before 1.1.66 taddhitā affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

This is with reference to a situation where the phonemes y and v are not occurring at the end of the first padā.

*dvār-e nī-yuk-ta-h* = *dvāra+thaK* (4.4.69) = *dauvārθ-ikā-* (6.4.148; 7.3.50) 'door-keeper'. *sphya-kṛt-ah āpatya-m* = *sphya-kṛt+āN* = *sphaiya-kṛt-ā-* 'son or descendant of S.' (4.1.92).

### 7.3.5 ny-ag-ródha-sya ca kévala-sya

[The substitute vḡd-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not 3 replace the first vowel 2.117 of the ānga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] nyag-ródha- 'bunyan tree, Ficus Indica' [preceded by phoneme y, and before it the increment ai (of aiC) is inserted before 1.1.66 taddhitā affixes 2.117 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] when occurring by itself (kévala-sya).

By using the expression (kévala-sya) here it is implied that in the case of 3 and 4 the operation indicated takes place even when the nominal stems indicated therein occur as prior members in composition: *dvāra-pālā-sya idām dvāra-pāl-ā+āN* (4.3.120) = *dauvāra-pālθ-ā-* etc.

*nyag-ródha-sya vikārā-h* = *nyag-ródh-a+āN* (4.3.134) = *nai-ya-g-rodhθ-ā* (6.4.148) 'made from the banyan tree', but *ndyag-rodh-a-mūl-é bhāv-ā-h śālay-ah* = *nyag-rodh-a-mūlā+āN* (4.3.53) = *nyāg-rodh-a-mūl-ā-h* 'rice growing at the roots of Ficus Indica'.

### 7.3.6 ná karma-vy-ati-hār-é

[The operations introduced by 3 above] do not take place (ná) when [the nominal stem 4.1.1] expresses a reciprocity of action (karma-vy-ati-hār-é).

*vy-āva-kruś-ya-te a-syām* = *vy-ava-kruś+NāC* (3.3.43) + *aÑ* (5.4.14) + *ÑtP* (4.1.15) = *vy-āva-kroś-ī* 'mutual abuse'.

### 7.3.7 su=ā-ga-ta=ādī-n-āñ ca

[The operations introduced by 3 above do not take place 6] also (ca) when it concerns [the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with svāgata- 'welcome'.

*sv-ā-ga-tā-m ity āha = sv-ā-ga-tā+tháK (4.4.1 vārtt. 2) = svāgatθ-ikā-h 'one who welcomes'. vyāḍa-sya apatya-m = vyāḍa+iñ (4.1.95) = vyāḍθ-i-h.*

### 7.3.8 śvā(n)=āde-r iñ-i

[The operations introduced in 3 above do not take place 6] when it concerns [an āṅga 6.4.1 with nominal stem 4.1.1] śván- 'dog' as a prior member (āde-h in composition) [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1] iñ.

The nominal stem [śván-] is included in the class of stems beginning with [dvāra-] (4 above); this rule is a further indication of the fact that the operations in 4 are applicable also to expressions which contain these words as first members in compounds, and the present constraint is only with respect to the item [śván-] only. *śvā-bhastra-sya apatya-m = śvā-bhastra+iñ (4.1.95) = śvā-bhastr-i.*

The word [ādī-] in this sūtra is not indicative of a class as in the case of 4 above.

By a vārttika this rule is extended to include the affix beginning with ik-: *śva-gaṇ-ēna car-a-ti = śva-gaṇā+thañ/SthaN (4.4.11) = śvā-gaṇ-ika-h/ [śvā-gaṇ-ika-h/'-i-kf (4.1.41)] 'one who moves with a pack of hounds'.*

### 7.3.9 padá=anta-sya anyā-tará-syām

[The operations introduced in 3 above do not take place 6] variously (anyā-tará-syām) [when it concerns the āṅga 6.4.1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 śván- 'dog' 9, co-occurring with] the final member padá- (°-anta-sya in composition).

*śún-aḥ padá-m iva pad-ā-m ya-sya = śván+pada- = śvāḥ-pada-m (6.3.137; 8.2.7),  
tá-sya śvā-pada-sya idám = śvā-pada+áN = śvā-padθ-ā-m/śauvā-pad-ā-m  
'pertaining to a wild beast'.*

### 7.3.10 uttara-padá-sya

(In the section beginning here and ending with 31 inclusive below) [the substitute vḡd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117] of the posterior member (ut-tara-padá-sya: in composition).

This is a governing rule and the expression [ut-tara-padá-sya] will recur in each of the following rules up to 31 inclusive below.



### 7.3.11 *ava-yav-āt ṛtô-h*

[A *vfd*-dhi substitute phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member of a compound 10] indicating the name of a season (*ṛtô-h*), co-occurring with a first member marking an integral part (*ava-yav-āt*) [before 1.1.66 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*pūrva-m varṣā-ṇ-ām* = *pūrva-varṣāh*, *tá-tra bháv-aḥ* (4.3.53) = *pūrva-varṣā+ṭhāK* = *pūrvā-vārṣikṭh-a-* (6.4.148) 'occurring in the early half of the rainy season'.

When the prior member does not denote an integral part or limb of the season, as in *pūrvā-su varṣā-su jā-tā-h pūrva-varṣā+ṭhaN* (4.3.11) = *paūrva-varṣṭh-ika-h*.

### 7.3.12 <sup>1</sup>sú-<sup>2</sup>sarvá=<sup>3</sup>ardh-āt *jana-padá-sya*

[A substitute *vfd*-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound ánga 6.4.1] denoting an inhabited region (*jana-padá-sya*), co-occurring with the prior members *sú-*, *sarvá-°* 'all' and *ardhá-°* 'half' [before 1.1.66 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT markers Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*śóbhane-su pañcāle-su jā-tā-h* = *su-pancāla+vuÑ* (4.2.125) = *sú-pāncālṭh-aka-h*; similarly: *sarvá-pāñcal-aka-* (6.2.105), *ardhá-pāncāl-aká-*.

### 7.3.13 *dís-aḥ=á-madrā-ṇ-ām*

[A substitute *vfd*-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound ánga 6.4.1 denoting an inhabited region 12] excluding *madrá-*, co-occurring with direction words (*dís-aḥ*) as prior members [before 1.1.66 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*pūrva-pancāla+vuÑ* (4.2.124-5) = *pūrvā-pāncālṭh-aka-* (6.2.105; 4.148) 'belonging to eastern P.'; but *paūrva-madr-aka-*.

### 7.3.14 *prác-ām* <sup>1</sup>grāma-<sup>2</sup>nágarā-ṇ-ām

[A substitute *vfd*-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound ánga 6.4.1 denoting] names of villages (*grāma-°*) and townships in the eastern region (*°-nagarā-ṇ-ām*) [co-occurring with direction words as prior members 13, before 1.1.66 *taddhitá* 2.117 affixes 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ñ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *grāma-*: *pūrv-e-ṣu-kāma-śamy-ām bhāv-a-h* = *pūrv-e-ṣu-kāma-śamf+Ña* (4.2.107) = *pūrvaiṣu-kāma-śamθ-a-h* (6.2.105) 'born in or occurring in the eastern half of the village P'.
2. *nāgara-*: *pūrva-smīn pāṭaliputre bhāv-a-h* = *puṅrvā-pāṭali-putrθ-aka-* (vuÑ 4.2.123). 'born in the eastern half of the P. township'.

### 7.3.15 saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ <sup>1</sup>saṁ-vatsarā-<sup>2</sup>saṁkhyā-sya ca

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1 consisting of the word] saṁ-vatsarā- 'year' or a number word (°-saṁ-khyā-sya) co-occurring with a number word (saṁ-khyā-y-āḥ) as a first member [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *dv-aú saṁ-vatsar-aú adh-I-ṣ-tá-h/bhṛ-tá-h/bhū-tá-h/bhāv-f* = *dvi-saṁvatsarā+thaÑ* (5.1.80) = *dvi-saṁvatsarθ-ika-* 'of two years' duration'.
2. *dv-e ṣaṣṭ-f adh-I-ṣ-tá-h dvi-ṣaṣṭf+thaÑ* (4.3.11) = *dvi-ṣaṣṭθ-ika-* 'lasting for 62 days', but *dvi-māsā+thaÑ* = *dvaṣ-māsθ-ika* 'of two months' duration'.

### 7.3.16 varṣā-sya=ā-bhav-i-ṣy-at-i

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1 consisting of the nominal stem 4.1.1] varṣā- 'year' [co-occurring with a number word 15 as a first member before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] except when denoting the future (ā-bhav-i-sy-a-t-i).

*dvē varṣ-e adh-I-ṣ-tá-h/bhṛ-tá-h/bhū-tá-h* = *dvi-varṣā+thaÑ* = *dvi-vārsθ-ika-h* 'of two years' duration', but *trf-n-i varṣā-n-i bhāv-f* = *tri-varṣā+thaÑ* = *traṣ-varṣθ-ika-h* 'happening after three years (from now)'.

### 7.3.17 pari-māṇa=anta-sya ā-<sup>1</sup>saṁjñā-<sup>2</sup>sāṇay-oḥ

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 of a compound āṅga 6.4.1] ending in (°-anta-sya) [a nominal stem 4.1.1] denoting a measure (pari-mā-ṇa-°) [and co-occurring with a number word 15 as a first member before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] except when deriving a name (saṁjñā) or the word sāṇa- 'whetstone' occurs [as a posterior member 10].

*dvā-bhyām niṣkā-bhyām krī-tā-m* = *dvi-niṣka+thāK* (5.1.18,20,37) = *dvi-naiṣkṭh-ikā-m* (6.4.148) 'bought for 2 niṣka-s'. *dvā-bhyām su-vārṇā-bhyām krī-tā-m* = *dvi-suvarṇa+thāN* (5.1.19,29) = *dvi-sauvarṇ-ika-m/adhy-ardha-su-varṇā-m* (5.1.29, var.) 'purchased for 2 gold pieces'; but *pāñca kalāpā-n-i pari-mā-ṇa-m a-syā* = *pañca-kalāpa+thāK* = *pāñca-kalāpṭh-ikā-m* (5.1.19,57) 'n.pr.' *dvā-bhyām sāṇā-bhyām krī-tā-m* = *dvi-sāṇa+āN* (5.1.36) = *dvai-sāṇṭh-ām/dvi-sāṇ-yā-m/dvi-sāṇā-m*.

### 7.3.18 j-e proṣṭha-padā-n-ām

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final 10 member of a compound āṅga 6.4.1] *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā-* 'n.pr. of a lunar mansion or asterism' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitā 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118] to denote 'born under' (j-e = jā-t-é).

*pr-o-ṣṭha-padā-bhir yuk-tā-h kalā-h* = *proṣṭha-padā+āN* (4.3.16) = *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā+ā-N→luP* (4.2.4) = *pr-o-ṣṭha-padā-su jā-tā-h* = *proṣṭha-padā+āN* (4.3.16) = *proṣṭha-pādṭh-ā-* 'born at the time when the moon is in conjunction with the asterism P.'

### 7.3.19 <sup>1</sup>hṛd-<sup>2</sup>bhāga-<sup>3</sup>sīndhu=ante pūrva-padā-sya ca

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member] and also (ca) of the prior member [of a compound āṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-hṛd- 'heart', °-bhāga- 'good fortune' and °-sīndhu- 'river' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitā 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *su-hṛdayā-sya idām* = *su-hṛd* (6.3.50)+*āN* (4.3.120) = *sau-hārd-ā-m* 'belonging to a good person'; *su-hṛdayā-sya bhāv-ā-h* = *su-hṛd+ṢyaN* (5.1.124) = *saú-hārd-ya-m/saú-hṛday-yam* (6.3.51; 4.148) 'friendship, amity'.
2. *su-bhagā-sya bhāv-ā-h* = *su-bhagā+ṢyaN* = *saú-bhāgṭh-ya-m* (6.4.148) 'good fortune'; 3. *saktu-pradhānāḥ sīndhav-aḥ* = *saktu-sindhú+āN* = *sāktu-saindhav-ā* (6.4.146; 1.78) 'barley meal or groats produced on river banks'.

### 7.3.20 ānu-sat-ika=ādī-nām ca

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.177 of both the posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a com-

pound ánga 6.4.1 consisting of a member of the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ánu-sát-ika- 'accompanied by a hundred' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*śat-éna krī-tá-h* = *śatá+thaN* (5.1.21) = *śat̥h-ika-h* (6.4.148); *ánu-ga-tá-h śat-ik-ena* = *ánu-sát-ika-h* (2.2.18), *tá-sya idám* = *ánu-sát-ika+áN* (4.3.120) = *ánu-sát-ik̥h-á-m* 'belonging to one accompanied by a hundred'; *dev-éṣu* = *adhi-devá-m* (2.1.6), *tá-tra bháv-a-h* (4.3.53, 60 vārtt.) *adhi-devá+thaÑ* = *ádhi-daiṇ̥h-ika-m* 'relating to or proceeding from gods'; similarly *adhi-bhū-tá+thaÑ* = *ádhi-bhaut̥h-ika-m* 'belonging or relating to created beings'; *ánu-hoḍ-ena cár-a-ti* = *ánu-hoḍa+tháK* = *ánu-haud̥h-iká-h* 'moves or sails in a boat'.

### 7.3.21 deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é ca

[A substitute v̥d̥-dhi phoneme 2.114 (ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both the posterior 10 and prior 19 members of a compound ánga 6.4.1 consisting of] Dvaṁdva compounds comprising names of divinities (deva-tā-dvaṁdv-é) also (ca) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*agní-ś ca marút=ca* = *agní-marút-au devá-t-e a-syá* = *agní-marút+áN* (4.2.24) = *āgni-mārut-á-*. By interpretation this usage is restricted to items denoting a Vedic hymn or an oblation offered in sacrifice to the divinities.

### 7.3.22 ná índra-sya párasya

[A substitute v̥d̥-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) [replace the first vowel 2.117] of the posterior (pára-sya) member índra- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [of a compound ánga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*sóma-ś ca índra-ś ca* = *sóm-éन्द्र-au devá-t-e āsyá* = *som-e-ndra+áN* (4.2.24) = *saum-éन्द्र̥h-á-* 'dedicated to Soma and Indra'.

### 7.3.23 dīrgh-āt=ca váruṇa-sya

[A substitute v̥d̥-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) does not 22 replace the final vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10] váruṇa- 'n.pr. of a divinity' [of a compound ánga 6.4.1 co-occurring with a prior member ending in 1.1.72] a long (dīrgh-āt vowel 1.2.28) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*índra-s ca váruṇa-s ca = índrā-vāruṇ-au* (6.3.26) *devá-t-e a-syá = índrā-váruṇa+áN* (4.2.24) = *aíndrā-varuṇθ-á-* ‘consecrated to Índra and Váruṇá, but *agní-váruṇa* (6.3.27)+*áN* (4.2.24) = \**agní-varuṇa+áN* (6.3.28) = *ágní-vāruṇθ-á-* ‘dedicated to Agní and Váruṇa’.

### 7.3.24 prāc-ām nágara=ant-e

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (° ant-e) [the nominal stem 4.1.1] nágara- ‘township, city’ in the eastern region (prāc-ām) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or N 2.115 or K 2.118].

*suhma-nagar-é bháv-a-ḥ = suhma-nagará+áN* (4.3.53) = *sauhma-nāg-arθ-á-ḥ* ‘belonging to Suhma-nagara’ but *madra-nagar-e bháv-a-ḥ = mādra-nagar-á-ḥ*.

### 7.3.25 <sup>1</sup>jaṅgala-<sup>2</sup>dhenú-<sup>3</sup>vala-já=anta-sya víbhāṣitam úttaram

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of both the posterior 10 and prior members 19 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] ending in (° anta) [the nominal stems 4.1.1] jaṅgala- ‘jungle, desert, arid land’, dhenú- ‘cow’ and valajá- ‘field’, but optionally (ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-m) in the case of the posterior member (út-tara-m) [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or N 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *kuru-jaṅgalé bháv-am = kuru-jaṅgalá+áN* (4.3.53) = *kauru-jāṅgalθ-á-m* (6.4.148)/°-*jaṅgal-á-m* ‘arising in the Kuru-jaṅgala country’; similarly 2. *viśv-dhenu+áN = vaiśva-dhainav-á-* (6.4.146; 1.78)/°-*dhenav-á-*; 3. *su-varṇa-valajá+áN = sau-varṇa=vālj-á-/°-valaj-á-*.

### 7.3.26 ardh-āt pari-mā-ṇa-sya pīrva-sya tu vā

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1] denoting a measure (pari-mā-ṇa-sya), co-occurring with [the nominal stem 4.1.1] ardhá-° ‘half’ as a first member, optionally (vā) [replacing its first vowel before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or N 2.115 or K 2.118].

*ardha-droṇ-éna krī-tá-m = ardha-droṇá+thaN* (5.1.37) = *árdha-draunθ-ika-/árdha-draun-ika-* ‘bought with half a drona’.

### 7.3.27 ná=aT-ah pára-sya

[A substitute vǵd-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) replace the short vowel a(T) [of the first syllable 2.117 of the final member 10 denoting a measure, co-occurring with the nominal stem 4.1.1 ardhá-° ‘half’ as a first member and optionally replacing its first vowel 26 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*ardha-prasth-éna krī-tá-h = ardhā-prasthá+thaÑ (5.1.37) =*  
*árdha-prasthṭ-ika-/árdha-prasth-ika-* ‘bought with half a prastha’ but  
*ardha-kudava+thaÑ = árdha-kāudavṭ-ika-*.

### 7.3.28 pra-vāhaṇa-sya ḍh-é

[A substitute vǵd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 and optionally 26 of the first member 19 of the compound áṅga 6.4.1] pra-vāh-aṇa-° [before 1.1.66 the taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1] ḍhá (K 4.1.123).

*pra-vāh-aṇa-sya ápatya-m = pra-vāh-aṇa+ḍháK = prā-vāhaṇṭ-eyá-/*  
*pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá-* ‘descendant of P.’

### 7.3.29 tát-praty-ay-a-sya ca

[A substitute vǵd-dhi phoneme 2.114 replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the posterior member 10 of a compound áṅga 6.4.1 pra-vāh-aṇa- 28 ending in 1.1.72] that affix [= ḍháK 28] also (ca) [and optionally of the prior member 26 before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

*pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá-sya ápa-tya-m = pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá+iÑ (4.1.95) = prā-vāh-aṇ-ey-ṭ-i-/*  
*prā-vāh-aṇ-ey-i-; pra-vāh-aṇ-eyá+vuÑ (4.3.126) = prā-vāh-aṇ-eyṭ-aka-/*  
*prā-vāh-aṇ-ey-aka-*.

### 7.3.30 náÑ-ah <sup>1</sup>súc-i=<sup>2</sup>īs-vará-<sup>3</sup>kṣe-tra-jñá-<sup>4</sup>kúśa-la-<sup>5</sup>nipuṇá-n-ām

[A substitute vǵd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā, ai, au 1.1.1) replaces the first vowel 2.117 of the final members 10] °-súc-i- ‘pure’, °-īs-vará- ‘lord, ruler’, °kṣetra-jñá- ‘the Self’, °-kúśa-la- ‘competent, able’ and °-ni-puṇ-á- ‘clever, adroit’ [and optionally of the first member 26] náÑ-° ‘privative or negative particle’ [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker Ñ or Ṇ 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *á-éuce-r á-ga-tá-m* = *á-éuc-i+áN* (4.3.74) = *á-saucθ-á-m/a-éauc-a-m* 'impurity'.
2. *án-íé-vara-sya bhāv-á-h* = *án-íé-vara+SyāN̄* (5.1.124) = *án-aiś-varθ-ya-m/án-aiś-var-ya-m* 'absence of rulership'; similarly 3. *á-kṣe-tra-jñā+SyāN̄* = *á-kṣai-tra-jñ-ya-m/á-kṣai-tra-jñ-ya-m* 'self-ignorance'; 4. *á-kuśa-l-āt á-ga-tá-m* = *á-kuśa-la+áN* (4.3.74) = *á-kau-salθ-á-m/a-kau-śal-á-m* 'incompetence'. Similarly 5. *ā-nai-puṇ-á-m/a-nai-puṇ-á-m* 'dullness'.

### 7.3.31 <sup>1</sup>yathā-tathá-<sup>2</sup>yathā-puráy-oḥ pary-āy-é

[A substitute vřd-dhi phoneme 2.114 (= ā 1.1.1)] alternately (pary-āy-é) replaces [the first vowel 2.117 of the final member 10 or the first member náN̄ 30 of a compound ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the nominal stems 4.1.1] °-yathā-tathá-m 'true, precise' and °-yathā-purá-m 'as before or formerly' [before 1.1.66 a taddhitá 2.117 affix 3.1.1 with IT marker N̄ or N 2.115 or K 2.118].

1. *á-yathā-tatha+SyāN̄* (5.1.124) = *á-yathā-tathθ-ya-m/á-yāthā-tath-ya-m* 'truth, precision'; similarly: 2. *á-yathā-pur-yam/á-yāthā-pur-ya-m* 'the state or condition of not being so formerly'.

### 7.3.32 han-as ta-h á-<sup>1</sup>CiN-<sup>2</sup>NaL-oḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, injure, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with N̄ or N as IT marker 2.115] excluding CiN̄ and NaL̄.

From here on both the recurring items [taddhitá 2.117, K-IT 2.118] are no longer valid; only [N̄, N] recur as IT markers.

*han+N̄iC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ghāt-í-a-ti* (54; 2.116) = *ghāt-é-a-ti* (84) = *ghāt-áy-a-ti* 'causes to kill'; *han+N̄vuL* = *ghāt-aka-* 'killer'; *han+GHaN̄* = *ghāt-á-* 'killing, murder'; but *han+CíN̄* = *āT-ghān-i* (55; 6.4.71); *han+NaL̄* = *ja-ghān-a* (55).

### 7.3.33 āT-aḥ yuK <sup>1</sup>CiN-<sup>2</sup>křt-oḥ

[The final increment 1.1.46] yuK is inserted at the end of [verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1] CiN̄ and those denoted by the t.t. křt (3.1.93ff.) [with marker N̄ or N as IT 2.115].

1. *dā+CíN̄* = *á-dā-yuK+i* = *á-dā-y-i*.
2. *dā+N̄vuL* = *dā-y-aka-* 'donor'; *dā+GHaN̄* = *dā-y-á-* 'donation, gift'.

### 7.3.34 ná=udāṭṭa=upa-deś-á-sya má=anta-sya án-ā-came-ḥ

[The substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114] does not (ná) replace [the penultimate phoneme short a(T) 2.116 of a verbal áṅga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-m and is udāṭṭa 'high pitched' when first introduced (upa-deś-é in the Dhp.) excluding ā+cām- 'sip' (I 497, V 28) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 CiṆ and those denoted by the t.t. kṛt 33 with marker Ñ or Ṇ as IT 2.115].

*śám+CiṆ* = *śa-sam-i* 'has calmed down'; similarly *tám+CiṆ* = *śa-tam-i* 'has wearied'; *śám+NvuL* = *śám-aka-* 'pacifier'; *śám+GHañ* = *śám-a-* 'peace', but *yam+NvuL/GHañ* = *yám-aka-/yám-á-* 'restrainer, controller/restraint, control'; and similarly *ā-cām-aka-/ā-cām-á-* 'who sips/sipping'.

### 7.3.35 <sup>1</sup>jáni-<sup>2</sup>vadhyo-s=ca

[A substitute vṛd-dhi phoneme 2.114 does not replace 34 the short penultimate phoneme a[T] 2.116 of the verbal áṅga 6.4.1] ján- 'be born' and vadh- 'kill' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 CiṆ and those denoted by the t.t. kṛt 33 with Ñ or Ṇ as IT marker 2.115].

1. *jan+CiṆ* = *śa-jan-i*; *jan+NvuL* = *ján-aka-* 'progenitor'; *pra-jan+GHañ* = *pra-jan-á-*.
2. *vadh+CiṆ* = *śa-vadh-i*; *vadh+NvuL* = *vádḥ-aka-* 'murderer'; *vadh+GHañ* = *vádḥ-a-* 'murder, death'. This stem is distinct from the replacement stem [vadhá-] of [han- 2.4.42] which, however, would normally yield the same results without this special rule.

### 7.3.36 <sup>1</sup>ár-ti-<sup>2</sup>hrī-<sup>3</sup>vḥi-<sup>4</sup>rī-<sup>5</sup>knūyī-<sup>6</sup>kṣmāyī=<sup>7</sup>āT-ām puK=Ṇ-aú

[The final increment 1.1.46] puK is inserted at the end of [the verbal áṅga-s 6.4.1] ṛ- (I 983, III 16) 'go', hrī- 'feel shy' (III 3), vḥi- 'crush, press', rī- 'flow, dry' (IX 30), knūy- 'be wet, make a creaky noise' (I 514), kṣmāy- 'tremble, shake' (I 515) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the long phoneme ā(T) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] NíC.

1. *ṛ+NíC* = *ṛ-puK+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *ar-p-é-a-ti* (84) = *ar-p-áy-a-ti* (86, 6.1.78); 2. *hrī-p+NíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *hre-p-áy-a-ti*; 3. *vle-p-áy-a-ti*; 4. *re-p-áy-a-ti*; 5. *knoṭh-p-áy-a-ti*; 6. *kṣmāy-p-áy-a-ti* = *kṣmāṭh-p-áy-a-ti* (6.1.66); 7. *dā-p-áy-a-ti*, *sthā-p-áy-a-ti*, *dhā-p-áy-a-ti*.



### 7.3.37 <sup>1</sup>sā-<sup>2</sup>chā-<sup>3</sup>sā-<sup>4</sup>hvā-<sup>5</sup>vyā-<sup>6</sup>ve-<sup>7</sup>p-ām yuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] yuK is inserted at the end of [the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 of] s̄ā- (= só- IV 37) 'whet, sharpen', chā- (= cho IV 38) 'cut', s̄ā- (= so- IV 39) 'end', hvā (= hve- I 1057) 'challenge', vyā (= vye- I 1056) 'wrap', ve- 'weave' (I 1055) and pā- 'drink' (I 972) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36].

1. *s̄ā+yuK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *s̄ā-y-áy-a-ti*; 2. *chā-y-áy-a-ti*; 3. *s̄ā-y-áy-a-ti*; 4. *hvā-y-áy-a-ti*; 5. *vyā-y-áy-a-ti*; 6. *vā-y-áy-a-ti* (6.1.45); 7. *pā-y-áy-a-ti*. All these are causative forms of the simplicia.

### 7.3.38 v-aḥ vi-dhū-n-ane juK

[The final increment 1.1.46] juK is inserted at the end of [verbal ānga-s 6.4.1] vā (= vai I 969) 'dry' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] when signifying agitation, shaking (vi-dhū-n-ane).

- vā+juK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *vā-j-áy-a-ti* 'fans', but *ā-vā-p-áy-a-ti* (36) 'combs the hair'.

### 7.3.39 <sup>1</sup>lī-<sup>2</sup>l-or <sup>1</sup>nuK=<sup>2</sup>luK-au=anya-tará-syām sneha-vipátane

[The final increments 1.1.46] nuK and luK (<sup>1</sup>l) are [respectively 1.3.10] inserted at the end [of the verbal ānga-s 6.4.1 of the stems] lī- 'cling, stick, adhere' (IV 31, IX 31) and lā- 'receive, get, obtain' (II 49) (and also lā-replacement of lī: 6.1.52) optionally (anya-tará-syām) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] when denoting melting of a fatty substance (sneha-vi-pát-ane).

1. *vi-lī+nuK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *vi-lī-n-áy-a-ti/vi-lai-áy-a-ti* (2.115) = *vi-lā-y-áy-a-ti* (6.1.78) *ghṛ-tá-m* 'causes the butter to melt'.
2. *vi-lā+luK+ṆíC+ŚaP+tiP* = *vi-lā-l-áy-a-ti/vi-lā-p-áy-a-ti* (36).

### 7.3.40 bhiy-aḥ hetu-bhay-é ṣuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] ṣuK is inserted at the end of [the verbal ānga 6.4.1] bhī- 'fear' (III 3) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 ṆíC 36] to denote fear arising from the agent of the causative (hetu-bhay-é).

- bhī+ṆíC+ŚaP+te* = *bhī-ṣuK+é-a-ti* = *bhī-ṣ-ay-a-te* (1.3.68) 'causes fear' but *kúñcikay-ā bhāy-áy-a-ti* 'causes fear (= threatens) with a bamboo shoot'. By

6.1.56 the substitute phoneme long [ā(T)] optionally replaces the stem-final vowel when fear arises from the causative agent, yielding the alternative form *bhā-p-ā-a-te*.

### 7.3.41 sphāy-aḥ va-ḥ

The substitute phoneme v replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] sphāy- ‘swell’ (I 516) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NíC 36].

*sphāy+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = sphāv-áy-a-ti*.

### 7.3.42 śadē-r a-ga-t-au ta-ḥ

The substitute phoneme t replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] śad- ‘fall, fall out’ (I 908) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NíC 36] when not denoting the sense of driving (á-ga-t-au).

*śad+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = śāt-áy-a-ti phālā-n-i* ‘causes the fruit to fall down’, but *g-ā-ḥ śād-áy-a-ti go-pāl-aka-ḥ* ‘the cowherd drives the cattle’.

### 7.3.43 ruh-aḥ pa-ḥ anya-tará-syām

The substitute phoneme p replaces optionally (anya-tará-syām) [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] ruh- ‘ascend, mount, grow, cultivate’ (I 912) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NíC 36].

*ruh+NíC+ŚaP+tiP = roh-áy-a-ti/rop-áy-a-ti vrth-f-n* ‘cultivates rice’.

### 7.3.44 praty-ay-a-sth-āt k-āt pūrva-sya=aT-aḥ iT āP-i á-sUP-aḥ

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces the short phoneme a(T) preceding the phoneme k of an affix (praty-ay-a-sth-āt) [before 1.1.66 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP), provided it does not occur after a sUP triplet (á-sUP-aḥ).

*kṛ+NvuL = kār-aka-* (1.1; 2.115)+*TāP = kār-ikṇ-ā* (6.4.148) ‘agent, performer, doer’, but *suṣṭhú śak-nó-ti = su-śak+KviP+TāP = su-śák-ā* ‘practicable, easily done’; so also in: *bahav-āḥ pari-vrāj-ak-ā-ḥ a-syām nágary-ām = bahu-pari-vrāj-aká+TāP = bahu-pari-vrāj-akṇ-ā nagarī* since the affix [āP] occurs after a  $\theta^1$  (2.4.71) of a sUP triplet (1.1.62).

### 7.3.45 na <sup>1</sup>yā-<sup>2</sup>say-oh

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 44] does not (ná) replace [the short phoneme a(T), preceded by the phoneme k of an affix 44 of the pronominal stems 4.1.1] yā ‘which, who, what’ and sā ‘that’ [before 1.1.66 the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44].

*yad+ákāC* (5.3.71)+*TāP* = *y-ák-ā*; *tad+ákāC*+*TāP* = *s-ák-ā* (2.106).

### 7.3.46 udīc-ām āT-aḥ sthān-e <sup>1</sup>ya-<sup>2</sup>ká-pūrvā-y-āḥ

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not 45 replace the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of] the phoneme long ā(T) preceded by y or k [before phoneme k of an affix 3.1.1 co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44] according to Northern Grammarians (udīc-ām).

The reference to Northern Grammarians is for the purpose of indicating that this rule is optional.

1. *ibhyā+ká+TāP* = *ibhya+ká+ā* (4.13) = *ibhya-k-ā/ibhy-i-k-ā* ‘a rich woman; a female elephant’.
2. *caṭakā+ká+TāP* = *caṭaka-ká+ā* = *caṭaka-k-ā/caṭak-i-k-ā* ‘female sparrow’; similarly *mūṣaka-k-ā/mūṣaki-k-ā* ‘female mouse’, but *dēva+ká+TāP* = *aśvi-k-ā* ‘mare’.

### 7.3.47 <sup>1</sup>bhástrā=<sup>2</sup>eṣā=<sup>3</sup>ajā-<sup>4</sup>jñā-<sup>5</sup>dvā-<sup>6</sup>svā náñ-pūrvā-ṇ-ām ápi

[According to the Northern Grammarians 46 the substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not 45 replace the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of the phoneme long ā(T) 46 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] bhástrā ‘leather bag’, eṣā ‘she’, a-jā ‘goat’, jñā ‘knower’, dvā ‘two’ (2.102) and svā ‘one’s self’, even (ápi) when preceded by the negative or privative particle náñ [followed by the phoneme k of an affix, co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44].

By the same device as in 46 above, the reference to Northern Grammarians indicates the optionality of this rule also.

1. *bhastrā+ká+TāP* = *bhastra-ká+ā* (4.13) = *bhastra-k-ā/bhastri-k-ā* ‘a small leather bag’; similarly: 2. *eṣa-k-ā/eṣi-k-ā*; 3. *aja-k-ā/aji-k-ā*; 4. *jñā-k-ā/jñi-k-ā*; 5. *dva-k-ā/dvi-k-ā*; 6. *sva-k-ā/svi-k-ā*.

Also when preceded by [náñ]: *a-bhastra-k-ā/a-bhastri-k-ā* etc. but *aśv-ā/aśvi-k-ā*.

If the affix were [kaP] in the place of [ká] the expected form is *bhástrā-k-ā* etc.

The affix [ká] is either diminutive or pleonastic in meaning.

### 7.3.48 á-bhāṣ-i-ta-puṁs-k-āt=ca

[According to Northern Grammarians 46 the substitute phoneme short i(T) 44 does not replace 45 the phoneme short a(T) replacement of phoneme long ā(T) 46 of a nominal stem 4.1.1] which has no masculine counterpart (á-bhāṣ-i-ta-puṁs-k-āt) [preceding the phoneme k of an affix co-occurring with a feminine affix denoted by the cover term āP 44 even when preceded by the negative particle náÑ 47].

*khatvā+ká+TāP = khatva-ká+ā (4.13) = khatva-kθ-ā (6.4.148)/khatvi-k-ā* 'a small cot'; similarly *a-khatva-k-ā/a-khatvi-k-ā*.

### 7.3.49 āT=ācāryā-ṇ-ām

According to (other) Grammarians (ā-cār-yā-ṇ-ām) the substitute phoneme long ā(T) replaces [the phoneme short a(T) 44 substitute of long ā(T) 46 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 which has no masculine counterpart 48, preceding phoneme k of an affix, co-occurring with the feminine affixes denoted by the cover term āP 44, even when preceded by the negative particle náÑ 47].

*khatvā-k-ā/a-khatvā-k-ā*.

### 7.3.50 ṭha-sya ika-h

The substitute element ik replaces the phoneme ṭh [of an affix 44 introduced after 3.1.2 an ānga 6.4.1].

The following affixes contain [ṭh]: *Ñiṭha* (4.2.116), *ṭhāK* (4.4.1), *ṭhāC* (4.2.80), *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18), *ṭhaN* (4.7.13), *ṭhaP* (4.3.26), *ṢṭhāC* (4.4.31), *ṢṭhaN* (4.3.70), *ṢṭhaL* (4.4.9).

*akṣ-afṛ dṛv-ya-ti = akṣá+ṭhāK = ākṣθ-iká-* (6.4.148; 2.118) 'gambler with dice'.

Though by 1.3.7 palatal and retroflex stops occurring in affixes are defined as IT markers when they occur as affix initials and disappear in actual grammatical surface forms, the aspirate stops [ch, jh] and [ṭh, ḍh] are not replaced by θ (1.3.9), but by special rules provided by 7.1.2 for [ch, ḍh], 7.2.3 for [jh] and by the present rule for [ṭh]. Hence they have not been indicated by capital letters as required.

### 7.3.51 <sup>1</sup>is=<sup>2</sup>us=<sup>3</sup>uK-<sup>4</sup>t<sub>a</sub>=ant-āt k<sub>a</sub>-h

The substitute phoneme k replaces [the initial phoneme t<sub>h</sub> 50 of an affix 44 introduced after 3.1.2 an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-is-, °-us-, or a vowel denoted by the siglum uK (= u, ɾ, ɿ) or °-t-.

1. °-is-: *sarpśh pán-ya-m a-syá* = *sarpśis+tháK* (4.4.51) = *sārpśis-ká-h* 'dealer in clarified butter'.
2. °-us-: *dhānuḥ pra-hár-aṇa-m a-syá* = *dhānus+tháK* (4.4.57) = *dhānuḥ-ká-h* 'archer'.
3. °-uK-: *niṣāda-karṣv-āñ jā-tá-h* = *niṣāda-karṣú+thaÑ* (4.2.119) = *niṣāda-karṣú+kaÑ* (4.13) = *naṣāda-karṣu-ka-h* 'born in N.' *mātúr ā-ga-tá-m* = *māť+thaÑ* (4.3.78) = *māťr-ka-m* 'maternal, coming from the mother'.
4. °t-: *uda-śvīt-ā sāmś-kṛ-ta-m bhákṣ-ya-m* = *uda-śvīt+tháK* (4.2.19) = *auda-śvīt-ká-m* 'mixed with buttermilk'.

### 7.3.52 <sup>1</sup>c<sub>a</sub>-<sup>2</sup>j-oḥ kU <sup>1</sup>GHIT=<sup>2</sup>NyàT-oḥ

A substitute velar stop (kU) replaces phoneme c or j [of an ánga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] with IT marker GH and NyàT.

Affixes with GH as IT are: *GHaÑ*, *GHinuN*, *GHuráC*. It should be noted that only kft affixes operate this rule, with the exception of *GHa* (3.3.18ff., 125).

1. GHIT: *pac+GHaÑ* = *pāk-á-* (2.115; 6.1.159) 'cooking'; *tyaj+GHaÑ* = *tyā-gá-* 'renunciation'.
2. NyàT: *pac+NyaT* = *pāk-yá-* 'to be cooked'; *mṛj+NyaT* = *mārg-yá-* 'to be cleansed'.

### 7.3.53 ny-añkú=ādī-n-āñ ca

[A substitute velar phoneme stop (kU) replaces phonemes c or j of an ánga 6.4.1 in the class of nominal stems 4.1.1] beginning with ny-añk-ú- 'antelope, deer'.

*ni+anc+ú* (uN. 1.17) = *ny-añk-ú-*; *masj+ú* = *masg-ú* = *madg-ú-* (8.4.53) 'a kind of aquatic bird'.

### 7.3.54 h-aḥ han-te-r <sup>1</sup>Ñ-<sup>2</sup>N-IT-<sup>3</sup>ne-ṣu

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces] the phoneme h [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, injure, strike' (II 2) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with Ñ or N as IT marker or the phoneme n (of han- when the penultimate vowel is replaced by Ø 6.4.98).

1. Ñ: *han+GHaÑ* = *ghāt-á-* (32) 'killing, murder';
2. N: *han+NvuL* = *ghāt-aka-*

(32) 'murderer, killer'; 3. n: *han* (+*ŚaP*- $\emptyset^1$  2.4.72)+*jhi* = *h $\emptyset$ n=ánti* (6.4.98) = *gh-n-ánti*.

### 7.3.55 *abhy-ās-āt=ca*

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52] also replaces [the phoneme h 54 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem *han-* 'kill' (II 2) after 1.1.67] the reduplicated syllable (*abhy-ās-ā-t*).

*han+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jī-han-sa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.62,79) = *jī-ghāṛn-s-a-ti* (6.1.16,97; 8.3.24) 'desires to kill'. *han+yáñ+ŚaP+te* = *jan-han-yá-te* (4.85) = *jan-ghan-yá-te* 'repeatedly kills'. *han+lIT* = *han+NaL* = *ja-han+NaL* = *ja-ghān-a* 'slayed, killed'.

### 7.3.56 *he-r a-CaÑ-i*

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces the phoneme h 54 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *hi-* 'incite' (V 11) [after 1.1.67 its reduplicated syllable 55] except [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] *CáÑ*.

*hi+NaL* = *jī-ghi+NaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.62) = *jī-ghaí+a* (2.115) = *jī-gháy-a* (6.1.78). *hi+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jī-ghI-ša-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16). *pra+jī+yañ+ŚaP+te* = *pra-je-ghI-ya-te* (4.25,82); but *pra+jī+NíC+CáÑ+t* = *pra+aT+jī+ $\emptyset$ +aÑ+t* = *prá-jī-hiy-a-t* (6.4.77; 7.4.94).

### 7.3.57 <sup>1</sup>*saN*-<sup>2</sup>*lIT*-or *je-h*

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 replaces the stop following 1.1.67 the reduplicated syllable 56 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *ji-* 'win, conquer' [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] *saN* and *l*-substitutes of *lIT*.

*jī+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *jī-gI-ša-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16; 8.3.59). *jī+lIT* = *jī+NaL* = *jī-gaí-a* (2.115) = *jī-gáy-a*.

### 7.3.58 *vibhāṣā ce-h*

[The substitute velar phoneme (kU) 52] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replaces [the stop following 1.1.67 the reduplicated syllable 55 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *ci-* 'pile up, collect, gather, heap' (V 5) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 *saN* and *l*-substitutes of *lIT* 57].

*ci+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *cí-cī-ša-ti/cí-kī-ša-ti* (6.1.97; 4.16; 8.3.59). *ci+lIT* = *ci+NaL* = *ci-cáy-a/ci-káy-a*.

### 7.3.59 na kU=āde-ḥ

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52] does not (ná) replace [the palatal stops c or j 52 of an ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] beginning with a velar stop (kU-āde-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker GH as IT or NyàT 52].

*kūj+GHaÑ* = *kúj-a-* ‘cry’; *kūj+NyàT* = *kūj-yà-* ‘to be warbled’.

### 7.3.60 <sup>1</sup>aji-<sup>2</sup>vṛjy-os=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not 59 replace the palatal stop c or j 52 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] aj- ‘wander’ (I 248) and vṛj- ‘march’ (I 272) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker GH as IT or NyàT 52].

*aj+GHaÑ/NyàT* = (*sam*)-*āj-á-*/(*pari*)-*vṛāj-yà-* ‘reunion, assembly’/‘to be circumambulated’.

### 7.3.61 <sup>1</sup>bhúj-a-<sup>2</sup>ny-ubj-aú <sup>1</sup>pāñí=<sup>2</sup>upa-tāp-áy-oh

The expressions *bhúj-a-* ‘arm’ and *ny-ubj-á-* ‘disease, pain’ are introduced [without the velar replacement of the palatal stop j before affix *GHaÑ*] to denote respectively ‘hand’ and ‘heat, pain’.

*bhuj-yá-te an-éna* = *bhuj+GHaÑ* (3.3.121) = *bhúj-a-ḥ* (absence of *guṇa* replacement as well as velar replacement); in other senses: *bhóg-a-*. *ni-ubj+GHaÑ* = *ny-ubj-á-* (absence of velar replacement); in other meanings: *sam-udg-á-*.

### 7.3.62 <sup>1</sup>pra-yāj-á=<sup>2</sup>anu-yāj-aú *yajña*=aṅg-é

The expressions *pra-yāj-á-* ‘first part of a sacrifice’ and *anu-yāj-á-* ‘second half of a sacrifice’ (*yajña*=aṅg-e) are introduced [without velar replacement of palatal j before affix *GHaÑ*] when denoting a part of a sacrifice.

In other senses: *pra-yāj-g-á-/anu-yāj-g-á-*.

### 7.3.63 vánc-e-r ga-t-aú

[The substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not 59 replace the palatal stop c 52 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vánc- ‘go crookedly, cheat’ (I 204) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker GH as IT or NyàT 52] to denote ‘movement’ (*ga-t-aú*).

*vānc+NyàT* = *vañc-yà-* in the phrase *vañc-yà-m vāñc-a-nti vañśj-ah* = *gan-távya-m*

*vanij-ah gáčch-a-nti* ‘traders go in for what is easily disposed of in sales’, but  
*vanc+GHaÑ = vāñk-a-m kāsṭha-m* ‘flexible log’.

### 7.3.64 oká-ḥ=uc-aḥ K-é

The expression oká- ‘house’ is introduced [as derived from the verbal stem] uc- ‘be suitable’ (IV 114) [with affix 3.1.1] Ká.

*uc+Ká* (3.1.35) = *ok-á-* [with guṇa and velar replacements]; similarly: *ni+uc+Ká* = *ny-oká-* ‘a bird’.

### 7.3.65 Ny-e á-vaś-ya-k-e

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stops c or j 52 of an ánga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Nyá(T) to denote absolute necessity (á-vaś-ya-k-e).

*a-vaś-ya+pac+NyàT* = *a-vaś-ya-pāc-yà-* ‘necessarily to be cooked’, but *pac+NyàT* (3.1.124) = *pāc-yà-* ‘to be cooked’.

### 7.3.66 <sup>1</sup>yajA-<sup>2</sup>yāca-<sup>3</sup>rúca-<sup>4</sup>pra-vacÁ=<sup>5</sup>ḥc-as=ca

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stops c or j of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] yaj- ‘sacrifice, worship’ (I 1051), yāc- ‘beg’ (I 916), rúc- ‘like, be agreeable’, pra+vac- ‘proclaim’ (II 54) and ḥc- ‘praise, adore’ (VI 19) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NyàT 65].

1. *yaj+NyàT* = *yāj-yà-* ‘to be sacrificed’; similarly: 2. *yāc-yà-* ‘to be sought or requested’; 3. *roc-yà-* ‘to be liked’; 4. *pra-vāc-yà-* ‘to be proclaimed’; 5. *arc-yà-* ‘to be praised’.

### 7.3.67 vac-aḥ á-śabda-saṁjnā-y-ām

[A substitute velar stop (kU) 52 does not replace 59 the palatal stop c 52 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vac- ‘speak’ (II 54) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NyàT 65] when not designating a linguistic technical term (śabda-saṁ-jñā-y-ām).

*vac+NyàT* = *vāc-yà-* ‘to be uttered’, but *vāk-yà-* ‘sentence, minimum unit of discourse’.



### 7.3.68 <sup>1</sup>pra-yoj-yà-<sup>2</sup>ni-yoj-y-a-à śak-ya=arth-e

The expressions pra-yoj-yà- 'suitable for use' and ni-yoj-yà- 'fit to be appointed' are introduced to denote the sense of 'competence' (śakya=arth-e) [without velar replacement of the palatal stop j 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NyàT 65].

In other senses: *pra-yog-yà-/ni-yog-yà-* 'to be used/to be appointed' respectively.

### 7.3.69 bhoj-yà-m bhakṣ-y-è

The expression bhoj-yà- is introduced in the sense of 'food' (bhakṣ-y-è) [without velar replacement of the palatal stop j 52 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 NyàT 65].

In other senses: *bhuj+NyaT = bho-gyà-* 'to be enjoyed'.

### 7.3.70 GH0-r lópa-ḥ IEṬ-i vā

The substitute lópa (0) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal stems] denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) optionally (vā) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IEṬ (Subjunctive Mood).

*dá-dh-a-t rátna-n-i dáś-uṣ-e* (RV 4.15.3) 'let him give jewels to the donor'. This form is derived thus: *dhā+IEṬ = dhā+Ślu+aṬ+tiP* (3.4.94) = *dá-dh0+aṬ+t0* (3.4.97) = *dá-dh-a-t*. Alternately in the phrase *yád agní-r agnáy-e da-dā-t* there is no 0 replacement of the stem-final.

### 7.3.71 oT-aḥ ŚyaN-i

[Substitute lópa (0) replaces 70 the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme o(T) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] ŚyaN (3.1.69).

*ní+śo+ŚyaN+tiP = ní-ś0-ya-ti* 'whets, hones, sharpens'; *áva+cho+ŚyaN+tiP =áva-ch-ya-ti* 'cuts'; *áva-d-ya-ti* 'divides'; *áva-s-ya-ti* 'terminates'.

### 7.3.72 Ksa-sya aC-i

[Substitute lópa (0) 70 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the substitute Aorist marker] Ksa (3.1.45) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes (of IUÑ) beginning with] a vowel (aC-i).

*duh+IUN* = *āT* (6.4.71)+*duh+Cl<sub>i</sub>+iT* (3.1.43) = *ā-duh+Ksa+iT* (3.1.45) = *ā-duh-sθ+i* = *ādugh-s-i* (8.2.32) = *ādhug-s-i* (8.2.37) = *ā-dhuk-s-i* (8.3.59; 4.55) ‘I have milked’; similarly *ā-dhuk-s-ā-tām*/*\*ā-thām* exceptions to 2.81 above.

### 7.3.73 luK=vā <sup>1</sup>duhA-<sup>2</sup>dihA-<sup>3</sup>lihA-<sup>4</sup>gúh-ām ātman-e-pad-é dánt-y-e

The substitute luK (Ø<sup>1</sup>) optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] duh- ‘milk’ (II 4), dih- ‘smear’ (II 5), lih- ‘lick’ (II 6) and gúh- ‘hide’ (I 944) [ending in 1.1.72 the substitute IUN marker Ksa 72 before 1.1.66] Ātmanepadā [l-substitutes of IUN beginning with] a dental phoneme (dánt-y-e).

1. *duh+IUN* = *āT+duh+Ksa+ta* = *ā-dugh+sa+ta/ā-dugh-sθ-ta* = *ā-dhuk-sa-ta/ā-dugh-θ-ta* (8.2.26) = *ā-dugh-dha* (8.2.40) = *ā-dug-dha* (8.4.53); *ā-dug-dhāh/ā-dhuk-sa-thāh*; *ā-dug-dhvam/ā-dhuk-sa-dhvam*; *āduh-vahi/ā-dhuk-sā-vahi*. On similar lines: 2. *ā-dig-dha/ā-dhik-sa-ta*; 3. *a-li-dha/ā-lik-sa-ta/ā-lik+Ksa+ta* = *ā-liḍh+sθ+ta* (8.2.31) = *ā-liḍh-dha* (8.2.40) = *ā-liḍh-dha* (8.4.41) = *ā-liḍh-dha* (8.3.13); *ā-liḍh-sa-ta* = *ā-lik-sa-ta* (8.2.41). 4. *ny-ā-gū-dha/ny-ā-ghuk-sa-ta*.

### 7.3.74 sám-ām aṣṭā-n-ām dīrghá-ḥ ŚyaN-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the ánga-s 6.4.1] of eight (verbal stems: aṣṭā-n-ām) beginning with sám- ‘become quiet’ (IV 92-99) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] ŚyaN.

These eight verbal stems are: 92. *sámŪ upa-sám-e*; 93. *támŪ kṛṇkṣā-y-ām* ‘be weary’ (*glā-naú*); 94. *dámŪ upa-sám-e* ‘subdue’; 95. *śrámŪ tápas-i khéd-e ca* ‘be fatigued’; 96. *bhrámŪ án-ava-sthā-n-e* ‘err, stray’; 97. *kṣámŪ(Ṣ) sáh-an-e* ‘bear, endure’; 98. *klámŪ glā-n-aú* ‘be tired’; 99. *mádŪ hars-e* ‘be glad’.

1. *sám+ŚyaN+tiP* = *sám-ya-ti*; 2. *tám-ya-ti*; 3. *dám-ya-ti*; 4. *śrám-ya-ti*; 5. *bhrám-ya-ti*; 6. *kṣám-ya-ti*; 7. *klám-ya-ti*; 8. *mád-ya-ti*.

### 7.3.75 <sup>1</sup>ṣṭhívŪ-<sup>2</sup>klámi-<sup>3</sup>ā-cám-ām Ś-IT-i

[A substitute long vowel 74 replaces the vowel of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] ṣṭhív- ‘spit out’ (I 592, IV 4), klám- ‘be tired’ (IV 98) and ā+cám- ‘sip’ (I 497) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] with marker Ś as IT.

1. *ṣṭhív+ŚyaN+tiP* = *ṣṭhív-ya-ti/ṣṭhív-ŚaP+tiP* (I 592); 2. *klám-ya-ti/klám-a-ti*; 3. *ā-cam+ŚaP+tiP* = *ā-cām-a-ti*, but *cām-a-ti/vf-cam-a-ti*. While [ṣṭhív-] is a

member of both classes I and IV, the inclusion of [klam-] is to indicate that it can also belong to the ŚaP-class.

### 7.3.76 *krām-aḥ parasma-padé-ṣu*

[A substitute long vowel 74 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] *krām-* 'tread' (I 502) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75] co-occurring with l-substitutes of Parasmaipadā.

*krām+ŚaP+tiP = krām-a-ti; á-krām+ŚaP+te = á-kram-a-te* (1.3.40).

### 7.3.77 <sup>1</sup>īṣ<sup>2</sup>gamī<sup>-3</sup>yam-ām cha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme *ch* replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] *īṣ-* 'desire, wish' (VI 59), *gam-* 'go' (I 1031) and *yam-* 'sustain, hold' (I 1033) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

*īṣ+Śá+tiP = ich-á-ti = icch-á-ti* (6.1.73). *gam+ŚaP+tiP = gáčch-a-ti.*  
*yam+ŚaP+tiP = yáčch-a-ti.*

By citing the form [īṣÚ] this blocks out the two other homophonous tems [īśÁ *gá-t-au* IV 19, *īśÁ ábhikṣen-ye* IX 53].

### 7.3.78 <sup>1</sup>pā<sup>-2</sup>ghrā<sup>-3</sup>dhmā<sup>-4</sup>sthā<sup>-5</sup>mnā<sup>-6</sup>dāN<sup>-7</sup>dṛśī<sup>=8</sup>arti<sup>-9</sup>sarti<sup>-10</sup>śada<sup>-11</sup>sad-ām <sup>1</sup>piba<sup>-2</sup>jighra<sup>-3</sup>dhama<sup>-4</sup>tiṣṭha<sup>-5</sup>mana<sup>-6</sup>yaccha<sup>-7</sup>paśya<sup>-8</sup>ṛccha<sup>-9</sup>dhau<sup>-10</sup>śīya<sup>-11</sup>sīd-ā-ḥ

The eleven substitute morphemes beginning with *pib-a-* replace [respectively 1.3.10 the whole of 1.1.55 eleven áṅga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] beginning with *pā-* 'drink' (I 972) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker Ś as IT 75].

There is some hesitation regarding the nature of the final vowel in the substitute morphemes: whether it is a part of the morpheme or is used for ease of pronunciation. [dhau-] indicates the first option. On the other hand [pib-a] poses the difficulty of non-application of 86 below in [pīb-a-ti]. A special metarule of exegesis provides for this situation or an alternate suggestion in the case of the first option above is to provide for udátta accent on the first syllable. In the case of the first option 6.1.97 provides for the correct surface forms: (I 974-77):

1. *pā+ŚaP+tiP = pīb-a-ti*; 2. *ghrā: jīghra-a-ti*; 3. *dhmā: dhám-ati*; 4. *sthā: tiṣṭh-a-ti*; 5. *mnā: mán-a-ti*; 6. *dāN: yáčch-a-ti*; 7. *dṛś-* (I 1017): *pásy-a-ti*; 8. *ṛ* (I 983, III 17): *ṛcch-a-ti*; 9. *śṛ-* (I 983, III 17): *dháv-a-ti*; 10. *śad-* (I 908, VI 134): *śíy-a-te*; 11. *sad-* (I 907, VI 113): *sīd-a-ti/sī-dá-ti*.

The respective meanings are: 1. 'drinks'; 2. 'smells'; 3. 'blows, inflates'; 4. 'remains,

stands'; 5. 'thinks, meditates'; 6. 'gives'; 7. 'sees, perceives'; 8. 'goes, moves'; 9. 'runs'; in other meanings like 'flows': *sár-a-ti*; 10. 'falls'; 11. 'sits, settles down'.

In view of affixes with marker *Ś* as it, *pā rākṣ-an-e* II 47 is not covered by this rule since  $\emptyset^1$  replaces [*ŚaP*] and 1.1.63 blocks any operation relating to the *āṅga*.

### 7.3.79 <sup>1</sup>jñā-<sup>2</sup>jān-or jā

The substitute morpheme *jā* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the *āṅga*-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] *jñā-* 'know' (IX 16) and *jān-* 'be born' (IV 41) [before 1.1.66 affixes with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

1. *jñā+Snā+tiP* = *jā-nā-ti* 'knows, cognizes'. 2. *jān+ŚyaN+te* = *jā-ya-te* 'is born'.

### 7.3.80 pū-ādī-n-ām hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the *āṅga* 6.4.1 vowel of the class of verbal stems] beginning with *pū-* 'purify' (IX 12) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

This group consists of IX 12-32 in the Dhatu-pāṭha. *pū+Snā+tiP* = *pu-nā-ti/pu-nī-té*; similarly: *lū*: *lu-nā-ti/lu-nī-té*; *stṛ*: *str-nā-ti/°-nī-té*; *vṛ*: *vṛ-nā-ti/°-nī-té*; *pū+Ktā* = *pū-tā*; *pū+KtiN* = *pū-ti-* 'purity, cleanliness'.

### 7.3.81 mī-nā-te-r ni-gam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) [the substitute short vowel 80 replaces the *āṅga* 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] *mi*(*ñ* IX 4) 'injure, destroy' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

*prā-mi-ṇ-anti vratā-n-i* 'they infringe laws', but in the spoken language *prā-mī-nā-ti*.

### 7.3.82 mīd-er guṇá-ḥ

The substitute *Guṇá* vowel (e 1.1.2) replaces [the *āṅga* 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] *mīd-* (IV 133) 'be unctuous' [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with marker *Ś* as IT 75].

*mīd+ŚyaN+tiP/tas/ḡhi* = *méd-ya-ti/tas méd-y-a-nti* (6.1.97). By 1.2.4 [*ŚyaN*] is regarded as a *ñ-IT* and consequently blocks the operation of 86 below. This rule provides for *guṇá* replacement before it. [*mid-*] also occurs in the *bhū-* class, but since [*ŚaP*] is not *ñ-IT*, 86 operates: *mid+ŚaP+tiP* = *méd-a-ti*.

### 7.3.83 Jus-i ca

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (a, e, o) 82 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final vowel 1.1.52 (iK 1.1.3) of verbal stems before 1.1.66] the l-substitute Jus (3.4.109-11).

$bhI+IAN = \acute{a}T+bhI+\acute{S}lu+Jus$  (3.4.109) =  $\acute{a}-bi-bhI+\theta^2+us$  (6.1.10; 7.4.49; 8.4.54) =  $\acute{a}-bi-bhay-uh$  (84; 6.1.78) 'they feared'. But in  $su+IIN = su+\acute{S}nu+y\acute{a}suT+Jus = su-nu-y\acute{a}\theta-us$  (2.79) there is no Guṇá replacement of [nu-] final since the initial increment [y\acute{a}suT.] of [Jus] is a  $\acute{N}$ -IT (3.4.103) =  $su-nu-y-u-h$  (6.1.96).  $kṛ+IUN = \acute{a}T+kṛ+siC+Jus$  (3.4.109) =  $\acute{a}-k\bar{a}r-ṣ-uh$  (2.1) where Vḍdhi replacement blocks this rule, contra 1.4.2.

### 7.3.84 sārva-dhātu-ka=ārdha-dhātu-kay-oh

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (= a, e, o 1.1.2) 82 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of verbal stems (ending in 1.1.72 a vowel denoted by the siglum iK = i, u, ṛ, ḷ 1.1.3) before 1.1.66] sārva-dhātu-ka (3.4.113) and ārdha-dhātu-ka (3.4.114) [affixes 3.1.1].

$jí+\acute{S}aP+tiP = j\acute{e}-a-ti = j\acute{á}y-a-ti$  (6.1.78) 'conquers, wins'. Similarly  $nf+\acute{S}aP+tiP = náy-a-ti$  'leads';  $su+\acute{S}nú+tiP = su-nó-ti$  'extracts, distils'; since [ $\acute{S}nu$ ] is deemed a  $\acute{N}$ -IT by 1.2.4 Guṇa replacement does not take place before it.

$kṛ+tumyN = k\bar{a}r-tum$  'to make';  $kṛ+\acute{u}+tiP = kar-ó-ti$  'makes' where the present class marker [ú] is ārdha-dhātu-ka, not being  $\acute{S}$ -IT or  $ti\acute{N}$  and itself undergoes Guṇa replacement before the sārva-dhātu-ka [tiP].

### 7.3.85 jāgr-aḥ á-<sup>1</sup>vi-<sup>2</sup>CiN-<sup>3</sup>NaL-<sup>4</sup> $\acute{N}$ -IT-su

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (a 1.1.2) 82 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stem] jāgr- 'wake up' [before 1.1.66 sārva-dhātuka and ārdha-dhātuka 84 affixes] excluding vi(uNādi), CiN, NaL and those with marker  $\acute{N}$  as IT.

$j\acute{a}gr+NiC+\acute{S}aP+tiP = j\acute{a}gar-i+a=ti = j\acute{a}gar-é-a-ti$  (84) =  $j\acute{a}gar-áy-a-ti$  'wakes (someone) up'; here this rule blocks the operation of 2.115 which would have resulted in a Vḍdhi replacement. Similarly:  $j\acute{a}gr+NvuL = j\acute{a}g\bar{a}r-aka-$  'one who wakes.'

Exceptions:  $j\acute{a}gr+vi-$  'watchful';  $+NaL = ja-j\acute{a}gr+NaL$  (6.1.8; 7.4.59-60) =  $ja-j\acute{a}g\bar{a}r-a$  'woke up';  $+CiN = \acute{a}-j\acute{a}gr+CiN = \acute{a}-j\acute{a}g\bar{a}r-i$ ;  $+N-IT = j\acute{a}gr+(\acute{S}aP-\theta^1)+t\acute{a}s = j\acute{a}gr-t\acute{a}s$  (1.2.4).

### 7.3.86 <sup>1</sup>pūk=anta-<sup>2</sup>laghú=upa-dha-sya ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (= a, e, o 1.1.1) 82 replaces] the penultimate (°upa-dha-sya) vowel [of an áṅga 6.4.1 which ends 1.1.72 in the final increment 1.1.46] pūk or contains a light (laghu-°) [penultimate iK 1.1.3 before 1.1.66 sárvadhātuka and árdhadhātuka 84 affix 3.1.1].

1. *pūk=anta: hrI+puK+NiC+ŚaP+tiP* (36) = *hrep-áy-a-ti* 'causes (someone) to feel ashamed'. 2. *vid+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* = *ved+ti* = *vet-ti* 'knows'; *bhid+tumN* = *bhéd+tum* ~ *bhét-tum* (8.4.55), but *nind+ŚaP+tiP* = *nínd-a-ti* 'blames, censures', *kūj+ŚaP+tiP* = *kūja-ti* 'hums, warbles'.

### 7.3.87 ná=abhy-àsta-sya=aC-i P-IT-i sárvadhātuk-e

[A substitute Guṇá (= a, e, o) 82] does not (ná) replace [the light penultimate 86 vowel iK 1.1.3] of a reduplicated [áṅga 6.4.1 before 1.1.66] a sárvadhātuka [affix 3.1.1] with marker P as IT, beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

*nij+lOT* = *nij+Ślu+miP* (2.4.75) = *ni-nij+θ<sup>2</sup>+mi* (3.4.89) = *ni-nij-āT+ni* (3.4.87,92 P-IT) = *ne-nij-ā-ni* (4.75) 'I will wash or cleanse'. But *ne-nij+tiP* = *ne-nek-ti* (8.2.30).

### 7.3.88 <sup>1</sup>bhū-<sup>2</sup>súv-os tiÑ-i

[The substitute Guṇá vowel (o) 82 does not 87 replace the vowel iK 1.1.3 of the áṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] bhū- 'become' (I 1) and sū- 'give birth to' (II 21) [before 1.1.66 sárvadhātuka 84 l-substitutes 3.4.78] tiÑ.

*bhū+lUN* = *bhū+Clī* (3.1.43) = *bhū+siC* (3.1.44) = *bhū+θ<sup>1</sup>+t* (2.4.77) = *āT+bhū-t* (6.4.71) = *ā-bhū-t/ā-bhū-s/ā-bhūv-am*.  
*sū+lOT* = *sū(+ŚaP-θ<sup>1</sup>)+i* (2.4.72) = *sū+āT+ai* (3.4.92-3) = *sū+ai* (6.1.88) = *suv-ai* (6.4.77), *suv-ā-vahai/°-ā-mahai*.

### 7.3.89 uT-aḥ vḍd-dhi-r luK-i haL-i

A substitute vḍd-dhi vowel (au) replaces [the final vowel 1.1.52 of an áṅga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel u(T) [before 1.1.66] luk (θ<sup>2</sup>) [co-occurring with a sárvadhātuka affix 3.1.1 with P as IT marker 87, beginning with] a consonant (haL-i).

*yu+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* = *yaú-ti* 'mixes', but *yu+tás* = *yu-táh* (8.3.15); but *i+θ<sup>1</sup>+tiP* = *é-ti* 'goes'.

### 7.3.90 ūṛṇ-ó-te-r vibhāṣā

[A substitute vġd-dhi vowel (au) 90] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.72 vowel (u) of the verbal stem] ūṛṇu- 'cover' (II 30) [before a sāravadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87, beginning with a consonant 89].

$prá+ũṛṇu+θ^1+tiP = ^{-}ũṛno-ti/^{-}urnau-ti$  but  $prórṇu-tah$ .  $prórṇu+IOT = prornu+āT+ni = prornav-ā-ni$  (84; 6.1.78).

### 7.3.91 guṇá-ḥ á-prk-t-e

A substitute Guṇá vowel (o 1.1.2) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel iK 1.1.3 (= u) of the verbal stem] ūṛṇu- 'cover' (II 30) before 1.1.66] a single phoneme (á-prk-t-e 1.2.41) [sāravadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 97 consisting of a consonant 89].

$prá+ũṛṇu+IAN = práuṛṇu+θ^1+t = práuṛṇo-t/^{-}h$  (6.1.9; 4.72).

### 7.3.92 tṛṇáh-aḥ iM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] iM is inserted after the last vowel [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] tṛh- 'crush, bruise' (VII 18) [before 1.1.66 a sāravadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89].

$tṛh+ŚnáM+tiP = tṛ-ṇá-h+tiP = tṛ-ṇá-i-h+ti = tṛ-ṇé-h+ti$  (6.1.87) =  $tṛ-ṇé-dh+dhi$  (8.2.31,40; 4.41) =  $tṛ-ṇé-θ-dhi$  (8.3.13)/ $tṛ-ṇé-k-ṣi$  (8.2.41)/ $tṛ-ṇé-h-mi$ .  $tṛh+IAN = tṛh+ŚnaM+t = āT+tṛ-ṇa-i-h+t$  (6.4.71) =  $á-tṛ-ṇe-dh+dḥ = á-tṛ-ṇe-θ-d = á-tṛ-ṇe-t$  (8.4.56), but before such affixes beginning with a vowel:  $tṛh+IOT = tṛ-ṇá-h+āT-ni/va/ma = tṛ-ṇá-h+āni/āva/āma$ .

### 7.3.93 bruv-aḥ īT

[The initial increment 1.1.46] īT is inserted at the head of [a sāravadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] brū- 'speak' (II 35).

$brū+θ^1+tiP = bro+I-ti$  (84) =  $brav-I-ti$  (6.1.78)/ $-ṣi$  (8.3.59)/ $-mi$  but  $brāv-āni/āva/āma$  and  $brū-tás/thás/vás/más$ .

### 7.3.94 yáÑ-ah vā

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṭ 93] is optionally (vā) inserted [at the head of a sāravadhātuka affix with marker P as IT 87 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the intensive/frequentative marker yáÑ (3.1.22).

$lap+yáÑ+\acute{S}aP+te = la-lap-yá-a-te$  (6.1.9) =  $la-lap-y-á-te$  (6.1.97) =  $lā-lap-y-á-te$  (4.83)/ $lā-lap-θ^1+īṭ-ti$  (2.4.74) =  $lā-lap-ī-ti$ ;  $bhū+yáÑ-luK$  (2.4.74)+ $tiP = bō-bho-ti/bō-ōho-ī-ti = bō-bhav-ī-ti$  (6.1.78);  $vṛ+yáÑ-luK+ti = vār-var-ti$  (4.92)/ $vār-ī-var-ti$  (4.92).

### 7.3.95 <sup>1</sup>tu-<sup>2</sup>rú-<sup>3</sup>stu-<sup>4</sup>śámī=<sup>5</sup>ám-ah sāravadhātuk-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṭ 93 is optionally 94 inserted at the head of] sāravadhātuka [affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] tu- 'be strong', rú- 'cry' (II 24), stu- 'praise, laud' (II 34), śam- 'be calm' (IV 92) and ám- 'go' (I 493).

The repetition of the word [sāravadhātuka] in this rule when it was already recurring from 87 above is to block out the qualifying marker [P-IT] associated with it in 87.

1.  $ud+tu+θ^1$  (2.4.73)+ $tiP = út-tau-ti$  (89)/ $út-tavī-ti$ . 2.  $úpa+ru+θ^1+ti = úpa-rau-ti/úpa-rav-ī-ti$ ; 3.  $úpa-stau-ti/úpa-stav-ī-ti$ ; 4.  $śam+\acute{S}yaN+dhvam = śám-ya-dhvam$  (74)/ $śám-ī-dhvam$  (2.4.73); 5.  $abhy-ám-a-ti/abhy-ám-ī-ti$ .

### 7.3.96 <sup>1</sup>ás-ti-<sup>2</sup>siC-ah=á-prk-t-e

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long īṭ 93 is inserted at the head of a sāravadhātuka 95 affix 3.1.1] consisting of a single phoneme (á-prk-t-e 1.2.41) [consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] as- 'be' (II 56) and the substitute Aorist (IUN) marker siC.

1.  $as+IAN = áṭ+as+θ^1+t$  (3.4.110; 6.4.72) =  $ás+ī-t/s$  (= h 8.3.15). 2.  $kṛ+IUN = kṛ+siC+t$  (3.4.100) =  $áṭ+kār-ṣ+ī-t$  (2.1; 6.4.71; 8.3.59);  $ás-mi, á-kār-ṣ-am$ .

### 7.3.97 bahulá-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the initial increment 1.1.46 long īṭ 93 is inserted] variously (bahu-lá-m) at the head of [a single phoneme 96 sāravadhātuka affix 95 consisting of a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) and one ending in 1.1.72 the Aorist substitute marker siC 96].



1.  $\acute{a}\bar{T}+as+\emptyset^1+t = \acute{a}s-t = \acute{a}s+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $\bar{a}h$  (8.3.15). 2.  $k\bar{s}ar+l\bar{U}\bar{N} = \acute{a}\bar{T}+k\bar{s}ar+siC+t = \acute{a}-k\bar{s}\bar{a}r-s-t = \acute{a}-k\bar{s}\bar{a}r-s-\emptyset = \acute{a}-k\bar{s}\bar{a}r+\emptyset$  (8.2.24) =  $\acute{a}-k\bar{s}\bar{a}-h$  (8.3.15)/ $\acute{a}-k\bar{s}\bar{a}r-t$ .

### 7.3.98 rúd-as ca pañcá-bhyaḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46 long  $\bar{r}\bar{T}$  93 is inserted at the head of a sárvadhātuka 95 affix consisting of a single phoneme 96 consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the group of] five verbal stems beginning with rud- 'cry, shed tears, weep' (II 58).

These five stems are: 58.  $r\bar{u}d-\acute{I}R$   $a\bar{s}ru-vi-móc-an-e$ , 59.  $\bar{N}I-\bar{s}vap-\acute{A}$   $nidr\bar{a}-k\bar{s}ay-e$  'sleep, lie down', 60.  $\acute{s}v\bar{a}s-\acute{A}$   $pr\bar{a}n-an-e$ , 61.  $an-\acute{A}$   $ca$  ( $pr\bar{a}n-an-e$ ), 62  $jak\bar{s}-\acute{A}$   $bhak\bar{s}\bar{a}-h\bar{a}s-anay-oh$ .

1.  $rud+l\bar{A}\bar{N} = \acute{a}\bar{T}+rud+\emptyset^1+t = \acute{a}-rod-r-t/-t\bar{s} = -t\bar{h}$  (8.2.66; 3.15); similarly: 2.  $\acute{a}-svap-\bar{n}/-t\bar{h}$ ; 3.  $\acute{a}-\acute{s}vas-\bar{n}/-t\bar{h}$ ; 4.  $pr\bar{a}n-\bar{n}/-t\bar{h}$  'breathed'; 5.  $\acute{a}-jak\bar{s}-\bar{n}/-t\bar{h}$  but  $rod-i-mi/-si/-ti$  (2.76).

### 7.3.99 aṭ gārg-ya-gālavay-oh

[The initial increment 1.1.46] short  $a(\bar{T})$  is inserted at the head of [a sárvadhātuka 95 single phoneme 96 consonant 89 introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the group of five verbal stems beginning with rud- 'cry, weep, shed tears' (II 58) 98] according to the grammarians Gārg-ya and Gālava.

$rud+l\bar{A}\bar{N} = \acute{a}-rud+\emptyset^1+t = \acute{a}-rod-at/-a\bar{h}$  (84);  $\acute{a}-svap-at/-a\bar{h}$ ;  $\acute{a}-\acute{s}vas-at/-a\bar{h}$ ;  $pr\bar{a}n-at/-a\bar{h}$ ;  $\acute{a}-jak\bar{s}-at/-a\bar{h}$ .

### 7.3.100 ad-aḥ sárve-ṣām

[The initial increment 1.1.46  $a\bar{T}$  is inserted at the head of a sárvadhātuka 95 single phoneme 96 affix 3.1.1 consisting of a consonant 89, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ad- 'eat' (II 1) according to all grammarians.

$ad+l\bar{A}\bar{N} = \acute{a}\bar{T}+ad+\emptyset^1+t = \acute{a}d-at/-a\bar{h}$  but  $ad+tiP = \acute{a}t-ti$  (8.4.55)/ $si/\acute{a}d-mi$ .

### 7.3.101 aT-aḥ dīrghá-ḥ yaṅ-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [before 1.1.66 a sārvaḥtuka 95 affix 3.1.1] beginning with a consonant denoted by the siglum yaṅ (= semivowels, nasals or bh).

The siglum [yaṅ] here stands primarily for *v* and *m* only, since [jḥ] is always replaced by [a(n)t 1.3ff.]. Its fuller use in relation to a succeeding rule extends it to include the consonants [y, ḥh].

*pác+ŚaP+mi/vas/mas* = *pác-ā+mi/vas/-mas*; *édh+ŚaP+vahe/mahe* = *édh-ā+vahe/mahe* but *ci-nu-vás/-más*; *pác-a-ta/tha*.

### 7.3.102 sUP-i ca

[A substitute long vowel 101 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 short vowel a(T) 101 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 before 1.1.66] sUP triplets [beginning with a consonant denoted by the siglum yaṅ (semivowels, nasals or bh) 101].

*devá+Ñe* = *devá+ya* (1.13) = *devá-ya*; *devá+bhyām* = *devá-bhyām*, but *agní-bhyām*, *devá-sya*.

### 7.3.103 bahu-vacan-é jḥaL-i eT

The substitute phoneme e(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short vowel a(T) 101 before 1.1.66] a plural [sUP triplet 102] beginning with a non-nasal consonant denoted by the siglum jḥaL (= all consonants other than nasals).

*devá+bhyas* = *devé-bhyah* (8.2.66; 3.15); *devá+su* = *devé-ṣu* (8.3.59). In the deep structure situation [devá+bhyas] both 102 and 103 are applicable, but by metarule 1.4.2, 103 blocks 102. Exception to 102 above.

### 7.3.104 os-i ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103] also (ca) [replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 short a(T) 102 before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] os (= gen. loc. dual).

*devá+os* = *devé+os* = *deváy-oḥ* (6.1.78; 8.2.66; 3.15).

### 7.3.105 āÑ-i ca=āP-aḥ

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103] also (ca) [replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] āÑ (= instr. sing.) as well as (ca) [os 104].

[āÑ] is deemed as a Pre-Pāṇinian technical term for his [Ṭā]. *māla+āÑ/os* = *māle+ā/os* = *mālay-a* (6.1.78)/*mālay-oḥ* (8.2.66; 3.15).

### 7.3.106 sam-bud-dh-au ca

[The substitute vowel e(T) 103 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.51 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the cover term āP 105 before 1.1.66] the vocative singular (sam-búd-dh-au) sUP triplet.

*māla+sU* (voc.) = *māle+∅* (6.1.69).

### 7.3.107 <sup>1</sup>ambā=<sup>2</sup>artha-<sup>2</sup>nady-ór hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of nominal stems 4.1.1] denoting the sense of ambā 'mother' as well as stems denoted by the t.t. nadí (1.4.3ff.) [before 1.1.66 the vocative singular sUP triplet 106].

*ambā/akkā/allā+sU* (voc.) = *ámba/ákka/dlla+∅* (6.1.69). *nadí/vadhā+sU* (voc.) = *nádi/vádhu+∅*.

### 7.3.108 hrasvá-sya guṇá-ḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] a short (hrasvá-sya: vowel 1.2.28: iK) [before 1.1.66 the vocative singular sUP triplet 106].

*agní/vāyú/pitṛ+sU* (voc.) = *ágne/vāyo/pītar+sU* = *ágne/vāyo+∅* (6.1.69)/*pītar+∅* (6.1.68) = *pītaḥ* (8.3.15).

### 7.3.109 Jas-i ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (a, e, o 1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 iK 1.1.3 of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 a short vowel 108 (iK) before 1.1.66 sUP triplet] Jas also (ca).

*hári/vāyú/pitḥ+Jas = háre/vāyó/pitár+as = háray-ah/vāyáv-ah/pitár-ah* (6.1.78; 8.2.66; 3.15).

### 7.3.110 ṛT-ah <sup>1</sup>Ni-<sup>2</sup>sarvanāmasthānáy-oh

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3) of a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel ṛT [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplets] <sup>1</sup>Ni (loc. sing.) and the strong triplets denoted by the t.t. sarvanāma-sthāná (= sUT).

*pitḥ+<sup>1</sup>Ni = pitár-i; pitḥ+au/am = pitár-au/-am. +Jas = pitár-ah* (109 above).

Though [Śi] is a strong case affix (1.1.42) the present rule does not apply to neuter stems as by 1.72 above the stem gets an infixal increment [nuM] whereby *kartḥ+Śi = kartḥ-n+Śi* thus making the áṅga not ending in [ṛ] and by 6.4.8 the surface form becomes *kartḥ-ṇ-i*.

### 7.3.111 GHE-r Ṇ-IT-i

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) 108 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel (iK 1.1.3) of nominal stems 4.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) [before sUP triplets] with marker Ṇ as IT.

*agní/vāyú+Ṇe/Ṇas(I) = agné/vāyó+e/as = agnáy-e/vāyáv-e; agn-é-h/vāy-ó-h* (6.4.110; 8.2.66; 3.15). For *agní/vāyú+Ṇi* see 119 below.

### 7.3.112 āT=nady-áh

[The initial increment 1.1.46] āT is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets with marker Ṇ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 nominal stems 4.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] nadí (1.4.3ff.).

*nadí/vadhú+Ṇe/Ṇas(I)/Ṇi = nadí/vadhú+āT-e/as/ām (116) = nady-aí/vadhv-auí, nady-áh/vadhv-áh; nady-ām/vadhv-ām.*

### 7.3.113 yāṭ āP-aḥ

[The initial increment 1.1.46] yāṭ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets having marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by] the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP).

$$mālā+Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi = mālā+yāṭ-e/as/ām (116) = mālā-yai/yās/yām.$$

### 7.3.114 sarva-nāmn-aḥ syāṭ hrasvá-s=h ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46] syāṭ is inserted at the head of [sUP triplets having marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1] of pronominal stems (sarva-nāmn-aḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the cover term āP (CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) 113] and the short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga final 1.1.52 vowel].

$$sarvá+Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi = sárva+syāṭ-e/as/ām (116) = sárva-syai/syās/syām.$$

### 7.3.115 vibhāṣā <sup>1</sup>dvi-tíyā-<sup>2</sup>ṭṛ-tíyā-bhyām

[The initial increment 1.1.46 syāṭ 114] is optionally (vibhāṣā) introduced [at the head of sUP triplets with marker Ñ as IT 111, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of pronominal stems 114] dvi-tíyā- 'second' and ṭṛ-tíyā- 'third' [and the short vowel replaces their ánga- final phoneme before 1.1.66 these triplets].

$$\begin{aligned} dvi-tíyā-ṭṛ-tíyā-Ñe/Ñas(I)/Ñi &= dvi-tíyā/ṭṛ-tíyā+syāṭ-e/as/ām = dvi-tíyā-syai/ \\ &syās/syām // dvi-tíyā+yai/yās/yām (113). \quad ṭṛ-tíyā+syai/syās/syām // \\ &ṭṛ-tíyā-yai/yās/yām (113). \end{aligned}$$

### 7.3.116 Ñe-r ām <sup>1</sup>nadī=<sup>2</sup>āP=<sup>3</sup>nī-bhyaḥ

The substitute morpheme ām replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet] Ñi (loc. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1 denoted by the t.t.] nadī (1.4.3ff.) or by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, ḌāP) and the [nominal stem] nī- 'leader'.

$$\begin{aligned} 1. \text{ vadhú+Ñi} &= \text{vadhú+ām} = \text{vadhú+āṭ-ām} (112) = \text{vadhv-ām}. & 2. \text{ mālā+Ñi} &= \\ \text{mālā+yāṭ+ām} (113) &= \text{mālā-yām}. & 3. \text{ senā-nī+Ñi} &= \text{senā-nī+ām} = \text{senāny-ām}. \end{aligned}$$

### 7.3.117 <sup>1</sup>iT=<sup>2</sup>uT=bhyām

[The substitute morpheme ām replaces the whole of 1.1.55 the sUP triplet Ñi 116, introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of nominal stems 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] short iT or uT [belonging to nadí-type 116].

The recurrence of [nadí] here is for the purpose of denoting feminine stems ending in short [i, u] which are covered by the t.t. GHI (1.4.7) and share the characteristics of masculine stems ending in short [i, u] but are not subject to this operation. Cf. 1.4.6 for their being nadí before Ñ-IT.

*ma-tí/dhe-nú+Ñi* = *ma-tí/dhe-nú+ām* = *ma-tí/dhe-nú+āT+ām* (112; 1.4.6) = *maty-ām/dhe-nv-ām*. For alternative forms cf. 119 below.

### 7.3.118 auT

The substitute morpheme auT replaces [the sUP triplet Ñi 116 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 short iT or uT 117].

The examples here are constituted by stems which are neither denoted by the t.t. nadí (1.4.3,6) nor by GHI (1.4.7).

*sákhi/pá-ti+Ñi* = *sákhi/pá-ti+au* = *sákhy-au/paty-au* (1.4.7-8).

### 7.3.119 aT=ca GHE-ḥ

[The substitute morpheme auT 118 replaces the sUP triplet Ñi 116 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal 4.1.1 ánga-s 6.4.1 denoted by the t.t.] GHI (1.4.7) and (ca) the substitute phoneme short a(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of these stems before 1.1.66 that sUp triplet].

*agní/vāyú/ma-tí/dhe-nú+Ñi* = *agní/vāyú/matí/dhenú+au* = *agná/vāyá/matá/dhená+au* = *agn-aú/vāy-aú/mat-aú/dhen-aú*.

### 7.3.120 āÑ-ah nā á-striy-ām

The substitute morpheme nā replaces the sUP triplet āÑ (inst. sing.) [introduced after 3.1.2 the ánga-s 6.4.1 of GHI stems (1.4.7)] excluding feminine stems (á-striy-ām).

*agní/vāyú+āÑ* = *agní/vāyú+nā* = *agní-nā/vāyú-nā*; similarly from neuter stems: *vári-nā/mádhu-nā*, but from fem. stems: *maty-ā/dhenv-ā*.

### 7.4.1 N̄-au CaÑ-i upa-dhā-y-āḥ hrasvā-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvā-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1] penultimate (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) vowel [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] CaÑ co-occurring after the causative marker N̄iC.

$kṛ + N̄iC + CaÑ + t$  (3.1.48) =  $kār-i-CaÑ + t$  (2.115) =  $kār + \emptyset + CaÑ + t$  (6.4.51) =  $kar + CaÑ + t$  =  $ka-kar-á-t$  (6.1.11) =  $ca-kar-á-t$  (4.62) =  $cī-kar-á-t$  (4.93-4) =  $āT + cī-kar-a-t$  (6.4.71) =  $á-cī-kar-a-t$ . Similarly from the verbal stems  $gaṇ-$ ,  $śri-$ ,  $nī-$ ,  $dru-$ ,  $pū-$ :  $á-jī-gaṇ-a-t/á-śi-śriy-a-t$  (6.1.77)/ $á-nī-nay-a-t/á-du-drav-a-t/a-pī-pav-a-t$  (4.80, 93-4).

### 7.4.2 ná <sup>1</sup>aC=lopí(n)=<sup>2</sup>śásÚ=<sup>3</sup>R̥T=IT-ām

[A substitute short vowel 1] does not (ná) replace [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1] which undergoes a lópa (∅) replacement of [its final 1.1.52] vowel (aC-°), of śás- 'teach, instruct, command' (II 66) or those (verbal stems) with marker R̥ as IT (when introduced in the Dhp.) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CaÑ co-occurring after the causative marker N̄iC 1].

$rāj-ān-am$   $ati-krān-távān$  =  $ati + rāj + \emptyset + N̄iC + CaÑ + t$  (6.4.144) =  $aty-á-ra-rāj-at$  'has overcome the king'.  $śás + N̄iC + CaÑ + t$  =  $á-sa-śás-a-t$ .  $bādh-R̥ + N̄iC + CaÑ + t$  =  $á-ba-bādh-a-t$  'has oppressed'.

### 7.4.3 <sup>1</sup>bhráj-a-<sup>2</sup>bhás-a-<sup>3</sup>bhás-A-<sup>4</sup>dīpa-<sup>5</sup>jīv-Á-<sup>6</sup>mīl-Á-<sup>7</sup>pīd-ām anya-tará-syām

[A substitute short vowel 1] optionally (anya-tará-sysām) replaces [the penultimate vowel 1 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] bhráj- 'shine' (I 875), bhás- 'shine' (I 685), bhás- 'speak' (I 643), dīp- 'shine' (IV 42), jīv- 'live' (I 594), mīl- 'shut the eye' (I 550) and pīd- 'torment' (X 11) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CaÑ co-occurring after the causative marker N̄iC 1].

1.  $bhráj + N̄iC + CaÑ + t$  =  $á-bi-bhraj-a-t$  (93)/ $á-ba-bhrāj-a-t$ . Similarly: 2.  $á-bī-bhas-a-t$  (93-4)/ $á-ba-bhās-a-t$ ; 3.  $á-bī-bhas-a-t/á-ba-bhās-at$ ; 4.  $á-dī-dip-a-t/á-di-dīp-a-t$ ; 5.  $á-jī-jīv-a-t/á-jī-jīv-at$ ; 6.  $á-mī-mil-a-t/á-mi-mīl-at$ ; 7.  $á-pī-pīd-at/á-pi-pīd-a-t$ .

The short vowel of the reduplicated syllable is replaced by the long one when the penultimate vowel of the stem is replaced by the short one by 94 below.

#### 7.4.4 lópa-ḥ píb-a-te-r iT=ca abhy-ās-á-sya

A substitute lópa (∅) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] pā- (I 972) 'drink' [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1] and the substitute long ī replaces the vowel of the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya).

$$pā+NíC+CaÑ+t = pāy-f+CaÑ+t \text{ (3.37)} = p(∅)yi+CaÑ+t = pi-py-∅+a-t \text{ (6.4.51)} = \\ á-pī-py-a-t/tām/an.$$

#### 7.4.5 tí-ṣṭh-a-te-r iT

The substitute short vowel i(T) replaces [the penultimate vowel 1 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] sthā- 'stand, stay, abide' (I 975) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

$$sthā+NíC+CaÑ+t = sthā-p-f \text{ (3.36)}+CaÑ+t = sthā-p-∅+CaÑ+t \text{ (6.4.51)} = \\ á-ti-ṣṭhip-a-t/-tām/-an.$$

#### 7.4.6 ji-ghr-a-te-r vā

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 5] optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate 1 vowel of the verbal stem] ghrā- (= ji-ghra- 3.38) 'smell' (I 973) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

$$ghrā+NíC+CaÑ+t = ghrā-p-f+CaÑ+t = ghrā-p-∅+CaÑ+t = \\ á-ji-ghrip-a-t/á-ji-ghrap-a-t.$$

#### 7.4.7 ur ṛT

The substitute short vowel ṛ(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1] ṛ [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NíC 1].

This rule blocks out substitutes ir (1.101), ar (3.86), ār (2.114).

$$kṛt+NíC+CaÑ+t = á-ci-kṛt-a-t/á-ci-kṛt-at \text{ (93-4)}; vṛt+NíC+CaÑ+t = \\ á-va-vart-a-t/á-vī-vṛt-at; mṛj+NíC+CaÑ+t = á-ma-mārj-a-t/á-mī-mṛj-at.$$



#### 7.4.8 nítya-m chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute short vowel ɾ(T) 7] necessarily (nítya-m) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 penultimate vowel 1 ɾ 7 before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ co-occurring after the causative marker NÍC 1].

$$vɾdh+NÍC+CáÑ+t = d-vɾ-vɾdh-a-t/-tām/-an.$$

#### 7.4.9 dáy-a-te-r digi IIṬ-i

The substitute morpheme digi replaces [the whole of 1.1.52 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] de(Ñ) 'protect, guard' (1011) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] IIṬ.

The verbal stem *dáyA dána-gáti-rákṣaṇa-himśá=a-dáne-ṣu* (I 510) is not coming under this rule as it is covered by 3.1.37.  $deÑ+IIṬ = digi+eŚ = digy-e$ . By interpretation the substitute replaces the whole reduplicated theme of the original stem.

#### 7.4.10 ɾT-as ca saṁ-yogá=āde-r guṇá-h

A substitute guṇá (1.1.2) vowel replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final vowel 1.1.52 of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ɾ(T) with an initial conjunct consonant (saṁ-yog-á=āde-h) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] IIṬ 9].

$smɾ+IIṬ = sa-smɾ+átus/ús$  (6.1.8; 7.4.60,66)k = *sa-smar-átus/ús* 'remembered, recollected', but  $kɾ+átus/ús = ca-kr-átus/ús$ .

#### 7.4.11 <sup>1</sup>ɾcch-á-ti=<sup>2</sup>ɾ=<sup>3</sup>ɾT-ām

[A substitute Guṇá (1.1.2) vowel replaces the ánga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stems] ɾch- 'go, move' (VI 15), ɾ- 'go, move' (I 983) and those [ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ɾ(T) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes of] IIṬ 9].

1.  $ɾch+IIṬ = ɾch+NaL = a-ɾch+NaL$  (66) =  $a-ɾch+NaL$  (70) =  $a+nuT-ɾch+NaL$  (71) =  $a-nárcch-a/átus/ús$ ; 2.  $ɾ+IIṬ = ɾ+átus/ús = a+ɾ+átus/ús = a-ɾ+átus/ús = a-r-átus/ús$ ; 3.  $kɾ+átus/ús = ca-kɾ-átus/ús$  (62,66) = *ca-kar-átus/ús* 'scattered'.

#### 7.4.12 ${}^1\acute{s}\bar{r}\text{-}^2d\bar{r}\text{-}^3p\bar{r}\text{-}\bar{a}m$ hrasvá-ḥ vā

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel of the verbal stems]  $\acute{s}\bar{r}\text{-}$  ‘injure’ (IX 18),  $d\bar{r}\text{-}$  ‘break or split open’ (IX 23) and  $p\bar{r}\text{-}$  ‘protect, fill up’ (IX 19) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 9].

The option is with reference to the operation of 11 above.

1.  $vi\text{-}\acute{s}\bar{r}\text{-}\acute{a}tus/s\acute{v}is = vi\text{-}\acute{s}a\text{-}\acute{s}\bar{r}\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us = vi\text{-}\acute{s}a\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us; vi\text{-}\acute{s}a\text{-}\acute{s}ar\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us$  (11); 2.  $vi\text{-}da\text{-}dr\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us; vi\text{-}da\text{-}dar\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us$ ; 3.  $ni\text{-}pa\text{-}pr\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us; ni\text{-}pa\text{-}par\text{-}\acute{a}tus/us$ .

#### 7.4.13 k-e=aÑ-aḥ

[A substitute short vowel 12 replaces a (long) vowel denoted by the siglum] aÑ<sup>1</sup> (= a, i, u) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] ka.

$jā\text{-}nā\text{-}ti = jñā+Ká$  (3.1.135)+ $TāP = jñ\emptyset+\acute{a}+TāP$  (6.4.64) =  $jñ\acute{a}; jñ\acute{a}+k\acute{a}+TāP$  (5.3.70)/ $jñ\acute{a}+kaN+TāP$  (5.3.76) =  $jñ\acute{a}\text{-}k\text{-}\acute{a}/jñ\acute{a}\text{-}k\text{-}\bar{a}$ . (3.47).  $kumārI+k\acute{a}+TāP = kumārI\text{-}k\text{-}\acute{a}$  (5.3.76), but  $go+k\acute{a}+TāP = go\text{-}k\text{-}\acute{a}$ ,  $nau\text{-}k\text{-}\acute{a}$  ‘small boat’, (+uÑ-ādi affix).

#### 7.4.14 ná kaP-i

[A substitute short vowel 12] does not (ná) replace [a long vowel denoted by the siglum aÑ<sup>1</sup> (d= a, i, u) 13 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] kaP (5.4.151ff.).

$bahvy\text{-}\acute{a}ḥ\ kumāry\text{-}\acute{a}ḥ\ a\text{-}sy\acute{a} = bahu\text{-}\emptyset^1+kumārI+kaP = bahu\text{-}kumar\acute{f}\text{-}ka\text{-}$  (6.2.175 for accent); similarly  $bahu\text{-}vadh\acute{u}\text{-}ka\text{-}$  ‘having many daughters-in-law’.

#### 7.4.15 āP-aḥ anya-tará-syām

[A substitute short vowel 12 does not 14] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replace [the final phoneme (long vowel) of an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72 the feminine affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the cover term āP (= CāP, ṬāP, DāP) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 kaP 14].

$bahvy\text{-}\acute{a}ḥ\ mālāḥ\ a\text{-}sy\acute{a} = bahu\text{-}\emptyset^1+mālā+kaP$  (5.4.151) =  $bahu\text{-}mālā\text{-}ka\text{-}\acute{h}$   $bahu\text{-}mālā\text{-}ka\text{-}\acute{h}$  ‘possessing many garlands’.

#### 7.4.16 <sup>1</sup>r-<sup>2</sup>dṛś-aḥ aÑ-i guṇá-ḥ

A substitute Guṇá replaces [ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme] short ṛ and [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel ṛ of the verbal stem] dṛś- 'see, perceive' (I 1037) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] aÑ (contra 1.1.5).

By 3.1.59 this affix is introduced in the domain of Chándas after the verbal stems *kṛ-*, *mṛ-*, *dṛ-*, *ruh-* which implies that the sonant vowel [ṛ] is short and thus blocks out its allophones which would otherwise be implied by 1.1.69, not being marked by T as IT.

1.  $kṛ+IUÑ = kṛ+Ch$  (3.1.43) =  $kṛ+aÑ$  (3.1.59) =  $dT+kṛ+a-t = d-kar-a-t$  (6.4.71);  $d-mar-a-t$ ;  $d-dar-a-t$ .
2.  $dṛś+aÑ$  (3.1.57) =  $d-darś-a-t$ .

#### 7.4.17 ás-ya-te-s thuk

[The final increment 1.1.46] thuk is inserted at the end of [the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] ás- 'throw, cast, shoot at' (IV 100) [before 1.1.66 the substitute Aorist marker aÑ 16].

$$as+IUÑ = as+aÑ$$
 (3.1.52) =  $dT+as-thuk+a-t$  (6.4.72) =  $dś-th+a-t$ .

#### 7.4.18 śváy-a-te-r a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme short /a/ replaces [ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stem] śvi- 'swell' (I 1059) [before the substitute Aorist marker aÑ 16].

$$śvi+IUÑ = śvi+aÑ+t$$
 (3.1.58) =  $d-śva+a-t = d-śv-a-t$  (6.1.97).

#### 7.4.19 pát-aḥ puM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] puM is inserted after the last vowel [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] pát(<sub>I</sub>) 'fall, fly' (I 898) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker aÑ 16].

$$pat(I)+IUÑ = pat+aÑ+t$$
 (3.1.55) =  $d-pa-p-t-a-t/-tām/-an$ .

#### 7.4.20 vac-aḥ uM

[The infixed increment 1.1.47] uM is inserted after the last vowel [of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] vac- 'speak' (II 54) [before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker aÑ 16].

$$vac+I\dot{U}\dot{N} = vac+a\dot{N}+t \text{ (3.1.52)} = \acute{a}-va-u-c+a+t = \acute{a}-voc-a-t \text{ (6.1.87)}.$$

#### 7.4.21 $\acute{s}\acute{i}\dot{N}$ -ah $\acute{s}\acute{a}rva$ -dhdātu-ke guṇá-ḥ

A substitute guṇá vowel (= e 1.1.2) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem]  $\acute{s}\acute{i}\dot{N}$ - 'lie down' (II 22) [before 1.1.66]  $\acute{s}\acute{a}rva$ -dhātuka [affixes 3.1.1]. (3.4.113).

$$\acute{s}\acute{i}+\emptyset^1+te/\acute{a}te/\acute{a}te = \acute{s}\acute{e}-te/\acute{s}\acute{a}y-\acute{a}te \text{ (6.1.78)}/\acute{s}\acute{e}-r-ate \text{ (1.6)}. \text{ [6.1.186]}.$$

#### 7.4.22 aya $\dot{N}$ y-i K- $\dot{N}$ -IT-i

The substitute element aya $\dot{N}$  replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme of the verbal stem  $\acute{s}\acute{i}\dot{N}$ - 'lie down' (II 22) 21 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the semivowel y-° and having marker K or  $\dot{N}$  as IT.

$$\acute{s}\acute{i}+y\acute{a}K+te(bh\acute{a}v-\acute{e}) = \acute{s}\acute{a}y-y\acute{a}-te \text{ 'lying down takes place' (Impersonal construction);}$$

$$pra+\acute{s}\acute{i}+Ktv\acute{a} = pra-\acute{s}\acute{i}+LyaP = pra-\acute{s}\acute{a}y-ya \text{ 'having lain down upon'}.$$

#### 7.4.23 upa-sarg-át hrasvá-ḥ ūh-a-te-ḥ

A substitute short (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the áṅga 6.4.1 vowel of the verbal stem] ūh- 'guess, suspect' (I 679), co-occurring after a preverb [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-° and marked with K or  $\dot{N}$  as IT 22].

$$\acute{s}\acute{a}m+\acute{u}h+y\acute{a}K+te = \acute{s}\acute{a}m-uh-ya-te, \text{ but } \acute{u}h-y\acute{a}-te.$$

#### 7.4.24 é-te-r IIN-i

[A substitute short (vowel 1.2.28) 23 replaces the áṅga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem] i- 'go' (II 36) [co-occurring after a preverb 23, before l-substitutes of] IIN [beginning with y-° and marked by K or  $\dot{N}$  as IT 22].

Exception to 25 below.  $\acute{u}d/\acute{s}\acute{a}m/\acute{a}nu+i+y\acute{a}s\acute{u}T+suT+t \text{ (3.4.103,107)} =$   
 $\acute{u}d/\acute{s}\acute{a}m/\acute{a}nu+i-y\acute{a}\emptyset-\emptyset-t \text{ (2.79)}$  since [y\acute{a}s\acute{u}T] here is  $\dot{N}$ IT by 3.4.103. In the case of the Precative/Benedictive it is K-IT (3.4.104) and the resulting forms are:  
 $\acute{u}d/\acute{s}\acute{a}m/\acute{a}nu+i-y\acute{a}\emptyset t \text{ (8.2.29)}/-i-y\acute{a}s-i\acute{a}m/i-y\acute{a}s-uh.$

#### 7.4.25 á-<sup>1</sup>kṛt-<sup>2</sup>sārva-dhātu-kay-oḥ dīrghá-h

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of a verbal stem ending in a vowel (denoted by the siglum aC 1.2.28), before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-° and marked by K or Ñ as IT 22] excluding kṛt (3.1.93ff.) and sārva dhātuka (3.4.113).

*bhṛśa+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *bhṛśā-yá-te* (3.1.12; 6.1.97); *ci+yáK+te* = *cī-yá-te* 'is piled or heaped up'. *stu+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *to-stū-ya-te* (3.1.22; 6.1.9; 7.4.82) 'constantly praises'. But *pra+kṛ+LyaP* = *pra-kṛ-t-ya*; *ci+IIÑ* = *ci-nu+yásuT+suT+t* = *ci-nu-yá+θ+θ-t* = *ci-nu-yá-t*; however for the Precative/Benedictive which is ārdhadhātuka: *ci+yásuT+suT+t* = *cī-yáθθ-t* (8.2.29).

#### 7.4.26 Cv-AU ca

[A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) 26 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme (aC 1.2.28)] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Cvī (5.4.50).

*śuci+Cvī+bhū+ŚaP+ti* = *śucī-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes purified'; *patú+Cvī+kṛ+u+ti* = *patū-kar-o-ti* 'makes skillful'.

#### 7.4.27 rīÑ ṛT-aḥ

The substitute element rīÑ replaces [ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53] short vowel ṛ(T) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with y-° 22 excluding kṛt and sārva dhātuka affixes 25, and before Cvī 26].

*māṭṛ+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *māṭrī-yá-ti* 'desires a mother for oneself'; *māṭṛ+KyáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *māṭrī-yá-te* (3.1.11) 'acts like a mother'; *kṛ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* (3.1.22) = *ce-kṛī-yá-te* (82); *māṭṛ+Cvī+bhū+ŚaP+ti* = *māṭrī-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes a mother'. But *kṛ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *kīr+yáÑ+a-te* (1.100) = *ce-kṛī-yá-te* (82) 'repeatedly scatters'.

#### 7.4.28 rīÑ <sup>1</sup>Śsa-<sup>2</sup>yáK-<sup>3</sup>IIÑ-k-ṣu

The substitute element rīÑ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.53 phoneme short ṛ(T) 27 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] Śa (3.1.77), yáK (3.1.67) and l-substitutes of IIÑ [beginning with y-°, excluding sārva dhātuka affixes 25].

1. *á-dṛÑ+Śa+te* = *á=dri-y-a-te* (6.4.77) 'honors, waits upon'; 2. *kṛ+yáK+te* = *kriyá-te* 'is being done'; 3. *kṛ+IIÑ (āśis-i)* = *kṛ+yásuT+suT+t/tām/us* =

*kri-yāṭṭ+ṭ+t* (8.2.29) = *kri-yā-t/kri-yās-tām/us*; *bhṛ+Ślu+yāsut+suṭ+t* = *bi-bhṛ-yāṭṭ+ṭ+t/tām/us* (2.79) = *bi-bhṛ-yā-t/tām/bi-bhṛ-y-ús* (6.1.96).

#### 7.4.29 guṇá-h 'arti-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-yog-á-ādy-oḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 vowel ṛT 27 of the verbal stem] ṛ 'go' (I 983) and those with an initial conjunct consonant ( °saṁ-yog-á=ādy-oḥ) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáK and l-substitutes of IIN̄ 28 excluding sāravadhatuka affixes 25].

1. *ṛ+yáK+te* = *ar-yá-te* (contra 1.1.5); *smṛ+yáK+te* = *smar-yá-te* 'is remembered'; but *kṛ+yáK+te* = *kriy-á-te*. 2. *ṛ+yās+s+t/tām/us* = *ar-yāṭṭ+ṭ+t* (8.2.29) = *ar-yā-t/ar-yās-tām/us*; *smar-yā-t/smar-yās-tām/us*.

#### 7.4.30 yáÑ-i ca

[A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme short ṛT 27 of the verbal stems ṛ- 'go' (I 983) and those with an initial conjunct consonant 29] also (ca) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] yáÑ (3.1.22).

1. *ṛ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ar+yáÑ+a+te* = *ar-ar-yá-te* (6.1.2,9; 7.4.60) = *ar-ār-yá-te* (83).
2. *svṛ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *svar+yáÑ+a+te* = *sa-svar-yá-te* = *sā-svar-yá-te* (83).

#### 7.4.31 ī 'ghrā-<sup>2</sup>dhm-oḥ

The substitute long vowel ī replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the verbal stems] ghrā- 'smell' (I 973) and dhmā 'blow, inflate' (I 974) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 yáÑ 30].

1. *ghrā+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ghrī+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *je-ghrī-yá-te* (6.1.97, 7.4.82). 2. *dhmā+yáÑ* = *dhmī+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *de-dhmī-yá-te* (6.1.9,97; 7.4.60,82; 8.4.54).

#### 7.4.32 a-sya Cv-au

[The substitute long vowel ī 31 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme class] a [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Cvī (5.4.50).

- śukla/khaṭvā+Cvī+bhū+ŚaP+tiP* = *śuklī-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes white';  
*khaṭvī-bhav-a-ti* 'becomes a cot'.

### 7.4.33 KháC-i ca

[The substitute long vowel ɪ 31] also (ca) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme class /a/ 32 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] KyáC.

*ātmán-aḥ putrá-m icch-á-ti* = *putrá+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *putrI-yá-a-ti* = *putrI-yá-ti* (6.1.97) 'desires a son for one's self'. Exception to 25 above.

### 7.4.34 <sup>1</sup>aśanā-yá=<sup>2</sup>udan-yá-<sup>3</sup>dhanā-y-áh <sup>1</sup>bu-bhk-ṣā- <sup>2</sup>pi-pā-sā-<sup>3</sup>gardhé-ṣu

The verbal stems [as derived with affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33] are introduced as aś-anā-yá-, udan-yá- and dhanā-yá to denote [respectively 1.3.10] 'be hungry' (bu-bhuk-ṣā), 'be thirsty' (°-pi-pā-sā-°) and 'covet' (°-gardhé-ṣu).

Exception to 33 above. In other senses: *aś-anI-yá-* 'to be greedy for food without being hungry'; *udakI-yá-* 'to wish for water (without being thirsty)'; *dhanI-yá-* 'to wish for riches (without being greedy or covetous)'.

### 7.4.35 ná=chándas-i á-putra-sya

In the Chándas [the substitute long vowel ɪ 31] does not (ná) replace [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme a 32] excluding that of [the nominal stem 4.1.1] *putrá-* 'son' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

Exception to 33. *mitra+KyáC+ú* (3.2.170) = *mitra-y-ú-* (6.4.148) 'friendly, affectionate, amicable' but *putra+KyaC+ŚatR̥* = *putra+KyáC+ŚaP+ŚatR̥+Jas* = *putrI-y-ánt-aḥ* 'desiring sons for themselves'.

### 7.4.36 <sup>1</sup>duras-y-ú-r-<sup>2</sup>draviṇas-y-ú-r=<sup>3</sup>vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti-<sup>4</sup>riṣaṇ-yá-ti

[In the domain of Chándas 35] the expressions *duras-y-ú-* 'wishing to do harm', *draviṇa-s-y-ú-* 'desiring or bestowing goods', *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* 'be in heat, desire the male' and *riṣaṇ-yá-ti* 'fails, miscarries' are introduced [as derived with the affix 3.1.1. KyáC 33].

1. *duṣṭa+KyáC* = *duras+ya+ú-* (3.2.170) = *duras-y-ú-* (6.4.148) = *duṣṭI-yá-ti*. 2. *draviṇa+KyaC+ú* = *draviṇas-y-ú-* = *dravinI-yá-ti*. 3. *vṛṣa+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* = *vṛṣI-yá-ti*. 4. *riṣṭa+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* = *riṣaṇ-yá-ti* = *riṣṭI-yá-ti*.

### 7.4.37 <sup>1</sup>ásva=<sup>2</sup>aghá-sya āT

[In the Chándas 35] the substitute phoneme long āT replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of nominal stems 4.1.1] *ásva-* 'horse' and *aghá-* 'evil' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

Exception to 33. 1. *ásva*+*KyáC*+*ŚaP*+*tiP* = *aśvā-yá-ti* (6.1.97); 2. *aghā-yá-ti*; *aśvā-yá*+*ŚaP*+*ŚatR*+*Jas* = *aśvā-y-ánt-aḥ*; *aghā-ya*+*ú* (3.2.170)+*Jas* = *agha-y-áv-aḥ*

### 7.4.38 <sup>1</sup>devá-<sup>2</sup>sumná-or yájus-i káthak-e

In the ritual formulae of the Káthaka school [the substitute phoneme long ā(T) 37 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *devá-* 'divinity' and *sumná-* 'grace, favor' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

*devá*+*KyáC*+*ŚaP*+*ŚatR*+*Jas* = *devā-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming divine'; similarly *sumnā-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming gracious'.

### 7.4.39 <sup>1</sup>kaví=<sup>2</sup>adhvará-<sup>3</sup>pṛtana-sya=ṛc-í lópa-ḥ

In the domain of the R̥g-Veda the substitute lópa (Ø) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the nominal stems 4.1.1] *kaví-* 'poet, wise man', *adhvará-* 'sacrifice' and *pṛtanā* 'army, adversaries' [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 KyáC 33].

1. *kavi*+*KyáC*+*ŚaP*+*ŚatR*+*Jas* = *kavØ-y-ánt-aḥ* (6.1.97) 'becoming wise'; similarly:  
2. *adhvar-y-ánt-aḥ* 'becoming engaged in sacrifices'; 3. *pṛtan-y-ánt-aḥ* 'fighting against'.

### 7.4.40 <sup>1</sup>dya-ti-<sup>2</sup>sya-ti-<sup>3</sup>mā-<sup>4</sup>sth-ām iT t-i K-IT-i

The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] *do-* 'cut' (IV 40), *so-* 'end, terminate' (IV 39), *mā-* 'measure' (IV 34) and *sthā-* 'stay, remain' (I 975) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with the phoneme t-°, with marker K as IT.

1. *do*+*Ktá* = *di-tá-*, *nṛ-di-ta(-vat)-* 'cut off'; 2. *ava-so*+*Kta-* = *áva-si-ta(-vat)-* 'terminated'; 3. *mā*+*Ktá(-vatU)* = *mi-tá(vat)-* 'measured'; 4. *sthā*+*Ktá(vatU)* = *sthi-tá(-vat)-* 'remaining, standing'.



#### 7.4.41 <sup>1</sup>śā-<sup>2</sup>ch-or anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 30] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final phoneme 1.1.52 of the verbal stems] śo- (= śā-) 'sharpen, whet, hone' (II 37) and cho- (= chā) 'cut' (IV 38) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme t-° with marker K as IT 40].

1. *ni+śo+Ktá(vatU)* = *ní-śi-ta-(vat)-* 'sharpened'/*ní-śā-ta(vat)-*. 2.  
*áva+cho+Kta(vatU)* = *áva-cchi-ta-(vat)-/áva-cchā-ta(vat)-* 'cut'.

#### 7.4.42 dá-dhā-te-r hi-ḥ

The substitute morpheme hi replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1] of the verbal stem dhā- 'bear, support' (III 10) [before an affix 3.1.1 with initial t-° and marker K as IT 40].

*dhā+Ktá(vatU)* = *hi-tá-(vat)-*; *dhā+Ktvá* = *hi-tvá*, but *pra+ni+dhā+Ktvá* = *pra-ni+dhā+LyaP* (1.37) = *pra-ni-dhā-ya*.

#### 7.4.43 já-hā-te-ś ca Ktv-i

[The substitute morpheme hi 42] also replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] hā- 'abandon, renounce' (III 8) [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1] Ktvá.

*hā+Ktvá* = *hi-tvá* 'having abandoned or renounced', but from the verbal stem *O-hā-N ga-t-au* (III 7)+*Ktvá* = *hā-tvá*.

#### 7.4.44 vibhāṣā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute morpheme hi 42] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] hā- 'abandon' (III 8) before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1 Ktvá 43].

*hi-tvá/hā-tvá*.

#### 7.4.45 <sup>1</sup>sú-dhi-ta-<sup>2</sup>vásu-dhi-ta-<sup>3</sup>nemá-dhi-ta-<sup>4</sup>dhi-ṣvā-<sup>5</sup>dhi-ṣīy-á ca

[In the domain of Chándas 44] the expressions sú-dhi-ta- 'well placed', vásu-dhi-ta- 'possession of wealth', nemá-dhi-ta- 'half-supported', dhi-ṣvā 'bear!', dhi-ṣīy-a 'may I place' are introduced.

1-3. In the expressions ending in *-dhi-ta-*, *dhā* is not replaced by *hi-* before *Ktā(vatU)*, an exception to 42 above. In the remaining two forms: 4. *dhā+IoT* = *dhā+Ślu+sva* = *da-dhā+sva* (6.1.10; 7.4.59; 8.4.54); *∅* replaces the reduplicated syllable, and short vowel [i] replaces the *āṅga*-final before the l-substitute [svá]: *dhi+svá* = *dhi-śvá* (8.3.59) corresponding to the non-Chandas speech *da-dh∅+svá* (6.4.112) = *dhad+svá* (8.2.37) = *dhat-svá* (8.4.55). 5. *dhā+IIN* (*āśiṣ-i*) = *dhā+sīyūT+a* = *dhi-sīy-a* = *dhi-sīy-á* (8.3.59) for non-Chandas *dhā-sīy-á*.

#### 7.4.46 d-aḥ dad GHU-h

The substitute morpheme *dad-* replaces [the whole of 1.1.55 the *āṅga* 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] *dā-* 'give' (III 9) belonging to the class of stems defined by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial phoneme *t-*° with marker K as IT 40].

*dā+Ktā(vatU)* = *dad+tā(vat)-* = *dat-tā(vat)-* (8.4.55), but from *dāP lāv-an-e* (II 50)+*Ktā(vatU)* = *dā-tā(vat)-* and *áva+daiP śódh-an-e* (I 971)+*Ktā(vatU)* = *áva-dā-ta(vat)-* 'purified' and *dheT pá-n-e* (I 951)+*Ktā(vatU)* = *dhā-tā(vat)-* 'drunk'.

#### 7.4.47 aC-aḥ upa-sarg-āt ta-h

The substitute phoneme *t* replaces [the *āṅga* 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the verbal stem *dā-* 'give' (III 9), belonging to the class of stems defined by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20) 46] co-occurring after a pre-verb [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel (aC-aḥ) [before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 with initial *t-*°, with marker K as IT 40].

The interpretation of this rule requires some finesse. If [aC-aḥ] as qualifying [upa-sarg-āt] is considered as an ablative, the substituendum for [t] is the initial of what follows the ablative (1.1.54), viz. [d]; in order to avoid this interpreters either take [aC-aḥ] as repeated, one in the ablative qualifying the preverb, the other in the genitive to indicate the substituendum which yields the correct result; or in the alternative consider the substitute as [tt] when by 1.1.55 it replaces the whole of the substituendum.

*prá+dā+Kta(vatU)* = *prá-dt+ta(vat)* = *prá-tt-ta(vat)* (8.4.55) 'donated', but *nir-dat-ta(vat)*.

#### 7.4.48 ap-áḥ bh-i

[The substitute phoneme *t* 47 replaces the *āṅga* 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem] *áp-* 'water' [before 1.1.66 sUP triplets with initial] *bh-*°.

Since this stem usually takes only the plural sUP triplets, these are [bhis, bhyas].  
 $ap+bhis/bhyas = at+bhis/bhyas = ad-bhñh/bhydh$  (8.2.66; 3.15; 4.55); accent by (6.1.68).

#### 7.4.49 s-aḥ s-i ārdha-dhātu-k-e

[The substitute phoneme t 47 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] dental sibilant °-s [before 1.1.66] an ārdhadhātuka [affix 3.1.1 beginning with] s-°.

$vas+syá+tiP = vat-syá-ti$  'will abide or reside';  $ad+saN = ghas+saN$  (2.4.37) =  $jí-ghas+saN$  (6.1.9; 7.4.62,79; 8.4.54) =  $jí-ghat-sa-$  'wish to eat', but  $á-se$  'dost sit' (sārvadhātuka).

#### 7.4.50 <sup>1</sup>tās=<sup>2</sup>as-ty-or lópa-ḥ

The substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.55 phoneme of themes of verbal stems ending in the non-sigmatic future marker] tās (3.1.33) and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before an affix 3.1.1 with] initial s-°.

1.  $kr+IUT = kr+tās+siP$  (3.1.33) =  $kar-tāḥ-si = kar-tā-si$ . 2.  $ás+ḥ^1+siP = aḥ-si = á-si$ .

#### 7.4.51 r-i ca

[The substitute lópa (ḥ) 50 replaces the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal themes ending in 1.1.72 the non-sigmatic future marker tās and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] r-°.

$kr+tās+rau/ras$  (2.4.85) =  $kar-tāḥ+rau/rah$ . With reference to the verbal stem [as], except for a single form cited by commentaries from the domain of Chāndas, no such affix is found in non-Chāndas:  $vy-ati+as+IIT = vy-ati+as+re$  (6.4.76)  $vy-ati+ḥs+re$  (6.4.111) =  $vy-ati-ḥ-re$  without reduplication.

#### 7.4.52 ḥa eT-i

The substitute phoneme h replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 final 1.1.52 phoneme of verbal themes ending in 1.1.72 the non-sigmatic future marker tās and the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with the phoneme] e-°.

$kṛ+tās+e$  (3.4.79) =  $kar-tāh-e$ ;  $vy-āti-as+e$  =  $vy-ati+θs+e$  (6.4.111) =  $vy-āti-h-e$ .

#### 7.4.53 <sup>1</sup>y-<sub>i</sub>=<sup>2</sup>i-varṇay-or <sup>1</sup>ḍidhī-<sup>2</sup>vevy-oḥ

[The substitute lópa (θ) 50 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems]  $\dot{d}idhī(\dot{N})$  'shine' (II 67) and  $vevī(\dot{N})$  'go' (II 58) [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with phoneme]  $y-^{\circ}$  or  $i-^{\circ}$ .

1. before  $y-^{\circ}$ :  $\dot{a}-dīdhī+Ktvā = \dot{a}-dīdhī-LyaP$  (1.37) =  $\dot{a}-dīdhī-ya = \dot{a}-dīdhī-ya$ ; similarly  $\dot{a}-vevī-ya$ .
2. before  $i-/ī-^{\circ}$ :  $\dot{a}-dīdhī+iT+trC = \dot{a}-dīdhī-i-tf- = \dot{a}-dīdhī-i-tf-/ā-vevī-i-tf-$ .  
 $\dot{a}-dīdhī+liN = \dot{a}-dīdhī+θ^1+sryuT+suT+ta$  (3.4.102,107) =  $dā-dīdhī+θry+θ+ta$  (2.79) =  $\dot{a}-dīdhī-θ-ta$  (6.1.66) =  $\dot{a}-dīdhī-ī-ta/\dot{a}-vevī-ī-ta$ .

#### 7.4.54 saN-i <sup>1</sup>mī-<sup>2</sup>mā-<sup>3</sup>GHU-<sup>4</sup>rabhA-<sup>5</sup>labhA-<sup>6</sup>śakā-<sup>7</sup>pāta-<sup>8</sup>pad-ām aC-aḥ is

The substitute element /is/ replaces [the ánga 6.4.1] vowel (aC-aḥ) phoneme [of the verbal stems]  $mī(\dot{N})$  'destroy' (IX 4),  $mī\dot{N}$  (V 4 →  $mī$ - 6.4.16) 'toss, fling',  $mā$ - 'measure' (II 53, IV 34),  $me\dot{N}$  'barter, exchange' (I 1010), those denoted by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20),  $rabh$ - 'grasp, seize' (I 1023),  $labh$ - 'take, seize, catch, gain' (I 1024),  $śak$ - 'be able' (V 15),  $pāt$ - 'fall, fly' (I 898) and  $pad$ - 'go' (IV 60) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker]  $saN$  (3.1.7) [beginning with  $s-^{\circ}$  49].

1.  $mī/mi+saN = m-is+saN = mīt-saN$  (49);  $prā-mit-saN$  (58).
2.  $mā/me+saN = m-is+saN = mīt-saN/āpa-mit-saN$  (58).
3.  $dā/dhā+saN = d-is/dh-is+saN = dīt-saN/dhīt-saN$  (58).
4.  $\dot{a}-rabh+saN = \dot{a}-riśbh+saN = \dot{a}-riśbh+saN$  (8.2.29) =  $\dot{a}-rip-saN$  (8.4.53).
5.  $\dot{a}labh+saN = \dot{a}-lip-saN$  (58).
6.  $\dot{ś}ak+saN = \dot{ś}isk+saN = \dot{ś}ik+saN = \dot{ś}ik-śaN$  (58; 8.3.59).
7.  $pat+saN = pist+saN = piθt-saN = pīt-saN$  (58).
8.  $pad+saN = pīd+saN = pi-d+saN = pīt-saN$  (58; 8.4.55).

In all these cases θ also replaces the reduplicated syllable generated by 6.1.9 (cf. 58 below). When  $saN$  is preceded by initial increment  $iT$ :  $pat+saN = pi-pat+iT-saN+\dot{ś}aP+tiP = pi-pat-i-śa-ti$  (6.1.9; 7.4.60,79; 8.3.59) since by a vārttika  $pat$ - is optionally  $seT$ .

#### 7.4.55 <sup>1</sup>āp-<sup>2</sup>jñapi=<sup>3</sup>ṛdh-ām īT

The substitute phoneme long  $ī(T)$  replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stems]  $\dot{ā}p$ - 'reach, attain' (V 14),  $jñap$ - 'make known, announce, proclaim' (X 81) and  $\dot{ṛ}dh$ - 'prosper' (IV 135, V 24) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker  $saN$  54 beginning with  $s-^{\circ}$  49].

1.  $\bar{a}p+saN = \acute{ip}+saN$ ; 2.  $\bar{j}\bar{n}ap+saN = \bar{j}\bar{n}\acute{ip}-saN$ ; 3.  $\bar{r}dh+saN = \bar{r}-dh+saN$  (1.1.51) =  $\acute{f}rt-saN$  (8.4.55). Ø replacement of reduplicated syllable by 58 below.

#### 7.4.56 dambh-aḥ iṭ=ca

The substitute phoneme short i(T) as well as (ca) [long ī(T) replace the ánga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stem] dambh- (danbhU V 23) ‘hurt, injure’ [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 with initial s- ° 49].

$dambh+saN = da\emptyset bh+saN$  (1.2.10; 6.4.24) =  $dibh/d\bar{t}bh+saN = dhib/dh\bar{t}b+saN$  (8.2.37) =  $dh\acute{ip}/dh\acute{ip}-saN$  (8.4.55), but  $d\acute{f}-dambh-i-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.1.9,97; 7.4.60,79; 8.3.59).

#### 7.4.57 muc-aḥ á-karma-ka-sya guṇá-ḥ=vā

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) optionally (vā) replaces [the ánga 6.4.1 vowel 54 of the verbal stem] muc- ‘release, set free’ (VI 136) when having an intransitive meaning (á-karma-ka-sya) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 54 with initial s- ° 49].

By 1.2.10 [saN] occurring after this stem would normally be K-IT, but by prescribing Guṇá replacement here 1.1.5 is blocked.  $muc+saN = moc+saN = mok+saN$  (8.2.30) =  $mók-\acute{s}aN$  (8.3.59)/ $mú-muc+saN = mu-muk-\acute{s}aN$  (6.1.9; 7.4.60; 8.3.59):  $mók-\acute{s}a-te/mú-muk-\acute{s}a-te vátsa-ḥ svayá-m eva$  ‘the calf frees itself’ (reflexive). The marker [yáK] is not required here by a vart. on 3.1.78. When not intransitive:  $múmuk-\acute{s}a-ti vátsa-m devadattáḥ$  ‘D. releases the calf’.

#### 7.4.58 á-tra lópa-ḥ abhy-ās-á-sya

In this section (á-tra) [beginning with 54 above] the substitute lópa (Ø) replaces the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-á-sya).

54. (a)  $m\acute{it}-sa-ti/prá-mit-sa-ti$ ; (b)  $\acute{a}pa-mit-sa-ti$ ; (c)  $d\acute{f}t-sa-ti/dh\acute{f}t-sa-ti$ ; (d)  $\acute{á}-rip-sa-ti$ ; (e)  $\acute{á}-lip-sa-ti$ ; (f)  $\acute{s}ík-\acute{s}a-ti$ ; (g)  $p\acute{it}-sa-ti$ ; (h)  $p\acute{it}-sa-te$ .  
 55. (a)  $\acute{ip}-sa-ti$ ; (b)  $\bar{j}\bar{n}\acute{f}-p-sa-ti$ ; (c)  $\acute{f}rt-sa-ti$ .  
 56.  $dh\acute{ip}-sa-ti/dh\acute{ip}-sa-ti$ .  
 57.  $mók-\acute{s}a-ti/mú-muk-\acute{s}a-ti$ .

The expression [abhy-ās-á-sya] will now recur up to the end of this pāḍá, as a governing expression.

### 7.4.59 hrasvá-ḥ

A substitute short (hrasvá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel 54 of the reduplicated syllable 58].

$niI+II\bar{T} = ni\bar{n}I+NaL$  (6.1.8) =  $ni\bar{n}I+NaL = ni\bar{n}áy-a$  (2.115; 6.1.78);  $\dot{d}hauk+II\bar{T} = \dot{d}hauk+\acute{e}\acute{S} = \dot{d}u\dot{d}hauk+\acute{e}$  (60; 1.1.48) =  $\dot{d}u\dot{d}hauk\acute{e}$ .

### 7.4.60 haL-ādī-ḥ séśa-ḥ

The first consonant (haL-ādī-ḥ) [of the reduplicated syllable] remains [and all the remaining are replaced by  $\emptyset$ ].

$glai+II\bar{T} = gl\bar{a}gl\bar{a}+II\bar{T}$  (6.1.8,45) =  $g\bar{a}gl\bar{a}+au = ga\bar{g}l\bar{a}+au$  (59) =  $ja\bar{g}l\bar{a}+au$  (62; 7.1.34) =  $ja\bar{g}l\bar{a}u$  'had become tired'.

$pat+NaL = pat\bar{p}at+NaL = pa\emptyset\bar{p}\acute{a}t+a$  (2.116) =  $pa\bar{p}\acute{a}t\bar{a}$ .

$a\bar{t}+NaL = a\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{t}+NaL = a\emptyset\bar{a}\bar{t}+NaL = \bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{t}+NaL$  (70) =  $\acute{a}\bar{t}\bar{a}$ .

### 7.4.61 śáR-pūrv-ā-ḥ khāY-ah

Unvoiced stops (khāY-ah), co-occurring after sibilants (śáR-pūrvāḥ) [of the reduplicated syllable 58] remain [and the sibilants are replaced by  $\emptyset$ ].

$sthā+saN = sth\bar{a}sth\bar{a}+saN = tha\bar{a}sth\bar{a}+saN$  (59,60) =  $thi\bar{a}sth\bar{a}sa-$  (79) =  $ti\bar{a}sth\bar{a}sa$  (8.3.59; 4.41,54). But  $snā+II\bar{T} = sa\bar{a}sn\bar{a}+au$  (60) =  $sa\bar{a}sn\bar{a}u$ ;  $\acute{s}ru+NaL = \acute{s}u\bar{s}r\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ ;  $syand+NaL = sa\bar{a}sy\bar{a}nd\bar{a}$  since they are voiced consonants preceded by sibilants.

### 7.4.62 <sup>1</sup>kU-<sup>2</sup>h-os=cU-ḥ

A substitute palatal stop (cU 1.1.69) replaces (the corresponding 1.1.50) velar stop (kU) or the phoneme /h/ [of the reduplicated syllable 58].

The choice of the particular stop is determined by the metarule 1.1.50.  $k\bar{r}+II\bar{T} = k\bar{r}k\bar{r}+NaL = kar\bar{k}r+NaL$  (66; 1.1.51) =  $ka\bar{k}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$  (2.115) =  $ca\bar{k}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ ;  $gam+II\bar{T} = gam\bar{g}am+NaL = ga\emptyset\bar{g}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$  (60) =  $ja\bar{g}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ . Similarly  $khan+NaL = ca\bar{k}h\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  (60; 8.4.54);  $ghas+NaL = ja\bar{g}h\bar{a}sa$ .

### 7.4.63 na kāv-a-te-r yáÑ-i

[The substitute palatal stop (=c) 62] does not (ná) replace [the velar phoneme (k) of the verbal stem 62] ku(Ñ) 'make a sound' (I 999) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yáÑ.

$ku+yá\tilde{N}+\acute{S}aP+te = ku-ku+yá+a+te$  (6.1.9) =  $ko-kū-yá-a-te$  (25, 82) =  $ko-kū-yá-te$  (6.1.97) 'sounds repeatedly or intensively' but  $ku+III = ku+\acute{e}\acute{S} = cu-kuv-\acute{e}$  (62; 6.1.77).

This rule is not applicable to  $ku \acute{s}abd-e$  (II 23),  $ku\tilde{N} \acute{s}abd-e$  (VI 108).

#### 7.4.64 $kṛṣe-ś$ chándas-i

In the Chándas [a palatal stop (c) 62 does not 63 replace the velar stop (k) 62 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the verbal stem]  $kṛṣ-$  'draw, drag, plough' (I 1039) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker  $yá\tilde{N}$  63].

$kṛṣ+yá\tilde{N}+\acute{S}aP+te = karI-kṛṣ-yá-te$  (66.90; 1.1.51) 'ploughs repeatedly or intensively' for current  $carI-kṛṣ-yá-te$ .

7.4.65  $^1dā-dhar-ti-^2dār-dhar-ti-^3dār-dhar-ṣi-^4bó-bhū-tu-^5té-tik-te=^6āl-ar-ṣi-^7ā-pāṇī-phaṇ-at-^8saṁ-sáni-ṣyad-at-^9kāri-kr-at-^{10}kāni-krad-at-^{11}bhāri-bhr-at-^{12}dāvi-dhv-at-aḥ=^{13}dāvi-dyut-at-^{14}tāri-tr-at-aḥ=^{15}sāri-sṛp-at-am-^{16}vāri-vṛj-at-^{17}mar-mḥjy-a=^{18}ā-gaṇī-gaṇ-ti$  iti ca

[In the Chándas 64] the eighteen expressions (denoting irregular forms) beginning with  $dā-dhar-ti$  and ending with  $ā-gaṇī-gaṇ-ti$  are introduced (as current therein).

The irregularities are in not being subject to the rules framed in the Aṣṭ.

Expressions 1-3 are derived either from the causative stem  $dhār-f-$  (=  $dhṛ+NIC$ ) or from  $dhṛ+Ślu$  with  $\emptyset$  replacement of both markers [ $yá\tilde{N}$ ] and [ $NIC$ ] for the first form and augment [ $ruK$  91] for the other two.

4.  $bhū+yá\tilde{N}-luK+tu = bó-bhū-tu$  (=  $bó-bho-tu/bó-bhav-I-tu$ ).

5.  $tij+yá\tilde{N}-luK+te = té-tik-te$  (=  $té-tik-ti$ ).

6.  $ṛ+Ślu+siP = āl-ar-ṣi/ṛ+yá\tilde{N}-luK+siP$  with l-replacement in the reduplicated syllable.

7.  $ā-pāṇī=phaṇ-at$  is the present participle of  $ā-phaṇ+yá\tilde{N}-luK$  with [ $nIK$ ] increment of the reduplicated syllable (RV 4.40.4).

8.  $saṁ+syand+yá\tilde{N}-luK+\acute{S}atR = saṁ-sáni-ṣyad-at-$  ( $sáni-ṣyad-at-$  RV 9.110.4) with [ $niK$ ] increment of the reduplicated syllable.

9. Similarly  $kṛ+yá\tilde{N}-luK+\acute{S}atR = kāri-kr-at-$  (RV 3.58.9) with [ $riK$ ] increment of the reduplicated syllable.

10.  $krand+yá\tilde{N}-luK+\acute{S}atR = kāni-krad-at-$  with augment [ $niK$ ], or as commentaries indicate  $krand+a\tilde{N}+t$  with reduplication, and non-replacement of the velar by palatal (RV 1.152.5).

11.  $bhṛ+yá\tilde{N}-luK+\acute{S}atR = bhāri-bhr-at-$  with final augment [ $riK$ ], non-replacement of the reduplicated syllable by iT (contra 76) and non-replacement of the voiced aspirate by the non-aspirate therein (RV 2.4.4).

12.  $dhv\check{r}+yá\check{N}-luK+\acute{S}at\check{R}-$  with final increment [riK] of the reduplicated syllable and  $\emptyset$  replacement of stem vowel (RV 7.10.1).
13.  $dyut+yá\check{N}-luK+\acute{S}at\check{R}-$  with absence of vocalization and replacement of reduplicated syllabic vowel by [a] with final increment [vuK] (RV 6.16.45).
14.  $t\check{r}+yá\check{N}-luK+\acute{S}at\check{R}-$  or  $t\check{r}+\acute{S}lu+\acute{S}at\check{R}-$  (according to commentaries) with final increment [riK] (RV 4.40.3)+ $\acute{N}as$ .
15.  $s\check{r}p+yá\check{N}-luK+\acute{S}at\check{R}+am$  with final increment (riK).
16.  $v\check{r}j+yá\check{N}-luK/\acute{S}lu+\acute{S}at\check{R}-$  with final increment [riK] (RV 7.24.4).
17.  $m\check{r}j+iIT = m\check{r}j+\acute{N}aL$  with final increment [ruK] of the reduplicated syllable and of [yüK] of the verbal stem.
18.  $\acute{a}-gam+\acute{S}lu+tiP$  with final increment [niK] and non-replacement of the velar stop by the palatal. (RV 6.75.3).

#### 7.4.66 u-r aT

The substitute short vowel a(T) replaces the phoneme-class  $\check{r}$  [of the reduplicated syllable 58].

$$v\check{r}t+iIT = v\check{r}-v\check{r}+\acute{e}\acute{S} = va-v\check{r}+\acute{e}\acute{S} = va-vr-\acute{e}; k\check{r}+\acute{N}aL = ca-k\acute{a}r-a \text{ (2.115; 4.62).}$$

#### 7.4.67 <sup>1</sup>dyúti-<sup>2</sup>svāpy-óḥ sam-pra-sār-āṇa-m

A substitute sam-pra-sār-āṇa (vocalization 1.1.45) replaces [the semi-vowel 1.1.45 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of verbal stems] dyút- 'shine' (I 777) and svāp-í- 'cause to lie down' (= svap- II 59+ $\acute{N}iC$ ).

Exception to 60 above.  $v\acute{f}-dyut+saN+\acute{S}aP+te = v\acute{f}-diut-dyut+iT+saN+a-te$  (60; 2.35) =  $v\acute{f}-di-dyot-i-\acute{s}a-te$  (6.1.97,108; 7.3.84; 8.3.59).  $svap+\acute{N}iC+iT+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = svāp-i+i+sa+a+ti = svap-svāp-i+i-\acute{s}a-a-ti$  (60; 1.1.59) =  $sua\emptyset-svāp-e-i-\acute{s}a-a-ti$  (59) =  $su-\acute{s}vāp-e-i-\acute{s}a-ti$  (6.1.97,108; 7.3.84; 8.3.59) =  $su-\acute{s}vāp-ay-i-\acute{s}a-ti$ .

#### 7.4.68 vyáth-aḥ iIT-i

[A substitute sam-pra-sār-āṇa vowel (iK 1.1.45) replaces the semivowel ( $y\grave{a}N$ ) of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the verbal stem] vyáth- 'tremble' (I 801) [before 1.1.66 the l-substitutes] of iIT.

$$vyath+iIT = vyath-vyath+\acute{e}\acute{S} - vi\emptyset-vyath+\acute{e}\acute{S} \text{ (60; 6.1.108) } = vi-vyath-\acute{e}.$$



#### 7.4.69 dīrghá-ḥ iN-ah K-IT-i

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 5.4.1 of the verbal stem] iN 'go' (II 36) [before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IIṬ with marker K as IT.

$i+átus/ús$  (1.2.5) =  $y+átus/ús$  =  $i+y+átus/ús$  (1.1.59; 6.1.8) =  $ī-y-átus/ús$ ; but  
 $i+NaL$  =  $aī+a$  (2.115) =  $i-áy+a$  (1.1.59; 6.1.78) =  $iy-áy-a$ ;  $i+thaL$  =  
 $é+thaL/é+iṬ+tha$  (2.63) =  $i-é+tha/i-é-i-tha$  (1.1.59) =  $iy-é-tha/iy-áy-i-tha$   
(6.1.78) since these affixes are not K=IT. It may be noted that saṁdhi replacement takes place prior to reduplication by the meta-rule 1.1.59.

#### 7.4.70 aT-ah ādé-ḥ

[A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) 69] replaces the short vowel a(T) occurring as the initial (ādé-ḥ) [of a reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

$aī+IIṬ$  =  $aī+átus/ús$  =  $a\emptyset+aī+átus/ús$  =  $ā-aī-átus/ús$  =  $āī-átus/āī-ús$ . Without this replacement 6.1.97 would have yielded  $*aī-átus/ús$ .

#### 7.4.71 tá-smāt nuṬ dvī-haL-ah

[The initial increment 1.1.46] nuṬ is inserted at the head of [an ánga 6.4.1] containing two consonants (dvī-haL-ah) after (tá-smāt) [a substitute long vowel has replaced the initial short vowel a(T) 70 of the reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

$aṅg+IIṬ$  =  $aṅg+NaL/átus/ús$  =  $ā-aṅg+NaL/átus/ús$  (60,70) =  $ā-n-aṅg+NaL/átus/ús$  =  $ā-nāṅg-a/ā-naṅg-átus/ús$  'had gone'.

#### 7.4.72 aś-nó-te-s=ca

[The initial increment 1.1.46 nuṬ 71 is inserted at the head of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] aś- 'reach, attain' (V 18) [after a substitute long vowel 69 has replaced 71 the initial short a(T) 70 of the reduplicated syllable 69 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

$aś+IIṬ$  =  $aś+átus/ús$  =  $a\emptyset-aś+átus/ús$  (60) =  $ā-naś+átus/ús$  (70). In classical usage this verbal stem, being marked with anudātta as IT takes Ātmanepadá l-substitutes:  $aś+eś$  =  $a-aś+é$  =  $a-aś+é$  (60) =  $ā-naś-é$  (70). But  $ásÁ bhóḥ-an-e$  IX 51+IIṬ =  $ā-aś-NaL/átus/ús$  =  $ās-a/āś-átus/ús$ .

### 7.4.73 bhāv-a-te-r a-ḥ

The substitute phoneme /a/ replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the āṅga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] bhū ‘become’ (I 1) [before l-substitutes of IIṬ 79].

$$bhū+IIṬ = bhū-v+IIṬ \text{ (6.4.88)} = bhūv+NaL/ātus/ús = ba-bhūv-a/ba-bhūv-ātus/ús \text{ (60; 8.4.54)}.$$

### 7.4.74 sa-sūv-a iti nigam-é

In Vedic tradition (ni-gam-é) the expression sa-sūv-a is introduced [as derived from the verbal stem sū- ‘give birth to’ (II 21) before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of IIṬ 68].

This stem with a Ñ as IT-marker normally takes Ātmanepadā l-substitutes in the current speech (bhāṣā-y-ām).

$$sū+Ñ+IIṬ = sū+NaL = sū-v+NaL = su-sūv+NaL = sa-sūv-a \text{ beside } sū+éŚ = su-suv-é \text{ (6.4.77; 8.3.59)}.$$

### 7.4.75 nij-ām trayā-ṇ-ām guṇá-ḥ Śl-au

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the vowel denoted by the siglum iK 1.1.3 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the āṅga 6.4.1] of three verbal stems beginning with nij- ‘wash, bathe’ (III 11) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker] Ślu (2.4.74).

The other two stems are: *vi-j-īR prthag-bhāv-é* (12) ‘separate’ and *vi-ḥ vy-āp-t-au* (13) ‘pervade’.

1. *nij+Ślu+tiP = niḥ-nij+ti* (60) = *ne-nij+ti = né-nek-ti* (3.86; 8.2.30). 2. *vé-vek-ti*. 3. *vé-veg-ti*. *nij+IIṬ = nij+NaL/ātus/ús = ni-néj-a, ni-nij-ātus/ús*.

### 7.4.76 bhr̥Ñ-ām iT

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) replaces the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of three verbal stems 75] beginning with bhr̥Ñ- ‘bear, sustain’ (III 5) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker Ślu 75].

The other two stems are: 6 *māÑ mán-e śábd-e ca* ‘measure, sound’ and 7 *O-hā-Ñ gá-t-au* ‘go, depart’.

$$bhr̥+Ślu+tiP = bhr̥-bhr̥+ḡ+ti = bhr̥-bhr̥+tiP \text{ (1.1.51)} = bī-bhar-ti \text{ (3.84; 4.60; 8.4.54)}.$$
$$mā+Ślu = mī-mī-te \text{ (6.4.113)}. \quad hā+Ślu+te = jí-hī-te.$$

#### 7.4.77 <sup>1</sup>arti-<sup>2</sup>pí-par-ty-oś ca

[The substitute short phoneme i(T) 76] also replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] ṛ- 'go' (III 16) and pṛ- 'fill up, sustain' (III 4) [before 1.1.66 the present class marker Ślu 75].

$$\begin{aligned} \dot{r}+\acute{Ś}lu &= ar+\acute{Ś}lu+tiP = a-ar-ti \text{ (60) } i-ar-ti = ty-ar-ti \text{ (6.4.78). } p\dot{r}+\acute{Ś}lu+tiP = \\ &par+\emptyset^2+tiP = pa-par-ti \text{ (60) } = pí-par-ti. \end{aligned}$$

#### 7.4.78 bahulá-m̐ chándas-i

In the Chándas [the substitute phoneme short i(T) 76] variously (bahulá-m̐) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem].

*vaśÁ kán-t-au* (II 70) replaces class marker  $\emptyset^1$  by  $\emptyset^2$  with [i] replacing the vowel of the reduplicated syllable: *vaś+Ślu+tiP* = *vf-vaś-ti* (8.2.36; 4.41); *vac-* (II 54): *vac+Ślu* (2.4.76)+*tiP* = *vf-vak-ti* (8.2.30); *sac-* (I 1046)+*Ślu+tiP* = *sf-śak-ti* (8.3.59); *ghṛ* (I 985)+*Ślu*=*jf-ghar-ti* contra *dá-dā-ti*; *ja-ján-at=índra-m* (Mait. 1.9.1); *māṭā yád vīrā-m da-dhán-at dhāniṣṭhā* (RV 10.73.1).

#### 7.4.79 saN-i aT-ah̐

[The substitute phoneme short i(T) 76] replaces the short vowel a(T) [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] saN (3.1.7).

$$\begin{aligned} paṭh+saN+\acute{Ś}aP+tiP &= p\acute{a}-paṭh-iT-sa-a-ti \text{ (2.34; 4.60) } = pí-paṭh-i-śa-ti \text{ (6.1.97; } \\ &8.3.59) \text{ 'wishes to recite/read/study'.} \end{aligned}$$

#### 7.4.80 o-ḥ <sup>1</sup>pU-<sup>2</sup>yaN=<sup>3</sup>j-í=á-par-e

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 76] replaces the phoneme /u/ [of the reduplicated syllable 58] occurring before (°-par-e) a labial stop (pU-°), a semivowel (°-yaN-°) or the phoneme /j/ when followed by the phoneme class /a/ [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 79].

1. pU: *pū(N̐)+saN+ŚaP+te* = *pu-pū+iT+saN+a-te* = *pí-pav-i-śa-te* (2.35; 3.84; 6.1.78,97; 8.3.59) 'desires to purify'.
2. yaN: *yu+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *yu-yu+iT-saN+a=ti* = *yí-yav-i-śa-ti* 'desires to mix'; similarly from *ru/lū+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *rí-rav-i-śa-ti* 'desires to cry'/*lí-lav-i-śa-ti* 'desires to reap' and from their causative stems: *rí-rāv-ay-i-śa-ti*/*lí-lāv-ay-i-śa-ti*.

3. j:  $j\dot{u}+N\dot{C}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = j\acute{a}v-i+i\dot{T}+sa-a-ti = ju-j\acute{a}vi+i-sa-a-ti$  (1.1.59; 7.4.60) =  $j\acute{f}-j\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$  (3.84; 6.1.78,97; 8.3.59) 'desires to cause (someone) to go'. But  $bú-bhū-ša-ti$ .

#### 7.4.81 <sup>1</sup>sráv-a-ti-<sup>2</sup>śr-nó-ti-<sup>3</sup>dráv-a-ti-<sup>4</sup>práv-a-ti-<sup>5</sup>pláv-a-ti <sup>6</sup>cyáv-a-tī-n-āṁ vā

[The substitute short vowel i(T) 76] optionally (vā) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the āṅga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] srú- 'flow, run' (I 487), śru- 'hear, listen' (I 989), dru- 'run' (I 992), pru- (I 1006) and plu- (I 1007) 'flow' and cyu- 'shake about' (I 1004) [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker saN 79, when followed by the phoneme-class /a/ 80].

1.  $eru+N\dot{C}+saN+\acute{S}aP+tiP = sr\acute{a}v-i+i\dot{T}-saN-a-ti$  (2.35, 115) =  $sú-sr\acute{a}v-e-i-sa-a-ti$  (3.84; 1.1.59) =  $sú-sr\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti/sí-sr\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$  (6.1.78,97; 8.3.59). Similarly: 2.  $sú-ér\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti/sí-ér\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$ ; 3.  $dú-dr\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti/dí-dr\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$ ; 4.  $pú-pr\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti/pí-pr\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$ ; 5.  $pú-pl\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti/pí-pl\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$ ; 6.  $cu-cy\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti/cí-cy\acute{a}v-ay-i-ša-ti$  but  $sú-srū-ša-ti/sú-érū-ša-ti$ .

#### 7.4.82 guṇá-ḥ yáÑ-luK-oḥ

A substitute Guṇá vowel (1.1.2) replaces [the vowel (iK 1.1.3) of the reduplicated syllable 58 before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1] yáÑ and yáÑ-luK.

$hu$  (III 1)+ $yáÑ+\acute{S}aP+te = ju-hu-yá-a-te$  (6.1.9; 7.4.62) =  $j\acute{o}-hū-yá-te$  (25; 6.1.97) 'sacrifices continuously or intensively'.

$hu+yáÑ-luK+\acute{S}aP+tiP = ju-hu+\theta^1+\theta^1+tiP$  (Dhp II 71) =  $j\acute{o}-ho+i\dot{T}+tiP$  (3.84,94) =  $j\acute{o}-hav-i-ti$  (6.1.190).

#### 7.4.83 dīrghá-ḥ a-K-IT-aḥ

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces [the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58,] not containing a final increment with marker K as IT [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

$pac+yáÑ+\acute{S}aP+te = pa\theta-pac-yá-a-te$  (60) =  $pā-pac-yá-te$  (6.1.97) 'cooks repeatedly';  $pac+yáÑ-luK+i\dot{T}+tiP$  (3.94) =  $pā-pac-i-ti$ . For counter-examples see the next four sūtra-s 84-7 and 90-92 below.

#### 7.4.84 nīK <sup>1</sup>vancU-<sup>2</sup>sránsU-<sup>3</sup>dhvánsU-<sup>4</sup>bhránsU-<sup>5</sup>kásÁ-<sup>6</sup>páta-<sup>7</sup>padA-<sup>8</sup>skand-ām

[The final increment 1.1.46] nīK is inserted after [the reduplicated syllable 58 of verbal stems] vanc- 'go crookedly' (X 136), sráns- 'fall' (I 790), dhváns- 'fall to pieces' (I 791), bhráns- 'fall down' (I 792), kás- 'go' (I 913), páta- 'fall, fly' (I 898), pad- 'go, tread' (IV 60) and skand- 'leap' (I 1028) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

1. *vanc+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *vañc-vañc-yá-a-te* (6.1.9) = *vaθθ-vañc-ydá-te* (60; 6.1.97) = *vanI-vaθc-yá-te* (6.4.24); *vanc+yáÑ-luK+I+ti* = *vánI-vañc-I-ti* (3.94).

Similarly: 2. *srans*: *sanI-sras-yá-te/dánI-sramś-I-ti* (8.3.24). 3. *dhvans*: *danI-dhvas-yá-te/dánI-dhvañś-I-ti*. 4. *bhrans*: *banI-bhraś-yá-te/bánI-bhramś-I-ti*. 5. *kas*: *canI-kas-yá-te/cánI-kas-I-ti*. 6. *pat*: *panI-pat-yá-te/pánI-pat-I-ti*. 7. *pad*: *panI-pad-yá-te/pánI-pad-I-ti*. 8. *skand*: *canI-skad-yá-te/cánI-skand-I-ti*.

#### 7.4.85 nuK aT-aḥ ánu-nāsika=anta-sya

[The final increment 1.1.46] nuK is inserted at the end of the short vowel a(T) [of a reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1] ending in (°-anta-sya) a nasal stop [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

- tan+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ta+nuK+tan-yá-a-te* (60) = *tan-tan-yá-te* (6.1.97); *tan+yáÑ-luK+I+ti* (3.94) = *tán-tan-I-ti* 'stretches continuously'; similarly *jan-gam-yá-te/ján-gam-ñi*.

#### 7.4.86 <sup>1</sup>jápÁ-<sup>2</sup>jábhÁ-<sup>3</sup>dahÁ-<sup>4</sup>daśÁ-<sup>5</sup>bhanja-<sup>6</sup>pás-sām ca

[The final increment 1.1.46 nuK 85] is also (ca) inserted [at the end of a short a(T) 85 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] jáp- 'mutter' (I 424), jábh- 'yawn' (I 415), dah- 'burn' (I 1040), daś- 'bite' (I 1038), bhanj- 'smash' (VII 16) and pás- 'fasten, tie, bind' (I 936) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

1. *jap+yáÑ+ŚaP+te* = *ja-nuK+jap-yá-a-te* (60) = *jañ-jap-yá-te* (6.2.97); *jáp+yáÑ-luK+I+ti* = *jáñ-jap-I-ti*. 2. *jabh*: *jañ-jabh-yá-te/jáñ-jabh-I-ti*. 3. *dan-dah-yá-te/dán-dah-I-ti*. 4. *dan-daś-yá-te/dán-daś-I-ti*. The stem form [daśÁ] in this rule is to indicate that both before yáÑ and yáÑ-luK, Ø replaces the nasal of the original stem [danśÁ I 1038 *dás-ane*]. 5. *bam-bhaj-yá-te/bám-bhañj-I-ti*. 6. *pam-pás-yá-te/pám-pás-I-ti*.

#### 7.4.87 <sup>1</sup>cárÁ-<sup>2</sup>phál-os=ca

[The final increment 1.1.46 nŭK 85] is also inserted (ca) [at the end of the short vowel a(T) 85 of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

1. *cañ-cūr-yáte/cāñ-cur-ī-ti* (88, 8.2.77). 2. *pam-phul-ydá-te/pám-phul-ī-ti*.

#### 7.4.88 uT pára-sya aT-aḥ

The substitute short vowel u(T) replaces the short vowel a(T) occurring after [the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stems cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) before 1.1.66 the affixes yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 82].

Exx. cited under 87 above. For meaning cf. 3.1.24 above.

#### 7.4.89 t-i ca

[The substitute phoneme u(T) replaces the phoneme short a(T) 88 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems cár- 'move, graze' (I 591) and phál- 'bear fruit' (I 563) before 1.1.66 an affix] with initial t-°.

1. *car+KtiN = cūr+ti- = cūr-ti-* (8.2.77) 'moving, grazing'; 2. *prá+phul+KtiN = pra-phúl-ti-* 'blossoming, blooming'.

#### 7.4.90 rīK ḡT=upa-dha-sya ca

[The final increment 1.1.46] rīK is inserted at the end [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1] with penultimate (°-upa-dha-sya) short vowel ḡ(T) [before 1.1.66 the affixes 3.1.1 yáÑ and yáÑ-luK 58] also (ca).

The implication of [ca] here is to extend the operation to other verbal stems where phoneme short [ḡT] is neither penultimate nor final. *vṛt+yáÑ+ŚaP+te = va-rīK-ḡ-vṛt-yá-a-te* (60) = *varī-vṛt-yá-te* (6.1.97); *+yáÑ-luK = várī=vṛt-ī-ti/vár-var-ti/vári-var-ti* (91); *vṛśc+yáÑ/yáÑ-luK = varī-vṛśc-yá-te/várī-vṛśc-ī-ti; parī-pṛcch-yá-te/pári-pṛcch-ī-ti*.

#### 7.4.91 ${}^1\text{ruK} = {}^2\text{riK}$ -au ca luK-i

[The final increments 1.1.46]  $\text{ruK}$  and  $\text{riK}$ , as well as (ca) [ $\text{riK}$  90 are inserted at the end of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 with penultimate short vowel  $\text{rT}$  90 before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1]  $\text{yáN-luK}$ .

$$\text{nrt} + \text{yáN-luK} + \text{rT} + \text{tiP} = \text{nárI-nar-ti/nár-nar-ti/nári-nar-ti/nárl-nrt-I-ti} \quad (3.94), \\ \text{nár-nrt-I-ti/nári-nrt-I-ti}.$$

#### 7.4.92 $\text{rT}$ -as ca

[The final increments 1.1.46  $\text{ruK}$ ,  $\text{riK}$  91 and  $\text{riK}$  90] are also (ca) inserted at the end [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 ending in 1.1.72] the short vowel  $\text{r(T)}$  [before 1.1.66 the affix 3.1.1  $\text{yáN-luK}$  91].

$$\text{vr} + \text{yáN-luK} = \text{vár-var-ti/vári-var-ti/varI-var-ti; var-vrt-I-ti} \quad (3.87)/\text{várl-vrt-I-ti}/ \\ \text{várI-vrt-I-ti} \quad (3.94).$$

#### 7.4.93 $\text{saN-vát laghú-n-i}$ CáNpare án-aC=lop-e

When there is no lopa ( $\emptyset$ ) replacement [of the final 1.1.52] vowel (án-aC-lop-e) [of the ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] containing a light vowel ( $\text{laghú-n-i}$ ) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker  $\text{NíC}$  3.1.48 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker] CáN [its reduplicated syllable 58 is] treated like [the one before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker]  $\text{saN}$ .

$$79. \text{kṛ} + \text{NíC} + \text{CáN} + \text{t} = \text{kār-i} + \text{CáN} + \text{t} \quad (2.115) = \text{ka}\emptyset\text{-kār-i} + \text{a} + \text{t} \quad (6.1.11; 7.4.59,60) = \\ \text{ca-kār-i-a-t} \quad (62) = \text{ci-kar-}\emptyset\text{-t} \quad (6.4.51; 7.4.1,79) = \text{cI-kar-a-t} \quad (94) = \text{áT-cI-kar-a-t} \\ (6.4.71) = \text{á-cI-kar-a-t}.$$

$$80. \text{pu} + \text{NíC} + \text{CáN} + \text{t} = \text{á-pI-pav-a-t}; 81. \text{á-si/eu} + \text{srav-a-t}.$$

$$\text{But } \text{taks} + \text{NíC} + \text{CáN} + \text{t} = \text{á-ta-taks-at}; \text{jāgr} + \text{NíC} + \text{CáN} + \text{t} = \text{á-ja-jāgar-a-t} \text{ since} \\ \text{they contain a metrically heavy vowel. Similarly } \text{katha} \text{ (X 37)} + \text{NíC} + \text{CáN} + \text{t} = \\ \text{kath}\emptyset\text{-i} + \text{CaN} + \text{t} \quad (6.4.48) = \text{á-ca-kath-a-t}.$$

#### 7.4.94 $\text{dīrghá-h}$ $\text{laghó-h}$

A substitute long (vowel 1.2.28) replaces the light (vowel) [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of an ánga 6.4.1 of a verbal stem] containing a light vowel [before the causative marker  $\text{NíC}$  co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáN 1, without  $\emptyset$  replacement of its final vowel (before  $\text{NíC}$ ) 93].

Exx. cited under 93 above.

#### 7.4.95 aT <sup>1</sup>smġ-<sup>2</sup>dġ-<sup>3</sup>tvára-<sup>4</sup>práthA-<sup>5</sup>mrádA-<sup>6</sup>stġ-<sup>7</sup>spás-ām

The substitute short vowel a(T) replaces the vowel of [the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of verbal stems] smġ- 'remember' (I 845), dġ- 'tear up' (IX 23), tvár- 'hasten' (I 812), práth- 'extend' (I 802), mrád- 'crush, pound' (I 804), stġ- 'strew, scatter' (IX 14) and spás- 'perceive, observe, espy' (I 936) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC 1 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ 93].

Exception to 93 and 94. 1. *smġ+NíC+CáÑ+t* = *a-sa-smar-a-t* 'caused (someone) to remember'; similarly: 2. *dġ: á-da-dar-a-t*; 3. *tvár: á-ta-tvar-a-t*; 4. *práth: á-pa-prath-a-t*; 5. *mrád: á-ma-mrad-a-t*; 6. *stġ: á-ta-star-a-t*; *spás: á-pa-spaš-a-t*.

#### 7.4.96 vibhāsā <sup>1</sup>véštġ-<sup>2</sup>céštġ-oh

[The substitute short vowel a(T) 95] optionally (vibhāsā) replaces the vowel [of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga-s 6.4.1 of the verbal stems] véštġ- 'wind or twist round' (I 274) and céštġ- 'move' (I 275) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC 1 co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ 93].

1. *véštġ+NíC+CáÑ+t* = *á-va-veštġ-a-t/á-vi-veštġ-a-t*. Similarly: 2. *áca-céštġ-a-t/á-ci-céštġ-a-t*.

#### 7.4.97 ī ca gaṇ-aḥ

The substitute long vowel ī as well as (ca) [the short vowel a(T) 95] replace the vowel of the reduplicated syllable 58 of the ánga 6.4.1 of the verbal stem] gaṇa- 'count' (X 309) [before 1.1.66 the causative marker NíC co-occurring with the Aorist substitute marker CáÑ 93].

*gaṇa+NíC+CáÑ+t* = *gaṇ+ī+CáÑ+t* (6.4.48) = *á-jī-gaṇ-ā-a-t* (9.4.51) = *á-jī-gaṇ-a-t/á-ja-gaṇ-a-t*.



### 8.1.1 sárva-sya dv-é

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 15 below, the operations introduced state) two expressions occur in the place of a whole (sárva-sya dv-é) sequence.

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] and the present heading recurs in the subsequent fourteen rules.

### 8.1.2 tá-sya pára-m ā-mreḍ-i-ta-m

The technical term (t.t.) āmreḍita denotes the second (pára-m = following) expression of the doublet (doubled sequence).

As a t.t. occurs at 6.1.99,100; 8.1.57; 2.95,103; 3.12,49. *caúra caúra* 'O thief, O thief!' and *bhunk-té bhunk-te* 'eats and eats'; items in bold are *āmreḍita-s*.

### 8.1.3 ánudattā-m ca

[The āmreḍita 2] is low-pitched (ánudātta-m).

*pác-a-ti pác-a-ti* 'cooks and cooks' (i.e., goes on cooking).

### 8.1.4 <sup>1</sup>nít-ya-<sup>2</sup>vīpsáy-oḥ

[Two expressions occur in the place of a whole sequence 1] to denote a repetition of an action (nít-ya-°) or pervasion of a thing by a property or action (°vīpsáy-oḥ).

1. repetition (nít-ya-°): *pác-a-ti pác-a-ti* (3); *jálp-a-ti jálp-a-ti* 'constantly prattling'; *bhój-am bhoj-am vráj-a-ti* 'each one goes out after eating'.
2. pervasion (vīpsáy-°): *grām-aḥ grāma-h ram-aṇfya-h* '(village after village =) each village is pleasant'; *púruṣa-h puruṣa-h ni-dhána-m úp-ai-ti* 'every person goes unto death'.

### 8.1.5 páre-r várj-an-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] of the particle pári to denote 'exclusion' (várj-an-e).

*pári pari trí-garte-bhyaḥ vṛṣ-tá-h devá-h* 'It rained all around Trígarta' (excluding it).

### 8.1.6 <sup>1</sup>prá-<sup>2</sup>sám=<sup>3</sup>úpa=<sup>4</sup>úd-aḥ pāda-pūr-aṇ-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] the particles prá-, sám-, úpa- and úd- to fill up a verse quarter line (pāda- pūr-aṇ-e).

*prá prāyám agnī-r bharatá-sya śṛṇ-v-e* (RV 7.8.4); *sám sam id yuv-a-se vṛṣan* (RV 10.191.1); *úpopa me párá-mṛś-a* (RV 1.126.7); *kím nád-ud u harṣ-a-se dá-tavá u* (RV 4.21.9).

### 8.1.7 <sup>1</sup>upári-<sup>2</sup>ádhi-<sup>3</sup>adhás-aḥ sām-ī-py-e

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] the particles upári-, ádhi- and adhás- respectively denoting 'above/on, upon/below' to indicate proximity (sām-ī-py-e: in time or space).

*upáry upari grāma-m* 'very near the village'; *ádhy adhi grāma-m* 'in the vicinity of the village'; *adháh adhaḥ nágara-m* 'in the vicinity of the city'.

### 8.1.8 vāk-ya=ādé-r á-mantr-i-ta-sya <sup>1</sup>asūyā-<sup>2</sup>sam-má-ti-<sup>3</sup>kópa-a-<sup>4</sup>kúts-ana-<sup>5</sup>bhárts-an-e-ṣu

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] a sentence initial (vāk-ya=āde-ḥ) vocative (á-mantr-i-ta-sya) to denote jealousy (asūyā-°), honoring (°-sam-má-ti-°), anger (°-kópa-°), scorn (°-kúts-ana-°) or threatening (°-bhárts-ane-ṣu).

1. asūyā: *súndara sundara! vṛthā te saúndar-ya-m* 'O handsome one! your beauty is in vain'.
2. sam-má-ti: *déva deva! vand-yāḥ á-si* 'Lord, you are adorable'.
3. kópa: *dūr-vi-nī-ta dūr-vi-nī-ta, idánm jñā-syá-si* 'O ill-mannered wretch, you will soon learn'.
4. kúts-ana: *dhānuṣka dhānuṣka vṛthā te dhānuḥ* 'O archer, your bow is useless'.
5. bhárts-ana: *córa cora ghāt-ay-i-syā-mi tvá* 'O thief, I will have you punished'.

### 8.1.9 éka-m bahuvrīhi-vát

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of] the number word éka- 'one' (and the resulting sequence) is treated like a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The object of this is to indicate that the sUP triplets introduced after the prior member are replaced by Ø<sup>1</sup> (2.4.71) and it is treated like a masculine (6.3.34) and is accented according to 6.2.1.

*ekam ekam = éka+Ø<sup>1</sup>+eka-m akṣára-m páth-a-ti* 'recites each (and every syllable)'; *ekay-ā ekay-ā á-hu-ty-ā ju-hó-ti = ékaikay-ā* 'offers each (and every) oblation'. Though it functions like a Bahuvrīhi, it still retains its character as a pronominal stem: *ekaika-smai/ekaika-syai*, etc.

### 8.1.10 ā-bādh-é ca

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of an expression 1] to denote torment (ā-bādh-é) [and the resulting sequence is treated like a Bahuvrīhi compound 9].

*ga-tā-h ga-ta-h = ga-tā-ga-ta-h* 'Alas! he has gone'; similarly *ga-tā ga-tā = ga-tā-ga-tā f.*

### 8.1.11 karma-dhār-aya-vát úttare-ṣu

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 15 below : úttare-ṣu) [two expressions occur in the place of the whole of an expression 1 and the sequence resulting] is treated like a Karmadhārayá compound.

This results in the  $\emptyset^1$  replacement of sUP triplets introduced after the prior member (2.4.71) and the whole sequence is accented according to 6.2.223 on the final syllable of the compound.

### 8.1.12 pra-kār-é guṇa-vác-ana-sya

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole of 1] an expression denoting a property (guṇa-vác-ana-sya) to indicate that the thing possessed of that property has it only to a limited extent (pra-kār-é) [and the sequence resulting is treated like a Karmadhārayá compound 11].

*paṭu-paṭú-* 'kind of sharp or clever or intelligent'; *paṭu-paṭv-f f. = paṭu- $\emptyset^1$ -paṭv-f.*

### 8.1.13 á-kṛcchr-e <sup>1</sup>priy-á-<sup>2</sup>sukháy-or anya-tará-syām

[Two expressions occur in the place of the whole 1] optionally (anya-tará-syām) of priy-á- 'dear' and sukhá- 'happiness' to denote that something is done without difficulty or hardship (á-kṛcchr-e).

*priy-a-priy-éṇa/sukha-sukh-éna dá-dā-ti* 'donates easily, gives without any hardship' = *priy-e-ṇa/sukh-e-na dá-dā-ti.*

### 8.1.14 ya-thā-sv-é ya-thā-ya-thá-m

The expression ya-thā-ya-thá-m is introduced to denote 'respectively' (ya-thā-svá-m = individually, properly).

*yá-h ya-h ātmá yád yad atm-íya-m = ya-thā-svá-m (2.1.7) = yá-thā ya-thā = ya-thā-yathá-m.*

### 8.1.15 dvañ-dvā-m <sup>1</sup>rahas-yà-<sup>2</sup>maryādā-vacanā- <sup>3</sup>vy-ut-krām-aṇa-<sup>4</sup>yajña-pātra-pra-yog-ā=<sup>5</sup>abhi-vyāk-ti-ṣu

The expression dvañ-dvā- is introduced to denote 'a secret' (rahasyà-°), 'a limit' (° maryādā-vac-anā-°), 'a separation' (° vy-ut-krām-aṇa-°) 'an employment of a ritual vessel' (° -yajña-pātra-pra-yog-a-°) and 'manifestation' (° -abhi-vyāk-ti-ṣu).

1. *du-aú du-au bhū-tvā mantr-áy-ante* = *dvañdvā-m mantr-áy-ante* 'they consult secretly (in pairs)'; 2. *ā-caturā-m hí im-é paśáv-aḥ dvañ-dvā-m mithunā-y-ante* 'up to the fourth generation animals co-habit'. 3. *dvañdvā-m vy-ut-krān-tāḥ* 'they separated into two parties'. 4. *dvañ-dvā-m ny-añc-i yajña-pātrā-ñ-i prá-yu-na-k-ti* 'he employs the sacrificial vessels two by two, face downwards'. *dvañ-dvā-m sam-karṣ-aṇa-vāsu-dev-áu* 'the pair S. and V.'

### 8.1.16 padá-sya

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 3.54 below, all operations introduced are) of the padá (1.4.14ff.).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-ā] and the expression 'of the padá' will recur in each subsequent rule of this section.

### 8.1.17 pad-āt

(In the section beginning here and extending up to 68 inclusive below all operations introduced are) after the padá (pad-āt 1.1.67).

This also a governing rule within the major governing rule above, and the word (pad-āt) 'after a padá' will recur in each rule of this sub-section.

### 8.1.18 ánudātta-m sárva-m á-pada-ād-au

(In the section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 74 below) an entire (sárva-m) [padá 16] is low-pitched (ánudātta-m) [when it occurs after 1.1.67 another padá 17] unless it occurs at the beginning of a quarter verse (á-pada=ād-au).

The word [padá-] in the compound expression [a-pada=ād-au] is not used in its technical sense (1.4.14ff.) as in 16-17 above.

This is also a governing rule and will recur in all subsequent rules up to 74 below.

### 8.1.19 ā-mantr-i-ta-sya ca

[The entire 18] vocative (ā-mantr-i-ta- 2.3.48) [occurring after a padá 17 is low-pitched (ánudātta-m) unless it occurs at the head of a quarter verse 18].

*ágne yám yajñá-m adhvarám viśvá-taḥ pari-bhū-r asi* (RV 1.1.3) but *úpa tv-ā-gne divé-dive* (RV 1.1.7); *pác-a-si deva-datta?* 'Devadattá, are you cooking', but *déva-datta pac-a-si?*

### 8.1.20 <sup>1</sup>yušmád-<sup>2</sup>asmád-oḥ <sup>1</sup>ṣaṣṭhí-<sup>2</sup>caturthí- <sup>3</sup>dvi-tīyā-sthāy-or <sup>1</sup>vām-<sup>2</sup>nāv-au

The substitute morphemes vām and nau [respectively 1.3.10] replace the pronominal stems yušmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth, fourth or second sUP triplets [and are low-pitched 18 when occurring after a padá 17].

By inference these enclitics are replacements for the dual personal (first and second) pronominal stems, since in the following two sūtras special substitutes are introduced for the plural and the singular.

*grāma-ḥ vām/(yuvá-bhyām) dī-yá-te* 'a village is given to both of you'; *jana-padá-ḥ nau/(āvá-bhyām) dī-yá-te* 'an inhabited region is given to both of us'.

### 8.1.21 bahu-vac-an-é <sup>1</sup>vas-<sup>2</sup>nas-su

The substitute morphemes vas and nas [respectively 1.3.10] replace the whole of 1.1.55 of the second and first personal pronominal stems yušmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth, fourth and second sUP triplets 20, occurring after a padá 17 and are low-pitched 18] when denoting the plural (bahu-vac-an-é).

Exx. cited under 23 below.

### 8.1.22 te-may-au=eka-vac-aná-sya

The substitute morphemes te and me [respectively 1.3.10] replace the whole of 1.1.55 the personal pronouns yušmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we', co-occurring with the sixth or fourth triplets 20 and are low-pitched 18, occurring after a padá 17] when denoting the singular.

Exx. cited under 23 below.

### 8.1.23 <sup>1</sup>tvā-<sup>2</sup>m-au dvi-tīyā-y-āḥ

The substitute morphemes tvā and mā [respectively 1.3.10 replace the whole of the personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20] co-occurring with the second SUP triplet [when denoting the singular 22, and are low-pitched 18, occurring after a padá 17].

These four rules 20-23 introduce the enclitics [te], [me], [tvā], [mā] (sing.), [vām, nau] (dual) and [vas, nas] (plural), as replacements for the second and first personal pronominal padás respectively. The following verse illustrates this usage as quoted in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī:

1. śrīśá-s tvā-v-a-tu mā=ápi-há (acc. sing.) 'May Viṣṇu protect you and me'.
2. dad-yā-t te me=ápi śá hári-ḥ (dat. sing.) 'May He grant umbrage to you and me'.
3. svāmī te me=ápi śá hári-ḥ (gen. sing.) 'Hari is your lord and mine'.
4. pá-tu vām ápi nau vi-bhú-ḥ (acc. dual) 'May the mighty Lord protect the two of you and the two of us'.
5. sukhá-m vām nau da-dā-tv íśá-ḥ (dat. dual) 'May the Lord grant happiness to the two of you and the two of us'.
6. pátir-vām ápi nau hári-ḥ (gen. dual) 'Hari is the protector of you two and us two'.
7. śó-vyād vo naḥ (acc. plur.) 'May He protect you and us'.
8. śívá-m vo no dad-yā-t (dat. plur.) 'May He grant you and us happiness'.
9. sev-yò-tra vaḥ śá naḥ (gen. plur. 2.3.71) 'He is to be worshipped by all of you and us'.

### 8.1.24 ná <sup>1</sup>ca-<sup>2</sup>vā-<sup>3</sup>ha=<sup>4</sup>áha=<sup>5</sup>evá-yuk-t-e

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23] do not replace (ná) [the second and first personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20] when co-occurring [before 1.1.66] the particles ca 'and', vā 'or', ha, áha 'indeed, certainly' and evá 'only'.

1. hári-s tvám mām ca rakṣ-a-tu 'May Hari protect you and me'.
2. grāma-s táva vā svám māma vā svám 'the village is either your property or mine'. Similarly with the other particles and with dual and plural forms of pronominal stems.

### 8.1.25 paśyá=arth-aiś=ca=án-ā-loc-an-e

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23] do not replace 24 the personal pronouns yuṣmád- 'you' and asmád- 'we' 20] also (ca) when co-occurring with verbal stems denoting the sense of 'perceive' (paśyá-arth-aiḥ) excluding those which indicate perception by sight (án-ā-loc-an-e).

*cétas-ā tvām sám-īkṣ-a-te* ‘perceives you with the mind’; *bhak-tá-s táva rūpá-m mánas-ā dhyāy-a-ti* ‘the devotee mentally visualizes your form’, but *bhak-tá-s tvā paśy-a-ti cákṣuṣ-ā* ‘the devotee sees you (sg.) with (his) eyes’.

### 8.1.26 *sá-pūrvā-y-āḥ prathamā-y-āḥ vibhāṣā*

[The substitute morphemes introduced in 20-23 do not 24] optionally (*vibhāṣā*) replace [the personal pronouns *yusmád-* ‘you’ and *asmád-* ‘we’ 20 after 1.1.67 a *padá* 17 ending in 1.1.72] the first SUP triplet, co-occurring after [another *padá* 17] (*sá-pūrvā-y-āḥ*).

*bhak-tá-s tvám ápy ahám t-éna hári-s tvám trāy-a-te sá mām* ‘You and I are devotees of Hari; therefore He protects you and me’; alternately *t-éna hári-s tvā trāy-a-te sá mām*.

### 8.1.27 *tiÑ-ah gotrá-ādī-n-i 'kúts-ana=²ābhīkṣṇ-yay-oḥ*

[After 1.1.67 a *padá* 17 ending in 1.1.72] I-substitutes *tiÑ* (3.4.78) the class of words beginning with *go-trá-* (is all low-pitched 18) when denoting a pejorative (*kuts-ána-°*) or frequentative (*°ābhīkṣṇ-yay-oḥ*) sense.

1. *kúts-an-e: pác-a-ti go-tra-m* ‘makes a livelihood by announcing his *gotrá* (family name or descent)’; 2. *ābhīkṣṇ-y-e: pác-a-ti pác-a-ti go-tram* ‘repeatedly proclaims (one’s) *go-trá*’.

### 8.1.28 *tiÑ á-tiÑ-ah*

[After 17] a non-verbal [*padá* 17 (*á-tiÑ-ah*), a *padá* ending in 1.1.72] I-substitutes (*tiÑ*) [is all *anudātta* 18].

*deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti* ‘Devadattá is cooking’, but *bhāṣy-a-ti pác-a-ti* ‘cooking is taking place’.

### 8.1.29 *ná IUT*

[After 1.1.67 a non-verbal 28 *padá* 17, a *padá* ending in 1.1.72] the I-substitutes of IUT (non-sigmatic Future) is not (*na*) [all *anudātta* 18].

*śvāḥ kar-tá* ‘will do tomorrow’/*kar-tá-rau/kar-tá-rah*.

### 8.1.30 ni-pāt-aír <sup>1</sup>yád-<sup>2</sup>yádi-<sup>3</sup>hánta-<sup>4</sup>kuvíd-<sup>5</sup>néd-<sup>6</sup>céd-<sup>7</sup>caṇ-<sup>8</sup>káccid-<sup>9</sup>yá-tra-yuk-ta-m

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] when co-occurring with the particles yád ‘that’, yádi ‘if’, hánta ‘oh, well’, kuvíd ‘perhaps’, néd ‘not indeed’, céd, caṇ ‘if’, kác-cid ‘I hope that’ and yá-tra ‘where’.

1. *yát kar-ó-ti* ‘that he does’; 2. *yádi kar-ó-ti* ‘if he does’; 3. *hánta kar-ó-ti* ‘well, he does’; 4. *kuvít kar-ó-ti* ‘perhaps he does’; 5. *nét kar-ó-ti* ‘does not indeed do’; 6. *sá céd bhuk-té* ‘if he eats’; 7. *ayám ca (= céd) mar-i-śyá-ti* ‘if he dies’; 8. *káccid adh-í-té* ‘hope he studies’; 9. *yá-tra bhuk-té* ‘where he eats’.

### 8.1.31 náha praty-ā-rambh-é

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle ná-ha ‘not indeed’ to denote prohibition (praty-ārambh-é).

*ná-ha bhok-śyá-se* ‘certainly you will eat’. The prohibition is of the repeated denial by the responsee of the request to eat; but when prohibition is not implied: *ná ha vaí tásmín=ca deś-é dakṣiṇām icch-a-nti* ‘not indeed in that country people desire a sacrificial fee’.

### 8.1.32 satyá-m praśn-é

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] satyá-m ‘truly’ to imply a question (praśn-é).

*satyá-m bhok-śyá-se* ‘truly you will eat?’; but when a question is not implied: *satyá-m vak-śyá-mi ná án-ṛta-m* ‘I speak the truth, not untruth’.

### 8.1.33 aṅgá á-prāti-lom-y-e

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiñ 18 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle aṅgá ‘true, indeed’ to denote an amicable assertion (á-prāti-lom-y-e).

*aṅgá pác-a* ‘indeed you may cook’, but *aṅgá kū-j-a, idānīm jñā-śya-si* ‘go on, cry, you will know now’.



### 8.1.34 hí ca

[A padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 18 is not 29 all ánuḍātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle hí 'for, because' also (ca) [to denote an amicable assertion 33].

*sá hí páṭh-a* 'for certainly, you may recite', but *sá hí kūj-a vṛṣala! idānīm jñā-sya-si* 'go on, O wretch, cry, you will know now'.

### 8.1.35 chándas-i án-eka-m ápi sá=ā-kāñkṣ-am

In the domain of Chándas more than one (ánekam ápi) [padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitute tiÑ 28 does not 29 all become ánuḍātta 18 when co-occurring with 30 the particle hí 'for, because' 34] and are dependent (sākāñkṣa-m) [on the first verbal padá].

The force of the indeclinable [ápi] is to indicate that there may be one or even more than one verbal padá.

*án-ṛta-m hí mat-tá-ḥ vād-a-ti, pāpmā ena-m vi-pu-nā-ti* 'If the drunkard tells a lie, sin will make him impure'.

### 8.1.36 <sup>1</sup>yā-vad-<sup>2</sup>yā-thā-bhyām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29, all ánuḍātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the indeclinables yā-vat 'as much' and yā-thā 'in which manner'.

*yā-vad bhunṅk-té* 'as long as he eats'; *yā-thā bhunṅk-té* 'in whatever manner he eats'.

This rule applies even when the indeclinables do not precede the verb: *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti yā-thā/yā-vat* 'in whatever manner/so long as Devadattá cooks'.

### 8.1.37 pūjā-y-ām ná=án-antara-m

[A verbal padá 28, co-occurring with 39 the indeclinables yā-vat 'as much' and yā-thā 'in which manner'] immediately after them (án-antara-m) is [all ánuḍātta 18] to denote praise or honor.

The negative particle [ná] in this rule negatives the recurring [ná] from 29 above, restoring the position stated in 18 above.

*yā-vat pác-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'as long as he cooks well'; similarly *yā-thā pác-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'in whatever manner he cooks well'; but *yā-vad/yā-thā bhunṅk-té*; and with intervention: *yā-vad deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'as long as Devadattá cooks well'.

### 8.1.38 upa-sarg-a-vy-ap-e-tám ca

[A verbal padá 28, co-occurring with 30 the particles yá-vat 'as much' and yá-thā 'in which manner' 36, but] separated from them by a preverb (upa-sarg-a-vy-ap-e-tám) [is all ánudātta 18] also (ca) [to denote praise 37].

*yá-vat prá-pac-a-ti deva-dat-tá-ḥ śóbh-ana-m; but yá-vad deva-dat-tá-ḥ prá-pác-a-ti.*

### 8.1.39 <sup>1</sup>tú-<sup>2</sup>pásya-pásya-ta=<sup>3</sup>áh-aiḥ pūjā-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] tú 'but', pásya-a/pásya-a-ta 'see' and áha 'surely, certainly' to indicate praise [pūjā-y-ām].

1. *māṇavaka-s tú bhuk-té śóbh-ana-m* 'but the lad eats well'.
2. *pásya-a/pásya-a-ta māṇavaka-ḥ bhuk-té śóbh-ana-m.*
3. *áha māṇavaka-ḥ bhuk-té śóbh-ana-m.*

### 8.1.40 aho ca

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] also (ca) [when co-occurring with 30] the particle aho 'bravo!, ah!' [to denote praise 39].

*aho deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti śóbh-ana-m* 'bravo! D. cooks well'.

### 8.1.41 śeṣ-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with 30 the particle aho 'ah! bravo!' 40] to denote senses other than (śeṣ-e) [praise, honor 39].

*kāṭa-m aho kar-i-śyá-si/kari-śya-si* (said in envy).

### 8.1.42 purá ca par-ī-psā-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 optionally 41 when co-occurring with 30] the particle purá 'before, prior to' to denote the sense of 'haste' (par-ī-psā-y-ām).

*ádḥ-i-śva māṇavaka purá vi-dyót-a-te/vi-dyot-a-te vi-dyút* 'Study, O lad, before the lightning flashes' but *naḍ-ena sma purá ádh-i-ya-te* 'formerly study was being done by Naḍa'. The urgency or haste in the first case is because of the tabu on conducting study during lightning.

### 8.1.43 nanú iti anu-jñā=eṣ-aṇā-y-ām

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle na-nú 'certainly, surely' to denote the seeking of permission (anu-jñā=eṣ-aṇ-ā-y-ām).

*na-nú gacch-ā-mi bhoḥ* 'May I go?', but in the expression *ā-kār-ṣ-I-ḥ káta-m deva-datta? na-nú kar-o-mi bhoḥ* 'Devadatta! have you made the mat? I will certainly make it', it is all ánudātta.

### 8.1.44 kím kriyā-praś-n-é án-upa-sarg-am á-prati-ṣid-dha-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle kím used interrogatively (kriyā-praś-n-é) and the verbal padá is not preceded by a preverb (án-upa-sarg-a-m) or the negative particle (á-prati-ṣid-dha-m).

*kím deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti áho-svit bhuk-te* 'Is Devadattá cooking or eating?' According to some grammarians the second verb also is not all ánudātta (= *bhuk-té*).

*kím deva-dat-tá-ḥ prá-pac-a-ti áho-svit prá-kar-o-ti/na páṭh-a-ti áhosvit na kar-o-ti* 'Is D. beginning to eat or beginning to make?' or 'Is D. not reading or making?'

### 8.1.45 lóp-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) when the substitute lópa (Ø) [replaces the particle kím 45 co-occurring with it, used interrogatively and not preceded by a preverb or the negative particle 44].

The situation is identical with 44 above, without actually using the particle kím. *deva-dat-tá-ḥ pác-a-ti?/pac-a-ti? áhosvit páṭh-a-ti/páṭh-a-ti.*

### 8.1.46 é-hi-mán-y-e pra-hās-é IRṬ

[A verbal padá 28 ending in the l-substitutes of] l-member IRṬ (Sigmatic Future) [is not all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the expression é-hi mán-y-e 'Come, I think' to denote irony (pra-hās-é).

*é-hi mán-y-e odaná-m bhok-ṣyá-se* 'Come, I believe you will be eating rice?' (implying: 'you will not, since it has already been eaten by guests'). Similarly *é-hi mán-y-e ráṭh-ena yā-ṣyá-si? ná hí yās-ya-si, yā-tá-s t-éna pitá* 'Come, I

believe you will be travelling by chariot?' (implying 'you will not, father has gone with it').

### 8.1.47 jātu á-pūrva-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle jātu 'ever, certainly, positively' when it is not preceded [by another padá] (á pūrva-m).

*jātu bhok-syá-se* 'you will certainly eat'; *jātu kar-i-syā-mi* 'I will positively do', but *kāta-m jātu kar-i-sya-si* 'you will certainly make a mat'.

### 8.1.48 kim-vṛt-tá-m ca cid-ut-tara-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the declensional forms of the interrogative pronoun kím 'who, what, which' followed by (°úttara-m) the particle cid [and not preceded by another padá 47].

*kás-cid bhoj-áy-a-ti/bhuk-té* 'someone feeds/eats'; *k-éna cid kar-ó-ti* 'makes with someone', *ká-amai cid dá-dā-ti* 'gives to someone', *ka-taráś cid kar-ó-ti*, *ka-tamáś cid bhuk-té* but *deva-dat-tá-h kím cid paṭh-a-ti* 'Devadattá recites something'.

### 8.1.49 <sup>1</sup>áho=<sup>2</sup>utáho ca=án-antara-m

[A verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particles áho 'is it so?' or utáho 'is that so?' [not preceded by another padá 47] and without intervention (án-antaram).

*áho/utáho bhuk-té* 'is he eating?' but *deva-dat-tá-h áho/utáho bhuk-te?* 'Is Devadattá eating?'

### 8.1.50 sés-e vibhāṣā

[A verbal padá 29 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [when co-occurring with 30 the particles áho, utáho 'is it so?' 49] in the remaining (sés-e) context (: when the verbal padá does not follow immediately, i.e., there is intervention).

*áho/utáho deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti/pac-a-ti* 'Does D. cook?'

### 8.1.51 gaty-artha-lÓṬ-ā lṚṬ ná cét kār-aka-m sarva=anyat

[A verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of the l-member] lṚṬ (Sigmatic Future) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] (another) [verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of the l-member] lÓṬ (Imperative) of verbs of movement (gaty-ártha- °), provided the case relationship (kār-aka-m) is not wholly (sarvá- °) different ( °-anyat).

The kār-aka-s involved here are the agent and object only.

á-gacch-a deva-dat-ta! grāma-m, drak-syá-si ena-m 'Come to the village, D., you will see him'; but pác-a devadatta odanám, bhok-sya-se ena-m 'Cook (some) rice, you will feed him' where the verb is not of movement. á-gacch-eḥ devadatta grāma-m, drak-sya-si enam where the verb is in the Optative Mood (IIÑ); á-gacch-a devadatta grāma-m, pitá te odanám bhok-sya-te 'Come to the village, D., your father will eat rice there' where the agents of the verbs are different.

### 8.1.52 lÓṬ ca

[A verbal padá ending in the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member] lÓṬ (Imperative) also (ca) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30 another padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of lÓṬ of verbs of movement, provided the case relationship is not all different 51].

á-gacch-a devadatta! grāma-m páśy-a 'Come, Devadatta! see the village', but á-gacch-eḥ devadatta grāma-m, páśy-a ena-m (optative); pác-a devadatta odanám, bhuñk-sva ena-m 'Cook rice, Devadatta and eat it', the verb is not one of motion.

### 8.1.53 ví-bhāṣ-i-taṁ sá=upa-sarg-am án-uttama-m

[A verbal padá ending in the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member lÓṬ 52] optionally (ví-bhāṣ-t-tam) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30 another verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes of lÓṬ of verbs of motion, provided the case relationship is not wholly different 51] if it is co-occurring with a preverb (s-ó-pa-sargam) and is not in the first person (án-uttaman 1.4.107).

á-gacch-a deva-dat-ta! grāma-m pra-vís-a/prá-vís-a 'Come, D., enter the village', but á-gacch-ā-ni grāma-m pra-vís-āni 'I will go and enter the village'.

### 8.1.54 hánta ca

[A verbal padá ending in 1.1.72 the l-substitutes 28 of the l-member 10T 52 co-occurring with a preverb is optionally 53 not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particle hánta ‘well’.

*hánta prá-viś-a/pra-viś-á* but *hánta kur-ú/pra-bhu-nāj-āvahai* the first without a preverb and the second with a preverb and first person [constraints implied by *ca* from 53 above].

### 8.1.55 ām-aḥ éka=antara-m ā-mantr-i-tam án-antik-e

A vocative (ā-mantr-i-ta-m 2.3.48) [is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the interjection ām, but separated from it by a single [padá 17] (ék-ā-ntara-m) except when following it (án-antik-e).

*ām pac-a-si déva-dat-tāś* (6.1.198; 8.2.84 for accent) ‘well, are you cooking, Devadatta?’, but *ām prá-pac-a-si deva-dat-tāś* (2 padás)/*ām deva-dat-ta* (no padá).

### 8.1.56 <sup>1</sup>yád=<sup>2</sup>hí=<sup>3</sup>tú-para-m chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [a verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 when co-occurring with 30] the particles yád ‘which (relative)’, hí ‘for’ and tú ‘but’.

1. *gáv-ām go-trám ud-á-ryj-aḥ yád angira-h* ‘O Angiras! in that thou hast released the cattle shed’ (RV 2.23.18).
2. *índav-aḥ vām uś-ánti hí* (RV 1.2.4) ‘the Soma-drops like you’.
3. *ā-khyā-syá-mi tu te* ‘but I will tell you’. Normally the accent would have been on the preverb (28) but in this case the preverb loses its accent when the verb is accented (71 below).

### 8.1.57 <sup>1</sup>caná=<sup>2</sup>cid=<sup>3</sup>iva=<sup>4</sup>go-trá=<sup>5</sup>ādi=<sup>6</sup>taddhitá=<sup>6</sup>ā-mreḍ-i-te-su=<sup>7</sup>á-gate-h

[A verbal padá 28 is not all ánudātta 19 when co-occurring with 30] the particles caná-, cid, iva, and the word-class beginning with go-trá-, a taddhitá affix (5.3.66-67) or an ā-mreḍ-i-ta(2) and is not preceded by a member denoted by the t.t. gāti (1.4.60).

1. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti caná* ‘D. does not even cook’.
2. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti cid* ‘D. also cooks’.
3. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti iva* ‘D. cooks, as it were’.

4. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti gotrá-m* 'D. cooks badly/repeatedly'.
5. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti-kalpa-m/pác-a-ti-rūpa-m* 'D. has not finished cooking/is cooking well'.
6. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti pác-a-ti* 'D. cooks assiduously' but *deva-dat-tá-h prá-pác-a-ti caná*.

### 8.1.58 *ca=ādi-ṣu ca*

[A verbal *padá* 28 is not 29 all *ánudātta* 18 before 1.1.66] the class of particles beginning with *ca* (24) 'and' [and is not preceded by a member denoted by the t.t. *gāti* (1.4.60) 57].

This class consists of *ca*, *vā*, *ha*, *áha*, and *evá* (24).

1. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti khād-a-ti ca* 'D. is cooking and eating'; 2. *deva-dat-tá-h pác-a-ti vā khād-a-ti vā / páca-ty áha khād-a-ty áha / pác-a-ty evá khād-a-ty evá* 'Devadattá either cooks or eats / certainly cooks and eats / only cooks and eats' respectively, but *deva-dat-tá-h prá-pác-a-ti/ca/vā/áha/evá prá-khād-a-ti/ca/vā/áha/evá*.

### 8.1.59 <sup>1</sup>*ca*-<sup>2</sup>*vā*-yog-e prathamā

The first [verbal *padá* 28 is not 29 all *ánudātta* 18] when co-occurring with the particles *ca* 'and' and *vā* 'or'.

*gardabhān=ca kāl-áy-a-ti vñā-m ca vād-ay-a-ti* 'drives the donkeys and plays on the *Vñā* also'; similarly with [*vā*].

### 8.1.60 *ha=iti kṣi-yā-y-ām*

[The first verbal *padá* 28 is not 29 all *ánudātta* 18] when co-occurring after the particle *ha* to denote an offence against customary behavior (*kṣi-yā-y-ām*).

*svayá-m ráth-ena yā-tiṣ up-ā-dhy-āyá-m pad-éna gam-ay-a-ti* (2.104) 'oneself goes by a chariot and makes the instructor walk (lit. go by foot)'.

### 8.1.61 *áha iti vi-ni-yog-é ca*

[The first 59 verbal *padá* 28 is not 29 all *ánudātta* 18, co-occurring with 30] the particle *áha* when denoting various commissions (*vi-ni-yog-é*) as well as (*ca*) [an offence against customary behavior 60].

*tvám áha grāma-m gacch-a, tvám áha aranya-m gacch-a* 'go to the village and also

go to the forest'; *svayá-m áha ráth-ena yá-tiṣ, upādhyayá-m padāti-m gam-ay-a-ti* (2.104).

### 8.1.62 <sup>1</sup>ca=<sup>2</sup>áha-lop-e evá iti ava-dhār-aṇa-m

[The first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18, co-occurring with 30] a substitute lópa (Ø) replacement of particles ca and áha, and the particle evá is employed (in their place) to denote restriction (ava-dhār-aṇ-e).

1. *deva-dat-tá-h evá grāma-m gacch-a-tu/d-* 'evá áranya-m gacch-a-tu' 'D. alone should go to the village and also to the forest';
2. *deva-dat-tá evá grāma-m gacch-a-tu/yajña-dat-tá evá áranya-m gacch-a-tu* 'D. alone should go to the village and Y. alone should go to the forest'.

### 8.1.63 ca=ādi-lop-e vibhāṣā

[The first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [co-occurring with 30] a substitute Ø replacement of the class of particles beginning with ca (= ca, vā, ha, áha and evá 24).

- śuk-lā-h vrtháy-aḥ bhāv-a-nti, śvet-ā-h gāḥ ájyā-ya duh-anti* 'the grains of rice are white and they milk white cows for butter' alternating with *bhav-a-nti. vrthí-bhir yáj-e-ta/yaj-e-ta, yáv-air yaj-e-ta* 'should sacrifice with rice or with barley'. And similarly for the other particles.

### 8.1.64 vaí-vāvá iti ca=chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the first 59 verbal padá 28 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 optionally 63 when co-occurring with 30] the particles vaí and vāvá.

- áhar vaí devā-n-ām ās-i-t/ās-It, rátri-r á-surā-ṇ-ām* 'The day was for the gods, the night for the Asura-s'.

*ayám vāvá hásta ās-I-t/ās-It na=I-tara ās-I-t* 'This was the hand, not the other'.

### 8.1.65 <sup>1</sup>éka=<sup>2</sup>anyā-bhyām sám-arthā-bhyām

[The first 59 verbal padá 29 is not 29 all ánudātta 18 optionally 63 when co-occurring with 30 the nominal stems 4.1.1] éka- 'one' and anyá- 'another, the other' when they have the same significance (sám-arthā-bhyām) [in the domain of Chándas 64].



*prajā-m ekā jīnu-ati/jīnu-ati ūj-am ekā* 'one quickens the progeny, the other gains strength'. *tāy-or anyā-h pippala-m svādu āt-ti ān-aśnan anyo abhi-cā-kas-ti* (RV 1.164.20) 'Of those two one eats the sweet fruit of the Ficus Indica and the other, not eating, looks on intently'.

### 8.1.66 yād-vṛt-t-āt nitya-m

[The first 59 verbal padā 28 is not 29 all ānudātta 18] necessarily (nitya-m) [when co-occurring with 30] the declensional forms of the pronominal stem yād 'which (relative)'.

*yā-h/y-ēna bhuk-tē, yā-m bhoj-āy-a-ti, yā-smai dā-dā-ti* 'who eats/with whom or what one eats/whom one feeds / to whom one gives'; *yāt-kāmā-s te ju-hu-mās* 'with which desire we sacrifice to thee' (RV 10.121.10).

### 8.1.67 pūj-an-āt pūj-i-tā-m ānudāttam (kāṣṭha=ādi-bhyaḥ)

(The posterior member of a compound which is being) praised (pūj-i-tā-m) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member] belonging to the class of nominal stems 4.1.1 beginning with kāṣṭhā- 'excellent' denoting praise (pūj-an-āt) becomes all ānudātta.

[The expression [kāṣṭha-ādi-bhyaḥ] has been interpolated from a vārttika in the original sūtra by Kāśikā and Siddhānta Kaumudī. This class denotes adverbs ending in -m, and by another vārttika introduces a Ø replacement of this in composition.]

There are two views regarding the interpretation of this rule. Most commentators take the rule as pointing to the formation of compounds and an exception to 6.1.223 for accentuation read with 2.1.72. On the other hand Kātyāyanā and Patañjali indicate that the adverbial forms [kāṣṭha-m] etc. have the sUP triplet [am] replaced by Ø in this collocation.

*kāṣṭha-m adhy-āy-aka-h = kāṣṭh-ā-dhy-āy-aka-h* 'an excellent scholar'; similarly *kāṣṭhā-m adhy-āp-aka-h = kāṣṭh-ā-dhy-āp-aka-h* 'excellent teacher'.

The repetition of the expression (ānudātta-m) in this rule when it was already recurring from 18 above is to block out the privative particle [ná].

### 8.1.68 sā-ga-ti-r āpi tiñ

A verbal padā (tiñ), co-occurring or not with an item denoted by the t.t. gā-ti (1.4.60: sā-ga-ti-r āpi) expressing excellence' [and after the class of words beginning with kāṣṭha-m denoting praise becomes ānudātta 67].

*yāt kāṣṭhā-m pac-a-ti/pra-pac-a-ti* 'inasmuch as he cooks excellently'; *yād dāruṇā-m pac-a-ti/pra-pac-a-ti* 'that he cooks assiduously'.

### 8.1.69 kúts-an-e ca sUPi=á-go-tra-ād-au

[A verbal padá, co-occurring or not with an item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60) 68 becomes all ánudātta 67 before 1.1.66 an expression ending in 1.1.72] a sUP triplet, excluding the group of words commencing with go-trá- (27) to denote reproach (kúts-ane).

*pac-a-ti/prā-pac-a-ti pū-tí* 'cooks in a questionable manner' but  
*pác-a-ti/prá-pac-a-ti sóbh-ana-m/go-trá-m* etc.

### 8.1.70 gá-ti-r gá-t-au

An item denoted by the t.t. gá-ti (1.4.60) [becomes ánudātta 67 before 1.1.66] (another) gá-ti.

*abhí+úd+dhár-a-ti* = *abhy-úd-dhar-a-ti* (28) 'lifts up'; similarly:  
*sám+úd+á+náy-a-ti* = *sam-ud-á-nay-a-ti* 'assembles';  
*abhí+sám+pári+á+hár-a-ti* = *abhi-sam-pary-á-har-a-ti* 'turns out towards oneself'.

### 8.1.71 tiÑ-i ca udātta-vat-i

[A gáti 70 co-occurring with] a verbal padá (tiÑ-i) containing an accent [becomes ánudātta 67].

*yát pra-pác-a-ti* (66) 'that he begins to cook'.

### 8.1.72 á-mantr-ita-m púrva-m á-vid-ya-māna-vat

A preceding vocative (púrva-m á-mantr-i-ta-m) is considered as though non-existent (á-vid-ya-māna-vat).

This has an application pertaining to: 1. the accentuation of the following padá (19,28) and 2. enclitic replacements of [yusmád-, asmád-] (20-23).

1. *déva-dat-ta yájña-dat-ta-* (contra 19), *déva-dat-ta! pác-a-si?* 'D., are you cooking?' (contra 28).
2. *déva-dat-ta! táva grāma-ḥ svám* 'D., the village is your property' where the enclitics cannot appear.

Other applications are: *yá-vad deva-dat-ta pác-a-si;* (contra 37); *déva-dat-ta játu pác-a-si* (contra 47); *áho/utáho deva-dat-ta pác-a-si* (contra 49). In all these instances the vocative is considered as non-existent.

**8.1.73 ná ā-mantr-it-e sa-mānā=adhi-kar-aṇ-e**  
(sā-mān-ya-vac-anā-m)

[Before 1.1.66] a vocative which is in apposition with it [the preceding vocative 72] conveying a general idea (sāmānya-vacana-m) is not (ná) [treated as though it were non-existent 72].

*agne gṛha-pate* 'O Agni, lord of the mansion!', but *dēva-dat-ta*, *pāṇḍita yajña-dat-ta* where *pāṇḍita* 'wise one' is in apposition with Yajñadattá and not Devadatta'.

**8.1.74 (sāmānya-vac-anā-m) ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-m**  
**vi-śeṣ-a-vac-an-é (bahu-vac-an-e)**

[The preceding vocative 72] (in the plural number) is optionally (vibhāṣitam) [considered as non-existent 72 before 1.1.66 another vocative in apposition with it 72] denoting a specific quality (viśeṣ-vac-an-é).

The bracketed words (in the plural number: bahu-vac-an-é) are provided by Patañjali who divides the rules 73-74 as given in the Kāśikā version which includes Patañjali's insertion of [bahu-vac-ana-m] in the rule. The original reading appears to be: 73: [ná=āmantrite samānādhikar-aṇe] and 74: [sāmānya-vacanām vibhāṣitam viśeṣa-vacané] whence Kāśikā reads 74 as [vibhāṣitam viśeṣa-vacane bahu-vac-anā-m]. Patañjali implies that the optionality applies only to the plural, while in the singular this rule does not apply.

*dēv-ā-ḥ śaraṇy-ā-ḥ/śaraṇy-ā-ḥ* 'O Gods, who afford shelter'; *brāhmaṇ-ā-ḥ vaiy-ā-kar-aṇ-ā-ḥ/vaiy-ā-kar-aṇ-ā-ḥ* 'O brahmins, who are grammarians'.

## 8.2.1 pūrvā-tra=á-sid-dha-m

(In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this chapter) a rule introduced is considered inoperative with respect to an earlier rule (pūrvā-tra á-sid-dha-m) (and a rule of this section is also considered inoperative with respect to the rules introduced in the section preceding this, i.e., 1.1.1-8.1.74).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] with regard to all operations taught in the Aṣṭ.

In the phrase *a-smāi úd-dhar-a* = *asmāy úd-dhar-a* (6.1.78) = *asmāḥ úd-dhar-a* (3.19 below) = *a-smā úd-dhar-a* further modification by saṁdhi rule 6.1.87 does not take place, because by this metarule which restores the position *a-smāy úd-dhara* 3.19 below is deemed not to have taken place at all with respect to 6.1.87.

## 8.2.2 ṇa-lopá-ḥ <sup>1</sup>sUP-<sup>2</sup>svára-<sup>3</sup>sañ-jñā-<sup>4</sup>tuK=vi-dhi-ṣu kṛt-i

Substitute lópa (ḥ) replacement of [stem-final 1.1.52] dental phoneme ṇ (7 below) is [considered inoperative 1] pertaining to (a) sUP triplets, (b) accentuation (°svára-°), (c) technical terms (°sañ-jñā°) and (d) insertion of [final increment 1.1.46] tuK (before 1.1.66) a kṛt (3.1.93) [affix 3.1.1].

1. *rājān+bhis* = *rājāḥ+bhis* (1.4.17; 8.2.7) = *rājā+bhis*, but 7.1.9 which provides an allomorph [ais] after stems ending in short [a] cannot apply because the preceding operation is considered not to have taken place at the time this becomes operative. Similarly *rājān+bhyām* = *rājāḥ+bhyām* = *rājā-bhyām* 7.3.102 does not apply and in *rājān+su* = *rājāḥ+su* = *rājā-su* 7.3.103 cannot apply.
2. *rājān+matUP+NIP* = *rājāḥ-vat-I* (9) but 6.1.220 cannot apply, even though the surface form ends in °-a-vat-I since the preceding operation generating this form is considered not to have taken place for the purpose of this operation.
3. *pāñca brāhmaṇy-aḥ* 'five brahmin ladies' where *pāñca* = *pāñcan+Jas* = *pāñcan+ḥ*<sup>1</sup> (7.1.22) = *pāñcaḥ* (7), the feminine affix [TāP 4.1.4] cannot apply since [pāñcaḥ] is regarded as belonging to the class of number words denoted by the t.t. *ṣaṣ* (1.1.24; 4.1.10).
4. *vṛ-trá-n ha-távān* = *vṛ-trá+ḥ+han+KviP* (3.2.87)+*bhyām* = *vṛ-tra-hán+bhyām* = *vṛ-tra-há+bhyām* (7) the ḥ replacement of stem-final [n 7] is considered not to have taken place with respect to the insertion of final increment tuK by 6.1.71.

This rule restricts the operation of 1: *āt-mán-aḥ rāj-ān-am icch-ā-ti* = *rāj-an+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *rājāḥ-yá-a-ti* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *rājī-yá-a-ti* (7.4.33) = *rājī-yá-ti* (6.1.97) which is not blocked contrary to 1. Similarly *rāj-an+KyáN+ŚaP+te* (3.1.11) = *rāj-aḥ+yá-a-te* (1.4.15; 8.2.7) = *rājā-yá-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.85) is not blocked. *rāj-n-aḥ áśva-ḥ* = *rā-jan+Nās áśva+sU* = *rāj-an+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+áśva+sU* (2.4.71) = *rāj-aḥ+áśva+sU* (7) = *rāj-ā-svā-ḥ* (6.1.223) where 6.1.101 is not blocked.

### 8.2.3 ná mu n-e

The substitute morpheme *mu* (replacing °*daa* of *adas-* ‘that’ 80) is not (*nā*) [considered as inoperative 1 with respect to] the substitute morpheme *nā* [replacing *suP* triplet *Tā* introduced after 3.1.2 it 7.3.120].

*adās+Tā* = *adāa+ā* (7.2.102) = *adā+ā* (6.1.97) = *amú+ā* (80) = *amú-nā* which is not blocked, contrary to the governing rule 1. This also restricts the range of the governing rule 1 above partially.

### 8.2.4 <sup>1</sup>udātta-<sup>2</sup>svar-itáy-or *yaN-ah* svar-i-tá-*h* ánudātta-sya

A substitute *svaritá* accent replaces the *ánudātta* which occurs (immediately) after a semivowel (*yaN-ah*) [replacement of] an *udātta* or *svaritá* (vowel).

*abhí abhí hi* (8.1.4) = *abhí abhi hi* (8.1.3) = *abhy-ābhi hi*; *khalā-pá+ÑIP+āsā* = *khalapv-ī+āsā* (6.4.83) = *khalapv-ý+āsā* = *khalapvy-āsā*. Cf. 6.1.174 for a prior exception. But *bida+aÑ+ÑIN* (4.1.73; 104)+*āsā* = *baída+ÑIN+āsā* = *baidθ-I+āsā* (6.4.148) = *baidy-āsā* as the semivowel replaces an *ánudātta* vowel.

### 8.2.5 *eka*=*ā-deś-á-h* udātt-*ena* udātta-*h*

A single replacement (*ekādeśā-h*) [of an *ánudātta* vowel 4] with an *udātta* (vowel) becomes *udātta*.

*agní+au* = *agn-f* (6.1.102); *vrkṣá+ais* = *vrkṣ-aís*. But *pác+ŚaP+anti* = *pác-a-nti* (6.1.97).

### 8.2.6 svar-i-tá-*h* *vā* ánudātt-*e* pada=*ād-aú*

[The single replacement 5] of a *padá*-initial (*padādaú*) *ánudātta* [and the preceding *udātta* vowel 5] optionally (*vā*) becomes *svaritá*.

In the compound *sú+ut-thi-tá-* (2.2.18) = *s-ū-t-thi-ta-/s-û-t-thi-ta-*; *ví+Ikṣ-a-te* = *v-ĩ-kṣ-ate/v-ĩ-kṣa-te*. *guḍa/tila+udaka-* = *guḍá/tilá+udaka* (6.2.96) = *gud-ó-daka-/gud-ò-daka-*; *til-ó-daka-/til-ò-daka-* ‘water mixed with molasses or sesamum seeds’.

### 8.2.7 na-lop-á-h prāti-pad-ika=antá-sya

The substitute lópa (Ø) replaces the final phoneme n of a nominal stem (prāti-pad-ika-antá-sya) [which functions at the same time as a padá 1.16].

$rāj-an+sU = rāj-ān+sU$  (6.4.8) =  $rāj-ān+Ø$  (6.1.68) =  $rāj-āØ$  (1.4.17); and similarly  $rāj-aØ+bhyām/bhyas/su$ ;  $rāj-an+taL = rāj-ā-tā$  (5.1.119) 'kingship'.

### 8.2.8 ná <sup>1</sup>Ni-<sup>2</sup>sam-bud-dhy-oḥ

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 7] does not (ná) replace [the final phoneme n of a nominal stem 7 which at the same time functions as a padá 1.16 before 1.1.66 sUP triplets] <sup>1</sup>Ni and sU of the vocative (°-sam-búd-dhy-oḥ).

$vyó-man+Ñi = vyó-man+luK$  (7.1.39) =  $para-m-é vyó-man$  (RV 1.62.7) 'in the highest heaven';  $rāj-an+sU$  (voc.) =  $rāj-an+Ø$  (6.1.68) =  $he rāj-an$  'O king!'.  
.

### 8.2.9 <sup>1</sup>m-<sup>2</sup>āt=upa-dhā-y-ās ca mat-Or va-h a-yava=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme 1.1.54 of the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1] matUP (5.2.94) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] or containing the phonemes m or a as penultimate, excluding the word-class beginning with yáva- 'barley'.

1. °-m:  $kām+matUP = kām-vat$ . 2. penultimate m:  $kāma+matUP = kāma-vat$  'enamored'.
3. °-a:  $vrkṣā+matUP = vrkṣa-vat$  (6.1.176) 'sylvan'.
4. penultimate a:  $páyas+matUP = páyas-vat$  'milky, watery'.

But  $yáva-mat-$ ,  $dalmi-mát-$ ,  $ūrmi-mát-$  etc.

### 8.2.10 jhāY-aḥ

[The substitute phoneme v replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix matUP 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] non-nasal stops (jhāY-aḥ).

$marút+matUP = marút-vat$  (1.4.19);  $śarád+matuP = śarád-vat-$ .

### 8.2.11 saṁ-jñā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme *v* replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix matUP 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1] to derive a name (saṁ-jñā-y-ām).

*ahi+matUP+ÑIP* = *ahī-vat-ī* (6.1.220; 3.120); *kapī-vat-ī*, *munī-vat-ī* 'names of rivers' (4.2.85).

### 8.2.12 <sup>1</sup>āsandī-vat=<sup>2</sup>aṣṭhī-vat=<sup>3</sup>cakrī-vat=<sup>4</sup>kakṣī-vat=<sup>5</sup>rumaṇ-vat=<sup>6</sup>cārmaṇ-vatī

The irregular expressions āsandī-vat- 'n.pr. of a village', aṣṭhī-vat- 'knee', cakrī-vat- 'furnished with wheels', kakṣī-vat- 'n.pr. of a sage', rumaṇ-vat- 'n.pr. of a mountain', and carmaṇ-vat-ī 'n.pr. of a river' are introduced [with irregular replacement by phoneme *v* of the initial phoneme of matUP 9 introduced after the respective nominal stems].

1. *āsandī-vat* (= *āsana-vat*); if properly derived from *āsandī* 'chair'; 2. *aṣṭhī-vat* (= *āsthi-mat-*) 'vertebrate'; 3. *cakrī-vat-* (= *cakra-vat-*); 4. *kakṣī-vat-* (= *kākṣyā-vat-*); 5. *rumaṇ-vat-* (= *lavana-vat-*); 6. *carmaṇ-vatī* (= *cārma-vat-*).

### 8.2.13 udan-vān uda-dh-aú ca

[The irregular expression] *udan-vat-* is introduced to denote an ocean (*uda-dh-aú*) and also (*ca*) [a name 11] [with phoneme *v* replacement of the initial of the taddhitá affix matUP 9].

*udan-vat-* = *udaka-vat-* (with irregular retention of stem-final *n* contra 7 above in these two significances).

### 8.2.14 rājan-vān saú-rāj-y-e

The irregular expression *rājan-vat-* is introduced [with phoneme *v* replacing the initial of the taddhitá affix matUP 9] to denote 'good government' (*saú-rāj-y-e*).

Contrary to 7 above in this sense; elsewhere *rāja-vat-*.

### 8.2.15 chándas-i i-r-ah

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute phoneme *v* replaces the initial phoneme of the taddhitá affix matUP 9, introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in the phonemes] *i* or *r*.

1. °-i: *trí+matUP+ñUP* = *trí-vat-ṭ* 'consisting of three'; *hári-vat-*, *agni-vát-*.
2. °r: *gír+matUP* = *gír-vat-* 'possessing speech'; *dhur+matUP* = *dhúr-vat-*, *āśír-vat-* etc.

### 8.2.16 an-ah nuṭ

[In the domain of Chándas 15 the initial increment 1.1.46] *nuṭ* is inserted at the head [the taddhitá 4.1.76 affix 3.1.1 matUP 9 introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] °-an-.

*ásthi+matUP* = *ásthi+vat* (15) = *asth-án+vat* (7.1.76) = *asthaṭ+vát-* (6.1.176) = *astha-nuṭ+vát-* 'consisting of bones'.

### 8.2.17 n-āt GHA-sya

[In the domain of Chándas 15 the initial increment 1.1.46 *nuṭ* 16 is inserted at the head of affixes 3.1.1] denoted by the t.t. GHA (= taraP, tamaP 1.1.22) [introduced after 3.1.2 a nominal stem 4.1.1 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme *n*.

*su-pathín+taraP/tamaP* = *su-pathíñ+taraP/tamaP* (7) = *supathí+nuṭ+taraP/tamaP* = *supathí-ntara-/ntama-*; *dasyu-hán+tamaP/taraP* = *dasyu-há-ntama/ntara-*.

### 8.2.18 kṛp-ah r-ah la-h

The substitute phoneme *l* replaces the phoneme *r* of the verbal stem *kṛp* 'be able or fit' (I 799).

The phonemes [r, l] referred to here represent both sonant vowels and the semivowels. Thus in the morpho-phonemic structures the semivowel /l/ replaces the corresponding semivowel [r] while the vowel phoneme [ɨ] replaces the vowel phoneme [ɹ]: this is indicated by 1.3.93 where this verbal stem is introduced as [kɨp-] instead of [kɹp-].

*kṛp+Ktá* = *kɨp-tá-*; *kṛp+IUT* = *kɨp-tás+Dā* (2.4.85) = *kalp-tá*.



### 8.2.19 upa-sarg-á-sya ay-á-t-au

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] of a pre-verb (upa-sarg-á-sya) [before 1.1.66] the verbal stem ay- 'go' (I 503).

*prá/párā+ay-a-te = pl-á-y-a-te/pál-ā-y-a-te* 'goes away/flees, escapes'.

### 8.2.20 gr-aḥ yáÑ-i

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] of the verbal stem gḥ- 'swallow' (VI 117) [before 1.1.66 the intensive marker] yáÑ (3.1.22).

*ní+gḥ+yáÑ+ŚaP+te = ní-gir+yaÑ-a-te* (7.1.100) = *ní-jē-gil-ya-te* (6.1.97; 7.4.60,62,82).

### 8.2.21 aC-i vibhāṣā

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the verbal stem gḥ- 'swallow' (VI 117) before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with a vowel (aC-i).

*ní+gḥ+ŚaP+tiP = ní-gir-a-ti/ní-gil-a-ti; \*+LyuT = ní-gár-aṇa-/ní-gál-ana-; \*+NvuL = ní-gár-aka-/ní-gál-aka-*.

### 8.2.22 páre-ś ca <sup>1</sup>ghá=<sup>2</sup>aṅkáy-oḥ

[The substitute phoneme l replaces the phoneme r 18] of the pre-verb pári-° [before 1.1.66] ghá- (3.3.84 from han-) and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] aṅká- 'curve' [optionally 21].

*pári-han-ya-te an-éna = pári+han+aP* (3.3.84) = *pári-ghá-h/páli-ghá-h* 'iron bar'.  
*pári-ga-tá-h aṅká-h = páry-aṅka-h/pály-aṅka-h* 'bed, couch, sofa'.

### 8.2.23 saṁ-yog-a=antá-sya lópa-ḥ

The substitute lópa (∅) replaces the final phoneme of a conjunct (saṁ-yog-a=antá-sya) [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of a padá 1.16].

*gó+matUP+sU = gó-ma-n-t+sU* (7.1.70) = *gó-mānt+sU* (6.4.14) = *gó-mānt+∅* (6.1.68) = *gó-mān∅* 'owning cattle'. Similarly *śréyas/bhū-yas+sU = śréyān/bhū-yān* 'more splendid/more'.

## 8.2.24 r-aāt sa-sya

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23] replaces phoneme s [occurring at the end 1.1.72 of a padá 1.16 as final member of a conjunct 23 after 1.1.67] phoneme r.

$pitṛ+Ñas(I) = pitúr+s$  (6.1.111; 1.1.51) =  $pitúr+Ø = pitúh$  (3.15) but  $úrj+sU = úrj+Ø$  (6.1.68) =  $úrk$  (30) in spite of 23 above.

## 8.2.25 dh-i ca

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23] also (ca) replaces [the phoneme s 24 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1] beginning with dh-°.

$lā+luñ = lā+Clṛ$  (3.1.43) =  $lā+siC+dhvam$  (3.1.44) =  $āṭ-lā+iṭ+siC+dhvam$  (7.2.35) =  $ā-lo-i-s-dhvam$  (7.3.84) =  $ā-lav-i-Ø-dhvam$  (6.1.78) =  $ā-lav-i-dhvam/ā-lav-i-dhvam$  (4.41) since [s] preceded by [i] is retroflexed by 3.59 and by 3.79 retroflexes [dh] following it.

## 8.2.26 jhaL-aḥ jhaL-i

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces the phoneme s 24 after 1.1.67 and before 1.1.66] a non-nasal consonant (jhaL-o jhaL-i).

$bhid+IUN = ā-bhid+siC+ta = ā-bhid-Ø+ta = ā-bhit-ta$  (4.45) but  $man+IUN = ā+man+siC+ta = ā-mam-s-ta$  (3.24).

## 8.2.27 hrasv-ād āṅg-āt

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces the phoneme s 24 after 1.1.67] an āṅga 'pre-affixal' stem [ending in 1.1.72] a short (vowel: 1.2.28) [before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

$kṛN+IUN = ā-kṛ+siC+ta = ā-kṛ+Ø+ta = ā-kṛ-ta/thāḥ$  (1.2.12) but  $ā-kṛ-ṣ-ata$ ; similarly  $cyu+IUN = ā-cyo-ṣ-ta$  (3.59; 4.41),  $ā-lāv-i-ṣ-tām (= lū+IUN)$ .

## 8.2.28 iṭ-aḥ iṭ-i

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces phoneme s after 1.1.67] the initial increment iṭ and before the initial increment iṭ (of a single phoneme affix following it 7.3.96).

$div+IUN = ā-div+iṭ+siC+iṭ+t$  (7.3.96) =  $ā-dev-i-Ø-iṭ-t = ā-dev-iṭ-t$  (7.3.84; 6.1.101).

The operation of 6.1.101 here is normally blocked by the governing rule 1 of this

section, but a vārttika [siC-lop-é=ekādeśa-h siddhā-h] under 6 above blocks out this metarule in this particular regard.

### 8.2.29 <sup>1</sup>s-<sup>2</sup>k-oḥ saṁ-yog-á=ādy-oḥ ánt-e ca

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 23 replaces] initial phonemes (°-ādy-oḥ) s or k of a conjunct group (saṁ-yog-á-°) [occurring at the end of a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

1. *lasj+Ktá* = *lasj+ná-* (45) = *laØj+ná-* = *lag-ná-* (30) 'attached, adhered'. 2. *takṣ+Ktá* = *taØṣ+tá-* = *taṣ-tá-* 'pared, chisled'. 3. *sādhū-lasj+sU* → Ø = *sadhu-laj* = °-*lak* (30).

### 8.2.30 cO-ḥ kU-ḥ

A substitute velar stop (kU) replaces a palatal stop (cU) [at the end of a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.67 a non-nasal consonant 16].

- vác+sU* = *vác+Ø* (6.1.68) = *vák* 'speech'; similarly *vac+LAT* = *vac(+ŚaP→Ø<sup>1</sup>)+tiP* = *vák-ti* 'speaks'. *bhaj+Ktá* = *bhak-tá-* 'devoted'; *bhaj+KtiN* = *bhák-ti-* 'devotion'. *prá+añc-a-ti* = *prá+añc+KviN* (3.2.50) = *prāñc+Ø+sU* = *prāñc+Ø* (6.1.68) = *prāñ* (7) = *prāñ*.

### 8.2.31 h-aḥ ḍha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme ḍh replaces phoneme h [at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

- sáh+tumN* = *sádḥ+tum* = *sádḥ+thum* (40) - *sádḥ-dhum* (4.41) = *sóḥ-dhum* (6.3.112; 8.3.13). Here 8.3.13 is not blocked by the governing rule 1 above on account of 6.3.112 which specifically refers to this context. *lih+LAT* = *lih(+Śap→Ø<sup>1</sup>)+tiP* (2.4.72) = *lédḥ+ti* (7.3.86) = *lédḥ+dhi* (40) = *léd+ḍhi* (4.41) = *leḥ-ḍhi* (6.3.111); *mádhu lé-ḍhi* = *mádhu+liḥ[KviP+sU]* = *madhu+lídḥ+Ø* (6.1.68) = *madhu-líḥ* (4.56) 'honey-licker, a bee'.

### 8.2.32 d-āde-r dhāto-r gha-ḥ

The substitute phoneme gh replaces [the phoneme h at the end of 1.1.72] a verbal stem (dhāto-ḥ) beginning with the phoneme d-° [when it is padá 1.16 final 1.1.72 or occurs before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

- kāṣṭhá-m* *dáh-a-ti* = *kāṣṭha+Ø<sup>1</sup>+dah+KviP+sU* = *kāṣṭha-dáh+sU* = *kāṣṭha-dágh+Ø* (6.1.68) = *kāṣṭha-dhdágh* (37) = *kāṣṭha-dhak* (4.53) 'wood burner'. *duh+Ktá* = *dugh+tá* = *dugh-dhá-* (40) = *dug-dhá* (4.53) 'milk'.

### 8.2.33 vā <sup>1</sup>drúhÁ-<sup>2</sup>múhÁ-<sup>3</sup>ṣnúhÁ-<sup>4</sup>ṣníh-ām

[The substitute phoneme gh 32] optionally replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stems] drúh- 'injure' (IV 88), múh- 'be confounded' (IV 89), snúh- 'vomit' (IV 90) and sníh- 'love' (IV 91) [at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

1. *drúh+ṭumuN* = *drógh/dródh+ṭum* (7.3.86) = *dróg-dhum/dró-dhum*. 2. *muh+Ktá* = *mug-dhá-/mū-dhá-* 'confounded'. 3. *snug-dhá-/snū-dhá-*. 4. *snig-dhá-/snī-dhá-*. *mi-trá-m drúh-ya-ti* = *mitra+ṭ<sup>1</sup>+druh+KviP+sU* = *mitra-drúh+sU* = *mitra+drúh+ṭ* (6.1.68) = *mitra-drúgh/'drudh-* = *mitra-dhrúgh/'dhrúdh* = *mitra-dhrúk/'dhrút* (4.53).

### 8.2.34 nah-aḥ dha-h

The substitute phoneme dh replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stem] nah- 'bind' (IV 59) [at the end of a padá 1.1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

- úpa=nah-ya-te* = *upa-nah+KviP+sU* = *upā-náh+ṭ* (6.3.116; 6.1.68) = *upā-nádh* = *upā-nát* (4.56); *nah+Ktá* = *nadh+tá* = *nadh+dhá* (40) = *nad-dhá-* (4.53).

### 8.2.35 āh-as tha-h

The substitute phoneme th replaces [the phoneme h 31 of the verbal stem] āh- (substitute for brū- 3.4.84) [before 1.1.66 a non-nasal consonant 26].

- āh+thaL* = *āth+tha* = *āt-tha* (4.53).

### 8.2.36 <sup>1</sup>vraśca-<sup>2</sup>bhrasjA-<sup>3</sup>ṣrjÁ-<sup>4</sup>mṣjÁ-<sup>5</sup>yajA-<sup>6</sup>rāja-<sup>7</sup>bhrāja-<sup>8</sup>cha-<sup>9</sup>ś-ām ṣa-h

The substitute retroflex phoneme ṣ replaces [the stem final 1.1.72 phoneme of verbal stems] vraśc- 'cut' (VI 12). bhrasj- 'roast' (VI 4), ṣrj- 'project' (VI 121), mṣj- 'wash, wipe, cleanse' (II 57), yaj- 'sacrifice' (I 1051), rāj- 'shine, rule' (I 874), bhrāj- 'shine' (I 875) and the phonemes ch and ś [occurring at the end of 1.1.72 a padá 1.16 or before 1.1.66 non-nasal consonants 26].

1. *vraśc+ṭumuN* = *vraṭṭṣ+ṭum* (29) = *vraś-ṭum* (4.41); *mūla-n-i vraśc-a-ti* = *mūla+ṭ<sup>1</sup>+vraśc+KviP+sU* = *mūla-vraśc+ṭ* (6.1.68) = *mūla-vraṭṭ-ṣ* (29) = *mūla-vraṭ* (4.56). 2. *bhrāṣ-ṭum, dhānā-bhrāt*. 3. *śrāṣ-ṭum* (6.1.58), *rajjū-srāt*. 4. *māṣ-ṭum* (7.2.114), *kaṁṣa-pari-mṣt*. 5. *yāṣ-ṭum, upa-yāt*. 6. *saṁ-rāt*,

*rās-trá-*. 7. *vi-bhrát-*. 8. *prach+tum<sub>U</sub>N = práś-tum*. 9. *lís+tum = lés-tum*,  
*kliś+Ktá = kliś-tá-*.

### 8.2.37 éka=aC-aḥ baŚ-aḥ bhaṣ jhaṣ-anta-sya <sup>1</sup>s-<sup>2</sup>dhv-oh

The substitute phonemes denoted by the siglum bhaṣ (bh, gh, ḍh and dh) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the phonemes denoted by the siglum baŚ (b, g, ḍ, d) constituting a part of a mono-syllabic verbal stem (ékāC-aḥ) ending in the siglum jhaṣ (-<sup>o</sup> anta-sya: jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh: voiced aspirate stops) [before 1.1.66 the non-nasal consonants 26] <sup>o</sup>s and <sup>o</sup>dhv-<sup>o</sup> [and also at the end of 29 a padá 1.16].

1. *budh+syá+te = bodh+syá-te* (7.3.86) = *bhodh-syá-te = bhot-syá-te* (4.53); *ártha-m bodh-a-ti = artha+búdh+KviP+sU* *artha-búdh+sU = artha-búdh+∅* (6.1.68) = *artha-bhúd = artha-bhút*; *budh+IUN = á-budh+s<sub>i</sub>C+dhvam = á-budh-∅+dhvam* (25) = *á-bhudh+dhvam = á-bhud-dhvam* (4.53).
2. *ní-guh+syá+te = ní-goh-syá-te* (7.3.86) = *ní-godh-syá-te* (31) = *ní-ghok-syá-te* (41) = *ní-ghok-syá-te* (3.59); *ní-guh+s<sub>i</sub>C+dhvam = ny-á-ghū-dhvam* (3.13; 6.3.111); *parṇā-n-i gūh-a-ti = parṇa+guh+KviP+sU = parṇa-ghút*.
3. *duh+syá+te = dhogh+syá+te* (3.59) = *dhok-syá-te* (4.53). *duh+IAÑ = á-duh+(Śap-∅<sup>1</sup>)+dhvam = á-dhugh+dhvam = á-dhug-dhvam* (4.53); *kāmá-m dog-dhi = kāmá-duh+KviP+sU = kāma-dhúk*.
4. *grdh+yáÑ-luK+IAÑ = á+grdh+yaÑ-luK+∅<sup>1</sup>+s(iP) = á-jar-grdh+∅<sup>1</sup>+s* (7.4.91) = *á-jar-gardh+∅* (6.1.68; 7.3.86) = *á-jar-ghardh = á-jar-ghard* (4.53) = *á-jar-ghar-r* (75) = *á-jar-ghāṛ* (3.14; 6.3.111) *á-jar-ghaḥ* (3.15).

### 8.2.38 dadh-as <sup>1</sup>tā-<sup>2</sup>th-oś ca

[The substitute phoneme dh replaces phoneme d 37 of the verbal stem] da-dh (= dhā- III 10) 'bear, support' (= weak reduplicated theme) [before 1.1.66] the phoneme t-<sup>o</sup> or th-<sup>o</sup> [of an affix and also the non-nasal consonants 26 s-<sup>o</sup> or dhv-<sup>o</sup> 37].

*dhā+∅<sup>2</sup>+tás = da-dhā+tás = da-dh∅+tás* (6.4.112) = *dha-dh+tás = dha-d+tás = dhat-táh* (86; 3.15). *dadh+sé = dhat-sé* (4.53); *dadh+dhvám = dhad-dhvám*.

### 8.2.39 jhaL-ām jaŚ-aḥ ánt-e

Substitute voiced unaspirated stops (jaŚ-aḥ = j, b, g, ḍ, d) replace non-nasal consonants (jhaL-ām) at the end [of a padá 1.16].

*vác+sU = vác+∅* (6.1.68) = *vák = vág atra*, cf. 4.56.

### 8.2.40 jhāṢ-as <sup>1</sup>tā-<sup>2</sup>th-or dhā-ḥ á-dh-aḥ

The substitute phoneme dh replaces phoneme t or th [after 1.1.67] voiced aspirated stops (jhāṢ-aḥ = jh, bh, gh, ḍh, dh) excluding that (-dh) of the verbal stem dhā- 'bear, support' (III 10).

*labh+Kta/tumūN/távya-* = *labh+dhá/dhum/dhavya-* = *lab-dhá-*, *láb-dhum/*  
*lab-dhávya-*; *duh-*: *dug-dhá-*, *dó-g-dhum*, *dog-dhávya-*; *lih+tumūN* = *lé-dhum*  
(7.3.86; 8.2.31; 3.13; 4.41); *budh+tumūM* = *bód+dhum*.

*labh+IUṆ* = *á-labh+siC+thās* = *á-labh+Ø-thās* (26) = *á-labh+dhās* = *á-lab-dhāḥ*  
(66; 3.15)/*á-dug-dhāḥ/á-lí-dhāḥ/á-bud-dhāḥ*. Cf. 38 for dhā-.

### 8.2.41 <sup>1</sup>ṣā-<sup>2</sup>ḍh-oḥ ka-ḥ s-i

The substitute phoneme k replaces phonemes /ṣ, ḍh/ [before 1.1.66] phoneme s.

*piṣ+lṛṬ* = *piṣ+syá+tiP* = *pek-syá-ti* (7.3.86; 8.3.59) 'will grind'. *lih+syá+ti* =  
*leḍh-syá-ti* (31) = *lek-syá-ti* (3.59).

### 8.2.42 <sup>1</sup>ra-<sup>2</sup>dā-bhṛam niṣṭhā-t-aḥ na-ḥ pūrva-sya tu d-aḥ

The substitute phoneme n replaces the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā [affix 3.1.1] (Ktá-, KtávatU 1.2.26) [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem final 1.1.72] phoneme r or d, as well as of the preceding d.

1. °-r: *á-stṛ+Kta(vatU)* = *á-stir+Kta(vatU)* (7.1.100) = *á-stṛ-na(vat)-* (76; 4.1).

2. °-d: *bhid+Ktá(vatU)* = *bhin-ná(vat)-*.

### 8.2.43 saṁ-yog-á=āde-r āT-aḥ dhāto-r yáN-vat-aḥ

[The substitute phoneme n replaces the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme long ā(T) with an initial conjunct (saṁ-yog-ā-deḥ) containing a semivowel (yáN-vat-aḥ).

*styai+Ktá(vatU)* = *styā+Ktá(vatU)* (6.1.45) = *styā-ná(vat)-* 'coagulated';  
*pra-drā+Kta(vatU)* = *pra-drā-ná(vat)-* 'distressed'; *glai+Ktá* = *glā-ná-* 'tired,  
faded'.

## 8.2.44 lū=ādi-bhyaḥ

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá-, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the class of verbal stems] beginning with lū- 'cut, reap' (IX 13).

This class consists of items listed under IX 13-32 of the Dhp. *lu+Ktá(vatU)* = *lū-ná-(vat)-*; *dhū-na(vat)-* 'trembled', etc.

## 8.2.45 oT=IT-as ca

[The substitute phoneme n 42] also (ca) replaces [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā (affix Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem] with marker O as IT.

*O-lásj-I vṛḍḍá-y-ām* (VI 10)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *laṭṭj+Ktá(vatU)* (29) = *lag-ná(vat)* 'attached, adhered'; *O-pyáy-I vṛd-dh-au* (I 517)+*Ktá(vatU)* = *pí-na(vat)* (6.1.28) 'swollen'.

Verbal stem-class beginning with *sū-* 'give birth to' (IV 24-40) are deemed to have marker O as IT: *sū+Ktá(vatU)* = *sū-ná(vat)-*.

## 8.2.46 kṣíy-aḥ dīrgh-āt

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā (affix Ktá/KtávatU) introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] kṣí- 'perish, lose weight' (I 225) [when it ends in 1.1.72] a long (vowel: dīrgh-āt 1.2.28).

The Dhp. records three stems: *kṣí kṣay-é* (I 225), *kṣi himśá-y-ām* (*jīghāmeśá-y-ām* V 30), *kṣi ni-vāś-á-gá-ty-oḥ* (VI 114); Kāśikā commentaries regard (I 225) and (VI 114) as involved in this operation while Renou singles out (V 30) as the one involved'.

*kṣi+Ktá(vatU)* = *kṣi-ṇá(vat)-* (active) (6.4.60) 'perished'; but *kṣi-tá(vat)-* (6.4.61).

## 8.2.47 śy-aḥ á-spars-e

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā (affix Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] śyā (= śyaiÑ I 1012) 'congeal' when not denoting touch (a-spars-e).

*śyai+Ktá(vatU)* = *śyā+Ktá(vatU)* (6.1.45) = *śī-ná(vat)-* (6.1.24; 4.2) 'congealed', but when actual touch is denoted: *śī-tá-(vat)-* 'become cold'. Constraint on 43 above.

### 8.2.48 anc-aḥ án-ap-ā-dā-n-e

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] anc(Ú) ‘bend, curve’ (I 203) when the notion of ablation is not denoted (án-ap-ā-dā-n-e).

$am+anc+Ktá(vatU) = am-a(\emptyset)c-tá(vat)-$  (6.4.24) =  $am-ak-tá(vat)-$  (3) =  $am-ak-ná(vat)-$  ‘bent together’, but *úd-ak-ta-m udaká-m kúp-āt* ‘water was lifted from the well’.

### 8.2.49 dív-aḥ á-v-ji-gī-ṣā-y-ām

[The substitute phoneme n replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá, KtávatU-) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] dív- ‘sport’ (IV 1), except when denoting the sense of ‘desire to conquer’ (á-vi-ji-gī-ṣā-y-ām).

$div+Ktá(vatU) = di-āTH-tá(vatU)$  (6.4.19) =  $dyā-ná(vat)-$  ‘sported’ etc., but  $dyū-tá(vat)-$  ‘gambled (expressing a desire to win)’.

### 8.2.50 nir-vā-ṇáḥ á-vā-t-e

The expression nir-vā-ṇá- is introduced [with irregular substitute phoneme n replacing phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix Ktá] except when denoting ‘wind’.

$nir+vā+Ktá- = nir-vā-ṇá-$  (8.4.2) ‘extinguished’, but  $nir-vā-tá-$  ‘sheltered, free from wind’.

### 8.2.51 śuṣ-aḥ kaḥ

The substitute phoneme k replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá, KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] śuṣ- ‘dry’ (IV 74).

$śuṣ+Ktá(vatU) = śús-ka(vat)-$ . (6.1.206 for accent).

### 8.2.52 pac-aḥ vaḥ

The substitute phoneme v [replaces phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] pac- ‘cook’ (I 1045).

$pac+Ktá(vatU) = pak-vá(vat)-$ .



### 8.2.53 kṣāy-aḥ ma-h

The substitute phoneme m replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávātU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] kṣai- 'bruise, scorch, dry up' (I 961).

$$kṣai+Ktá(vatU) = kṣā+tá(vat) (6.1.45) = kṣā-má(vat)-.$$

### 8.2.54 prá-sty-aḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme m 53] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávātU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] prá+styai- 'crowd together, coagulate' (I 959).

$$pra+styai+Ktá(vatU) = pra-stI+Ktá(vatU) (6.1.23; 4.2) = pra-stI-má(vat)/tá(vat)-.$$

But *styā-ná(vat)-* (43). By 2.1 above, 43 is considered as non-operative for the operation of 6.1.23.

### 8.2.55 án-upa-sarg-āt <sup>1</sup>phul-lá-<sup>2</sup>kṣīb-á-<sup>3</sup>kṛś-á-<sup>4</sup>ul-lāgh-á-ḥ

The expressions phul-lá- 'blossomed, bloomed', kṣīb-á 'drunk, intoxicated', kṛś-á- 'emaciated' and ul-lāgh-á- 'clever, adroit' are introduced [as irregular formations with niṣṭhā affix (Ktá) 42] when not co-occurring after a preverb (án-upa-sarg-āt).

1. *phul+Ktá* = *phul-lá-*, but *pra-phul-tá-*.

2-4. In the remaining three expressions phoneme [t] of [Ktá] is replaced by Ø with no initial increment [iṭ] but with preverbs respectively: *pra-kṣīb-i-tá-*, *pra-kṛś-i-tá-*, *pr-o-l-lāgh-i-tá-*.

### 8.2.56 <sup>1</sup>nudÁ-<sup>2</sup>vidA=<sup>3</sup>únda-<sup>4</sup>trā-<sup>5</sup>ghrā-<sup>6</sup>hrī-bhyaḥ anya-tará-syām

[The substitute phoneme n 42] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces [phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávātU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] nud- 'impel' (VI 2,132), vid- 'consider' (VII 13), und- 'wet' (VII 20), trā (= trai-Ñ I 1014) 'protect,' ghrā- 'smell' (I 973) and hrī- 'feel shy' (III 3).

1. *nud+Ktá(vatU)* = *nun-ná(vat)/nut-tá(vat)-*; 2. *vin-ná-/vit-tá-*; 3. *sam+und+Ktá* = *sam-uØ-d+Ktá* (6.4.24) = *sam-un-ná-/sam-ut-tá-* 'thoroughly wet'; 4. *trā-ná-/trā-tá-*; 5. *ghrā-ná-/ghrā-tá-*; 6. *hrī-ná-/hrī-tá-*.

### 8.2.57 ná <sup>1</sup>dhyā-<sup>2</sup>khyā-<sup>3</sup>pṛ-<sup>4</sup>mūrchī-<sup>5</sup>mád-ām

[The substitute phoneme n 42] does not (ná) replace [the phoneme t of a niṣṭhā affix (Ktá/KtávatU) 42 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] dhyā- (= dhyai- I 957) 'meditate, concentrate', khyā- 'proclaim' (II 5), pṛ- 'fill' (III 4, IX 19), mūrch- 'solidify, congeal' (I 227) and mád- 'be exhilarated' (IV 99).

Exceptions to 42 and 43 above. 1. *dhyā-tá(vat)-*, 2. *khyā-tá(vat)-*; 3. *pūr-tá(vat)-* (7.1.102); 4. *murch+Ktá* = *murθ+ta* (6.4.21) = *mūr-tá-* (76); 5. *mat-tá-*.

### 8.2.58 vit-tá-ḥ <sup>1</sup>bhóg-a-<sup>2</sup>praty-ayáy-oḥ

The irregular expression vit-tá- is introduced to denote possessions (bhóga-°) or renown (°-praty-ayáy-oḥ).

Exception to 42 above. *vid-* (VI 138)+*Ktá* = *vit-tá-* 'riches, assets/renown'; in other senses *vin-ná-* (42).

### 8.2.59 bhit-tá-m śákala-m

The irregular expression bhit-tá- is introduced to denote the sense of 'chip, fragment' (śákala-m).

Exception to 42 above. In other meanings *bhin-ná-* (42).

### 8.2.60 ṛ-ṇá-m ādhamarṇ-y-a

The irregular expression ṛ-ṇá- is introduced to denote 'debt'.

In other senses *ṛ-tá*. The irregularity lies in phoneme [n] replacing phoneme [t] of [Ktá].

### 8.2.61 <sup>1</sup>na-sat-tá-<sup>2</sup>ni-ṣat-tá=<sup>3</sup>á-nut-ta-<sup>4</sup>prá-tūr-ta-<sup>5</sup>sūr-tá-<sup>6</sup>gūrtá-n-i chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the irregular expressions na-sat-tá- 'not seated', ni-ṣat-tá- 'seated', á-nut-ta- 'not cast down, invincible', prá-tūr-tá- 'rapid, swift', sūr-tá- 'trodden' and gūr-tá- 'approved' are introduced with [niṣṭhā affix Ktá 42].

1. *náñ+sad+Ktá* = *na-sat-tá-* (exception to 42 above) = *na-san-ná-*. 2. *ni-ṣat-tá-* (= *ni-ṣan-na-*). 3. *náñ+nud+Kta* = *á-nut-ta-* (= *á-nun-na-*). 4. *prá+tvar+Kta* = *prá-tūar-ta* (6.4.20) = *prá-tūr-ta-* (6.1.108)/*prá+turv+Kta* = *prá-turθ+ta*

(6.4.21) = *prá-tār-ta-* (76) (= *prá-tār-na-* 43). 5. *sṛ+Ktá* = *sur+tá* = *sūr-tá* (irregular /u/ replacement, for *sṛ-tá-*). 6. *gur+Ktá* = *gūr-tá-* (76) [exception to 42 for *gūr-ṇá-*].

### 8.2.62 KvīN-praty-aya-sya kU-ḥ

A substitute velar phoneme (kU) replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] KvīN (3.2.58-60).

*ghṛ-tá-m sṛṣ-á-ti* = *ghṛ-ta+θ<sup>1</sup>+sṛṣ+KvīN+sU* (3.2.58) = *ghṛ-ta-sṛṣkh+θ* (6.1.68) = *ghṛ-ta-sṛṣk* (39; 4.56) 'touching ghee'; *ṛ-tú-m/ṛ-t-aú vā yaj-a-ti* = *ṛtu+θ<sup>1</sup>+yaj+KvīN+sU* (3.2.59) = *ṛtu+ij+sU* (6.1.15) = *ṛtv-tj+θ* (6.1.68) = *ṛtv-sk* 'n. of a sacrificial priest'. *sá iva dṛś-ya-te* = *tad+θ<sup>1</sup>+dṛś+KvīN* (3.2.60) = *tad+dṛś+KvīN+sU* (6.3.61) = *tā-dṛś+θ* (6.1.68) = *tā-dṛk* 'like him'.

### 8.2.63 naśe-r vā

[A substitute velar phoneme (kU) 62] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] of °-naś.

*jñv-á-sya nāś-á-ḥ/jñv-á-ḥ naś-ya-ti* = *jñva+θ<sup>1</sup>+naś+KvīP+sU* (3.2.76) = *jñva+nāś+θ+sU* (6.1.67) = *jñva-nák/nás* (36) = *jñva-nák/°-nát* (39; 4.56).

### 8.2.64 m-aḥ na-ḥ dhāto-ḥ

The substitute phoneme n replaces [a padá 1.16 final 1.1.52] phoneme m of a verbal stem (dhāto-ḥ).

*prá-sām-ya-ti* = *pra+śam+KvīP* (3.2.76) = *pra-sām* (6.4.15)+sU = *pra-sām+θ* (6.1.68) = *pra-sān*.

### 8.2.65 <sup>1</sup>m-<sup>2</sup>v-oś ca

[The substitute phoneme n replaces a stem-final 1.1.52 phoneme m of a verbal stem 64 before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] m-° or v-°.

*gam+LAN* = *āṭ+gam+śaP-luK* (2.4.73)+va/ma = *ā-gam+θ<sup>1</sup>+va/ma* = *ā-gan-va/ma*; *gam+KvāsU* = *ja-gam+vās-* (6.1.8) = *ja-gan-vās-*.

### 8.2.66 <sup>1</sup>sa-<sup>2</sup>sajús-oḥ rU-ḥ

The substitute phoneme rU replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of an expression ending in 1.1.72] phoneme °-s and also of the expression sajús 'with'.

1. *agní+sU = agnī-s = agnī-rU á-tra = agnī-r á-tra* ‘fire (is) here’.
2. *sa-jús+devé-bhiḥ = sa-júrU+devé-bhiḥ = sa-júr devé-bhiḥ* (RV 7.34.15) ‘with the gods’.

### 8.2.67 *ava-yāḥ=śveta-vāḥ=puro-ḍāś ca*

The expressions *ava-yāḥ* ‘sharer in the sacrificial oblation’, *śveta-vāḥ* ‘borne by white horses’ and *puro-ḍāḥ* ‘offered as a homage before’ are introduced [with substitute phoneme *rU* replacing the *padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme 66].

1. *ava+yaḥ+NvīN* (3.2.72) = *ava-yāḥ+sU = ava-yāḥ+∅* (6.1.68) = *ava-yāḥ+Das* (3.7.71 *vārttika*) = *ava-yās = ava-yārU = ava-yāḥ* (3.15). According to exegetical literature the introduction of affix [Das] in the place of [NvīN] is for the purpose of justifying these forms in the vocative singular also as irregular expressions.
2. *śvet-ā-ḥ ena-m vāḥ-a-nti = śveta+vah+NvīN+sU = śveta-vāḥ+∅ śveta-vārU = śveta-vāḥ* (3.15). The introduction of [Das] in the place of [NvīN] is to generate forms like *śveta-vo-bhiḥ/bhyaḥ* in opposition to *śveta-vāḥ-au, as/am*.
3. *pur-ās dās-a-nte ena-m = pur-ās+dās+NvīN+sU* (3.2.71) = *puro-ḍās+sU = puro-ḍārU+∅* (6.1.68) = *puro-ḍāḥ* (3.15).

### 8.2.68 *áhan*

[The substitute phoneme *rU* 66 replaces the *padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (n)] of *áhan*- ‘day’.

$$\acute{a}han+bhyāṁ/bhis = \acute{a}harU+bhyāṁ/bhis = \acute{a}ha-u+bhyāṁ/bhis \quad (6.1.113) = \acute{a}ho-bhyāṁ/bhis.$$

### 8.2.69 *ra-ḥ a-sUP-i*

The substitute phoneme *r* replaces [*padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (n) of *áhan*- ‘day’ 68] when not preceding *sUP* triplets (*a-sUP-i*).

*áhan+sU da-dā-ti = áhan+∅<sup>1</sup>* (7.1.23) *da-dā-ti = áhan da-dā-ti = áhar da-dā-ti* ‘gives during the day’; if [rU] were substituted 6.1.113 would have operated to generate forms like *\*áho da-dā-ti*; since the replacement of *sU* is by *luK* (*∅<sup>1</sup>*) metarule 1.1.63 does not apply here, but before other *sUP* triplets: *áho-bhyāṁ/bhis/bhyas*.

### 8.2.70 <sup>1</sup>amnás=<sup>2</sup>ūdhas=<sup>3</sup>avás=ity ubhayáthā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas either (ubhayáthā) [substitute phoneme rU 66 or r 69 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme s 66 of] amnás- 'secretly, unawares', ūdhas- 'udder' and av-ás 'downwards'.

*amnás + eva = amnárU eva = amný eva (3.17) = amnáØ eva (3.19)/amnár eva.*  
Similarly: *ūdha eva/ūdhar eva; av-á eva/av-ár eva.*

### 8.2.71 bhúvas=ca mahā-vy-ā-hṛ-té-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 70 either substitute phoneme rU 66 or r 69 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme (s) of] bhúv-as used as a great mystical symbol (mahā-vy-ā-hṛ-té-ḥ).

*bhúv-as iti = bhuv-arU iti = bhúv-ay iti = bhúv-a iti/bhúv-ar iti; but bhá+Ŋas(I) = bhúv-as víśve-ṣu = bhúv-arU víśve-ṣu = bhuv-a-u víśve-ṣu = bhúv-o víśve-ṣu sáv-ane-ṣu yañ-tya-ḥ (RV 10.50.4).*

### 8.2.72 <sup>1</sup>vásU=<sup>2</sup>srámsU=<sup>3</sup>dhvámU=<sup>4</sup>anaḍúh-ām da-ḥ

The substitute phoneme d replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of stems ending in 1.1.72 the affix 3.1.1] (K)vásU (3.2.107) and of stems °-sráms 'fall' (I 790), °-dhvám 'destroy' (I 791) and anaḍúh- 'beast of burden'.

1. *vid+KvásU = vid-vás+bhyām/bhis/bhyas = vid-vád-bhyām/bhis/bhyas*; 2. *ukhā-sráms+bhyām/bhis = ukhāsrád-bhyām/bhis*. 3. *parṇa+dhvám+bhyām = parṇa-dhvád-bhyām* (6.4.24) = *parṇa-dhvád-bhyām*. In both these illustrations, before affix [Kv̥iP] the penultimate nasal of the verbal stems is replaced by Ø (6.4.24) giving the nominal stems as *ukhā-srád-* and *parṇa-dhvás-* before sUP triplets.

4. *anaḍúh+bhyām/bhis/bhyas = anaḍúḍ-bhyām/bhis/bhyas*.

### 8.2.73 tiP-i án-as-te-ḥ

[The substitute phoneme d 72 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of an expression ending in 1.1.72 s 66] except that of the verbal stem as- 'be' (II 56) [before the l-substitute] tiP.

*cakās+IAŊ = áṭ+cakās+Ø<sup>1</sup>+t(iP) = á-cakās+t = á-cakās+Ø (6.1.68) = ácakād = á-cakāt (4.56) but as+IAŊ = áṭ+as+Ø<sup>1</sup>+t = áś+t = ās+Ø (6.1.68) = áru (66) = áḥ (3.15): áṭ-a evá=idám salilá-m sárva-m āḥ.* This form is restricted to the domain of Chándas where by 7.3.97 initial increment [ṭ] is not inserted at the head of the single phoneme l-substitute.

### 8.2.74 siP-i dhāto-r=rU-ḥ=vā

The substitute phoneme rU optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] of a verbal stem (dhāto-ḥ) [ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme s 66 before 1.1.66 the l-substitute] siP.

When [rU] is not the substitute, the alternative substitute is phoneme [d 72].  
 $cakās+IA\tilde{N} = \acute{a}T+cakās+\emptyset^1+s(IP) = \acute{a}-cakās+\emptyset$  (6.1.68)+*tvám* =  
 $\acute{a}-cakārU/\acute{a}-cakād+tvám = (a) \acute{a}-cakāḥ+tvám$  (3.15) =  $\acute{a}-cakās tvám$  (3.34)/ (b)  
 $\acute{a}-cakāt tvám$  (4.55).

### 8.2.75 d-as=ca

[The substitute phoneme d 72 or rU 74 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme of a verbal stem 74 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-d [before 1.1.66 the l-substitute siP 74].

$bhid+IA\tilde{N} = \acute{a}T+bhid+\acute{S}naM+s(IP) = \acute{a}-bhi-na-d+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  
 $\acute{a}-bhi-na-rU/\acute{a}-bhi-na-d + tvám = \acute{a}-bhinarU/\acute{a}-bhi-na-d + tvám =$   
 $\acute{a}bhi-na-h+tvám$  (3.15) =  $\acute{a}-bhi-na-s tvám$  (3.34)/ $\acute{a}-bhi-nat tvám$  (4.55).

### 8.2.76 <sup>1</sup>r-<sup>2</sup>v-oḥ upa-dhā-y-āḥ dīrghá-ḥ iK-aḥ

A substitute long (dīrghá-ḥ: vowel 1.2.28) replaces the penultimate phoneme (upa-dhā-y-āḥ) [of a padá 1.16] denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) [of a verbal 74 padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme r or v.

$gír+KviP$  (3.2.76) =  $gír+\emptyset$  (7.1.67,100)+*sU* =  $gír+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $gír = gíḥ$  (3.15).  
 $púr+sU = púr+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $púr=púḥ$ .

### 8.2.77 haL-i ca

[A substitute long vowel replaces the penultimate vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) of a verbal stem 74 ending in 1.1.72 r or v before 1.1.66 an affix 3.1.1 beginning with] a consonant also (haL-i ca).

$\acute{a}-stṛ+Kta = \acute{a}-stir+na$  (42, 7.1.100) =  $\acute{a}-stṛ-ṇa-$  (4.1) 'strewn, scattered';  
 $dív+\acute{S}yaN+tiP = dīv-ya-ti$  'plays, gambles'.

### 8.2.78 upa-dhā-y-āṁ ca

[A substitute long vowel replaces a vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ṛ, ḷ) 76 of a verbal stem 74 before 1.1.66] the penultimate [phoneme r or v of that stem 76 followed by consonants 77].

*murch*+*Ktá* = *murch-iT-tá*- (7.2.35) 'fainted', but *ciri-ṇó-ti* 'hurts, kills'. In the case of penultimate [v] no examples occur since by 6.1.66 it is replaced by [θ] before all consonants other than [y], and the present rule is blocked out in the case of forms like *vi+IIṬ* = *vi-vI+átus/ús* = *vi-vy-átus/ús* since [y]-replacement of the vowel is not considered as a consonant by 1.1.56.

## 8.2.79 ná <sup>1</sup>BHA-<sup>2</sup>kur-<sup>3</sup>chur-ām

[A substitute long vowel 76] does not (ná) replace [a penultimate vowel denoted by the siglum iK (= i, u, ɾ, ɿ) 74 of] a BHA theme [ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme r or v 76] and of kur- and chur- [before 1.1.66 affixes 3.1.1 beginning with a consonant 77].

1. By definition a BHA stem is one which precedes an affix beginning with a vowel or [y-° 1.4.18] and to that extent modifies the operation of 77 above to which this is an exception. *dhúr-am vah-a-ti* = *dhur+yàT* (4.4.77) = *dhúr-ya*- 'fit to be harnessed'. 2. *kṛ+IIṆ* = *kṛ+u+yás+s+t* (3.4.104, 107) = *kur-θ-yáθ-θ-t* (6.4.109-110; 7.2.79) = *kur-yá-t*. 3. *chur+IIṆ (áśis-i)* = *chur+yás+s+t* = *chur-yáθ-θ-t* (29).

## 8.2.80 adás-aḥ=á-se-r d-āt=u d-aḥ=maḥ-ḥ

The substitute phoneme u replaces the phoneme [occurring after 1.1.67] phoneme d of the pronominal stem *adás*- 'that' when it does not [end in 1.1.72] °-s, and the substitute phoneme m replaces phoneme d.

*adás+am/auṬ/Tā/bhyām* = *adáa+am/auṬ/Tā/bhyām* (7.2.102) = *adá+am/au/ā/bhyām* (6.1.97) = *amú+am/au/ā/bhyām* = *amú-m* (6.1.107)/*amú* (6.1.102)/*amú-nā* (7.3.120; 8.2.3)/*amú-bhyām* (7.3.102). But *adáh icch-a-ti* = *adas+KyáC+ŚaP+tiP* (3.1.8) = *adas-yá-ti* 'desires that'.

## 8.2.81 eT-aḥ=īT bahu-vac-an-é

The substitute phoneme long ī(T) replaces phoneme e(T) [following phoneme d of the pronominal stem *adás*- 'that' 80] when denoting 'many' (*bahu-vac-an-é*) [and phoneme m replaces phoneme d 80].

*adás+Jas* = *adáa+Śī* (7.1.17) = *adá+ī* (6.1.97) = *ad-e* (6.1.87) = *am-í*; *adás+bhis* = *adáa+bhis* (7.2.102) = *adá+bhis* = *adé-bhis* (7.3.103) = *amí-bhis/bhyas/ṣ-ām/ṣu*.

### 8.2.82 vāk-yà-sya TE-ḥ plu-tá-ḥ=udátta-ḥ

A prolated (plu-tá-ḥ vowel 1.2.28) which is high-pitched (ud-átta-ḥ) replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel (TE-ḥ) of an utterance (vāk-yà-sya).

This is a governing rule [adhi-kār-á] heading this section and extending up to the end of this pāda and will recur in each rule of this section as applicable.

### 8.2.83 praty-abhi-vād-é=á-sūdr-e

[A prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] when responding to (praty-abhi-vād-é) a respectful greeting, except in the case of a Śūdra.

*abhi-vād-ay-e deva-dattó-hám : bho áyuṣmān e-dhi deva-dat-táṣ* but *áyuṣ-mān edhi tuṣajaka !* when Tuṣajaka is a śūdra.

### 8.2.84 dūr-āt=hū-t-é ca

[A prolated vowel with a high-pitched accent replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] also, in a call from afar (dūr-āt=hū-té ca).

*á-gacch-a bho māṇavaka deva-dat-táṣ* 'Come, my lad, Devadatta!'.  
[The accent is on the first syllable of the call from afar.]

### 8.2.85 <sup>1</sup>hai-<sup>2</sup>he-pra-yog-é <sup>1</sup>hai-<sup>2</sup>hay-oḥ

When the particle /hai/ or /he/ is used [in a call from afar 84, a prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] hai or hé.

*haiṣ/héṣ deva-dat-ta/déva-datta haiṣ/héṣ.*

### 8.2.86 guró-r án-rT-aḥ án-anty-ya-sya=ápi ékaika-sya prác-ām

According to Eastern Grammarians [either in response to a respectful salutation of a non-śūdra 83 or in a call from afar 84, a substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces 82] one by one (ékaika-sya) a metrically heavy (guró-ḥ) syllable whether or not (ápi) occurring at the end (án-ant-ya-sya), excluding the vowel short ṛ(T).

*déṣva-dat-ta/deva-dáṣt-ta/deva-dat-táṣ* but *kṛṣṇa-mâtṛa/kṛṣṇa-mitráṣ.*



### 8.2.87 om abhy-ā-dā-n-e

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched] replaces the vowel of om at the beginning (abhy-ā-dā-n-e) [of an utterance 82].

*ó3m agní-m il-e puró-hi-ta-m* (RV 1.1.1).

### 8.2.88 y-é yaj-ña-kar-maṇ-i

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces the vowel 82 of the pronominal padá 1.16] y-é in a sacrificial action (yajña-kar-maṇ-i).

*yé3 yaj-ā-mahe* 'we who sacrifice' (MS 1.4.11) but not in *yé devāso divy ékādaśa sthā* or in *ye yāj-ā-maha ūti páñc-ā-kṣara-m* (TS 1.6.11.1) while studying the text and not performing a sacrifice.

### 8.2.89 pra-ṇav-á-ṣ TE-ḥ

[In a sacrificial action 88] the substitute pra-ṇav-á (= the particle ó3m) [prolated and high-pitched 82] replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel [of the utterance 82].

*ap-ām rétā-m-s-i ji-nv-ató3M* (= *jinv-a-ti+ó3M*) 'he quickens the germs of waters'.

### 8.2.90 yāj-yā=antá-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces 82] the final vowel of a sacrificial formula (yāj-yā-antá-ḥ) [in a sacrificial action 88].

*stóm-air vidh-em-ā-gnáy-e* = *stóm-air vidh-em-āgnayási* (107) (RV 8.43.11) 'may we serve Agni with praise'.

*jihvā-m agne ca-kṛ-ṣe hav-ya-vāh-am* (RV 10.8.6) = *jihvā-m agne ca-kṛ-ṣe hav-ya-vāhā3m*.

### 8.2.91 <sup>1</sup>brū-hí-<sup>2</sup>pr-é-sya-<sup>3</sup>śraúṣaṭ-<sup>4</sup>vaúṣaṭ-<sup>5</sup>ā-vahā-nām ādé-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched replaces] the first syllable (ādé-ḥ) of the expressions brū-hí 'speak', pr-é-sya 'send forth', śraúṣaṭ 'may he hear us', vaúṣaṭ 'may he lead us' and ā-vah-a 'lead' [in a sacrificial action 88].

1. *agnáy-e-nu brū3-hi*; 2. *agnáy-e go-máyā-n-i pr-é3-sya*; 3. *ás-tu śraú3ṣaṭ*; 4. *sóma-sy-ā-gne vr̥thi3 vaú3ṣaṭ*; 5. *agní-m á3-vah-da*.

### 8.2.92 agn-ī-dh=pr-e-ṣ-aṇé pára-sya ca

In an order given to the priest to kindle the sacrificial fire (agn-ī-dh=pr-e-ṣ-aṇ-é) [a substitute prolated vowel which is high-pitched 82 replaces the first syllable 91] as well as the one following it [pára-sya ca] [in a sacrificial action 88].

*áṣ-éráṣu-ay-a/óṣ éráṣu-ay-a* 'announce!'.  
[100]

### 8.2.93 vibhāṣā prṣ-ṭa-prati-vac-an-é he-ḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82] optionally (vibhāṣā) replaces the syllabic of particle hi occurring at the end of a response to a question (prṣ-ṭa-prati-vac-an-é).

*á-kar-ṣ-I-ḥ káta-m deva-dat-ta? á-kār-ṣ-am híṣ/hi* 'Have you made a mat, O Devadatta? I have made (it) indeed!'.  
[101]

### 8.2.94 ni-grh-ya=anu-yog-é ca

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82 optionally 93 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] which repeats something which has been refuted (ni-grh-ya=anu-yog-é: i.e., in a manner of reproach, after it has been refuted).

*á-ni-tya-ḥ śáḍa-ḥ ity āttháṣ/āttha* 'thus you pretend that the word is not eternal!'.  
[102]

### 8.2.95 ā-mreḍ-i-ta-m bhárts-an-e

[A substitute prolated vowel with high pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of an āmreḍita (1.2) to denote a threat (bhárts-an-e).

*caúra cauráṣ! vṛṣala vṛṣaláṣ! dáśyo dasyóṣ! ghāt-áy-i-ṣyā-mi tvā* 'I will have you punished, O thief/O vagrant/O slave!'.  
[103]

### 8.2.96 aṅgá-yuk-ta-m tiÑ ā-kāñkṣ-á-m

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of a verbal (tiÑ) [padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] an l-substitute (tiÑ), co-occurring with th particle aṅgá [to denote a threat 95] which is dependent on another to complete the sense (ā-kāñkṣ-á-m).

*angá kūj-ás/vy-ā-har-ás idānñ jñā-sya-si jālma* 'well, go on crying. O wretch, you will soon know'; cf. 8.1.33.

### 8.2.97 vi-cār-yá-m-āṇā-n-ām

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] denoting a deliberation of choice (vi-cār-yá-m-āṇā-n-ām).

*ho-tavya-m dikṣ-itā-sya gṛhāṣi* (107) *na ho-tavydáṣ-m?* 'should one offer an oblation at the house of the consecrated person or not?' In the form *gṛh-é* (= *gṛh-á+ñi*), by 107 below the first half of the diphthong is replaced by the pluta and the second half by short vowel *i*.

### 8.2.98 pūrva-m tu bhāṣā-y-ām

In current speech (bhāṣā-y-ām) [a substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch 82 replaces the syllable beginning with the last syllable 82] of the first (pūrva-m alternative only) [when denoting a choice of deliberation 97].

*āhi-r núṣ rájju-r nu?* '(is this) a snake or a rope?'

### 8.2.99 prati-śráv-aṇ-e ca

[A substitute prolated vowel with high-pitch replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] which is a response to a promise (prati-śráv-aṇ-e) or agreement.

*gá-m me de-hi bhoḥ: ahám te da-dā-mís* 'give me the promised cow; I am giving it to you'. The word [prati-śráv-aṇa-] also means 'hearkening': *déva-dat-ta bhoḥ!:* *kím át-thás?* 'O Devadatta, what have you been saying?'

### 8.2.100 án-udāttam <sup>1</sup>pras-na=antá=<sup>2</sup>abhí-pūj-i-tay-oḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel 82] which is low-pitched (ánudāttam) replaces [the final syllable of an utterance 82] denoting a question (praśnāntá-°) or a praise (°-abhí-pūj-i-tay-oḥ).

*a-gam-āṣṭh pūrvāṣṇ grāmāṣṇ agni-bhūtaṣi/paṭāṣu* 'Have you gone to the eastern villages, O Agnibhūta? / O wise one?' Cf. 105 below for the svaritá accent and 107 for the accentuation on diphthongs.

### 8.2.101 cid iti ca upa-mā=arth-é pra-yuj-yá-m-ān-e

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 which is low-pitched 100 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel of an utterance 82] co-occurring with the particle *cit*, denoting comparison (*upamā=arth-é*).

*agni-cit bhā-yāṣt* 'may he shine like Agni' but *katham-cid āh-uḥ* 'they seldom speak'.

### 8.2.102 upári-svid ās-ī3-t=iti ca

The expression *upárisvid āsīṣt* is introduced [with a substitute prolated vowel 82 with low-pitch 100 replacing the syllable beginning with the last of this utterance 82].

*adhaḥ svid ās-īṣt upári svid ās-īṣt* (RV 10.129.5) 'was perhaps below, was perhaps above'.

### 8.2.103 svar-i-tám ā-mreḍ-i-t-e <sup>1</sup>asūyá=<sup>2</sup>sam-má-ti-<sup>3</sup>kópa-<sup>4</sup>kúts-ane-ṣu

[A substitute prolated vowel 82] with svaritá accent replaces [the syllable beginning with the last vowel of a reduplicated 1.1 vocative occurring at the beginning of an utterance 1.8 before 1.1.66] the *āmreḍita* (= the following 1.2 vocative 1.8) to denote envy (*asūyá*), praise (*sam-má-ti*), anger (*kópa*) or blame (*kútsana*).

1. *asūyá*: *abhi-rūpa-kāṣ abhi-rūpa-ka, rik-tá-m te ābhi-rūp-ya-m* 'O handsome one! vain is your handsome appearance'.
2. *sam-má-ti*: *māṇavakāṣ māṇavaka śóbh-ana-ḥ khálv as-i* 'O lad, you are distinguished'.
3. *kópa*: *a-vi-nī-ta-kāṣ a-vi-nī-ta-ka idánīm jñā-sya-si jālma* 'O wretch, you will soon know'.
4. *kútsana*: *śákti-kāṣ śáktika rik-tá te śák-ti-ḥ* 'O missile-bearer, worthless is your missile'.

### 8.2.104 <sup>1</sup>kṣiyá=<sup>2</sup>āsís-<sup>3</sup>praiśé-ṣu tiñ ā-kāñkṣ-á-m

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 with svaritá accent 103 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of a verbal [*padá* 1.16] which is dependent (on another finite verb to complete the sense: *tiñ ā-kāñkṣ-á-m*) to denote an offence against established custom (*kṣiyá-* °), a benediction (° -*āsís-* °) or a command (° -*praiśé-ṣu*).

1. *svayám ráth-ena yā-tiṣ upādhyāyā-m padāti-m gam-ay-a-ti* (1.60).
2. *sut-ā-m-ś ca lap-ṣiṣ-tāṣ dhāna-m ca tāta* 'may you win sons as well as wealth'.
3. *kāṭa-m ku-rūṣ grāma-m ca gacch-a* 'make a mat and go to the village'.

### 8.2.105 án-ant-ya-sya=ápi <sup>1</sup>praśná=<sup>2</sup>ā-khyānay-oḥ

[A substitute prolated vowel 82 with svaritá accent 103 replaces the syllable beginning with the last vowel 82] of the non-final as well as (ápi) [the final padás of an utterance 82] when denoting a question (praśná-°) or a narration (°-ā-khyā-nay-oḥ).

*a-gam-āṣ-ḥ pūrvāṣṇ grāmāṣṇ agni-bhūtāṣi?* (cf. 100 above).

*a-gam-āṣ-ḥ pūrvāṣṇ grāmsāṣṇ bhōṣḥ.*

### 8.2.106 plu-t-aú aiC-aḥ iT=uT-au

A substitute prolated vowel [introduced by 84ff.] replaces the phonemes i(T) or u(T) of the diphthongs denoted by the siglum aiC (= ai, au) [respectively 1.3.10].

*aṣṭikāyana! aúṣpagava!* (207) where the diphthongs are considered to be four mātrā-s duration.

### 8.2.107 eC-aḥ á-pra-grh-ya-sya=á-dūr-āt=hū-t-e pūrva-sya ardhá-sya=āT=úttara-sya <sup>1</sup>iT=<sup>2</sup>uT-au

[In the operations introduced by 83ff. above] except 'a call from afar' (á-dūr-āt=hū-t-e 84) relating to the non-pragrh-ya diphthongs denoted by the siglum eC (= e, o, ai, au) [a substitute prolated vowel 82] ā(T) replaces their first half (pūrva-sya) and i(T), u(T) [respectively 1.3.10] replace the second half (of e/ai and o/au).

This results in [ā3i] for e/ai or [ā3u] for o/au with high or low pitch, and [ā3i] for e/ai and [ā3u] for o/au with svaritá accent (106).

By a vārttika the operation, however, is restricted to 83,90,97 and 100. Exception: *mālā+au = mālā+Śi* (7.1.18) = *māl-eṣ* (1.1.11).

### 8.2.108 tay-or <sup>1</sup>y-<sup>2</sup>v-au aC-i sám-hi-tā-y-ām

In continuous utterance (sám-hi-tā-y-ām) the substitute phonemes y and v [respectively 1.3.10] replace them (tay-oḥ = iT, uT 107) [before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i).

When *agne+āśā* occur together under the context of 97 or 100 above: *agnāṣi āśā/*  
*agnāṣi āśā = agnāṣy āśā/agnāṣy āśā* etc.

The word [sām-hitā-y-ām] ‘in continuous utterance’ forms a governing rule till the  
end of this chapter in the next two pādā-s.

### 8.3.1 <sup>1</sup>matU-<sup>2</sup>vásO-ḥ rU sam-búd-dh-au chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas the substitute phoneme rU replaces [the final phoneme 1.1.52 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the affixes 3.1.1] matU(P) and (K)vásU [before 1.1.66] the vocative singular sUP triplet [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *indra marutvah i-há pā-hi sóma-m* 'O Indra, accompanied by Maruts, drink Soma here': *marút+matuP+sU* = *marut+vant+s* (7.1.71) *marut-vant+ḥ* (6.1.68) = *marut-vanḥ* (2.23) = *marut-varU* = *marut-vah* (15) (RV 3.51.7).
2. *mīdh-vas tokā-ya tánayā-ya mṛḷ-a* 'O bountiful one, be gracious to our children': *mih+KvásU* = *midh+vás* (2.31) = *mīdh-vas* (6.1.12)+sU (voc.) = *mīdh-vans+s* (7.1.70 +sU) = *mīdh-vans+ḥ* (6.1.68) = *mīdh-vanḥ* (2.23) = *mīdh-varU* = *mīdh-vah* (15)+*tokā-ya* = *mīdh-vas tokā-ya* (34).

### 8.3.2 á-tra ánu-nāsika-ḥ pūrva-sya tu vā

Here (á-tra = in the sub-section beginning here and extending up to and inclusive of 12 below, the following governing rule recurs:) But (tu) a nasalised (vowel: ánu-nāsika-ḥ) optionally (vā) replaces the phoneme preceding (pūrva-sya) [the phoneme which is the substituendum of rU 1, in continuous utterance 2.108].

Thus, in continuous utterance *sam+krN̄* = *sam+suT+kr-* (6.1.137) = *sarU+s-kr-* (5) *sāḥ-s-kr-* (15) = *sās-s-kr-* (34).

### 8.3.3 āT-ah=aṬ-i nitya-m

[A substitute nasalized vowel 2] necessarily (nitya-m) replaces the phoneme long ā(T) [preceding rU 2 before 1.1.66] the phonemes denoted by the siglum aṬ (vowels and h, y, v and r) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Rule 9 below introduces the substitute [rU] for padá-final [°-n]: *mahān as-i* = *mahārU as-i* = *mahāy as-i* (17) *mahā as-i* (19).

### 8.3.4 ánu-nāsik-āt pára-ḥ anu-svār-á-ḥ

The increment m̄ (anu-svār-á-ḥ) is inserted after (pára-ḥ) [the vowel preceding 2 rU 1 when the substitute nasalized vowel does not optionally replace the vowel before rU 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*sám+kr-N* = *sám+suT+kr-* = *sárU-s-kr-* = *samrU+s-kr-* = *sám-ḥ-s-kr-* (15) = *sám-s-s-kr-* (36) = *sám-s-s-kr-*.

### 8.3.5 sám-aḥ suṭ-i

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the final phoneme 1.1.52 of the preverb] sám-° [before 1.1.66] the initial increment suṭ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Ex. cited under 2-4 above.

### 8.3.6 púm-aḥ khāY-i=aM-par-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the stem-final 1.1.52 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] púm- 'man, male' [before 1.1.66] unvoiced stops (khāY-i) followed by phonemes denoted by the siglum aM (= vowels, semivowels or nasal stops).

[púm-] here represents a part of the full stem [púms-] when it is padá-final, since padá-final [s] following [m] is replaced by Ø (2.23). *púms-i kām-á-h a-syāḥ* = *púms+θ<sup>1</sup>+kām-a+TāP* (4.1.4) = *púmØ+kām-a* = *púrU+kāmā* = *púmrU-kāmā* (4) = *púms-kāmā* (34)/*pús-kāmā* (2) 'desiring the male' (by a vārttika 37 is blocked).

### 8.3.7 n-as=chaV-i á-pra-sān

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme] n [before 1.1.66] phonemes denoted by the siglum chaV (= ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, and t) [followed by a vowel, semivowel or nasal stops 6] excluding that of the expression pra-sān [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*bhāv-ān ci-no-ti* = *bhāvārU ci-no-ti* = *bhāvāmrU ci-no-ti* (2, 4) = *bhāvāms ci-no-ti* (34) = *bhāvāms ci-no-ti* (4.41)/*bhāvās ci-no-ti*; *bhāvāms/bhāvās chād-ay-a-ti*; *bhāvāms/bhāvās ṭik-a-te*; *bhāvāms/bhāvās tar-a-ti*. But *prasān chād-ay-a-ti* etc.

### 8.3.8 ubha-yá-thā ṛk-śú

In the domain of R̥gveda both (ubha-yá-thā) [n 7 or its replacement rU l] occur [in continuous utterance 2.108 before 1.1.66 the phonemes ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, or t followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal stop 7].

*tá-smin/tá-smis/tá-smim-s tvā da-dhā-ti*. 7 above is made optional in the domain of RV.



### 8.3.9 dīrgh-āt aṭ-i sa-mānā-pad-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 occurring after 1.1.67] a long (vowel 1.2.28 : dīrgh-āt) [before 1.1.66] phonemes denoted by the siglum aṭ (vowels and h, y, v or r) within the same quarter [of a ṛk 8].

The word [ubhayá-thā 8] recurs in this rule, so that the alternate form retains the original padá-final [n]: *ādīt-yān yāc-i-ṣā-mahe* (RV 8.67.1); *māhān índro yá ójas-ā* (RV 8.6.1) 'Indra, majestic in power': (*māhārU índra-h* = *māháy índra-h* = *māhā/māhām índra-h*): *māhā índro yá ój-as-ā*.

### 8.3.10 nṛ-n p-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 of the nominal 4.1.1 padá 1.16] nṛn [before 1.1.66] initial phoneme p-° (of the following expression) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*nṛn pā-hi/prī-nī-hi* = *nṛrU* → *nṛh* = *nṛmḥ pā-hi/prī-nī-hi* 'protect/love men'.

### 8.3.11 svátavān pāy-au

[The substitute phoneme rU replaces the final 1.1.52 phoneme n 7 of the nominal padá 1.16] svátavān [before 1.1.66] the expression pāy-úr 'protector' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*svátavāḥ pāy-úr agne* (RV 4.2.6) 'a powerful protector, O Agni': *svátavārU pāy-úr agne* = *svátavāḥ pāy-úr agne*.

### 8.3.12 kán āmreḍit-e

[The substitute phoneme rU 1 replaces the padá final 1.1.52 phoneme of the pronominal padá 1.16] kán [before 1.1.66], its āmreḍita, [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*kán+kān* = *kārU+kān* = *kāmḥ+kān* (4;15) = *kāms-kān/kās-kān* (2).

### 8.3.13 ḍh-aḥ ḍh-e lóp-a-h

Substitute lópa (∅) replaces the phoneme ḍh (before 1.1.66) phoneme ḍh [in continuous utterance 2.108].

In spite of the governing rule 1.16, since phoneme [ḍh] occurring as padá-final is covered by 2.39, the present rule applies only to a non-padá-final context.

$lih+Ktá = liḍh+td$  (2.31) =  $liḍh+dhá-$  (2.40) =  $liḍh+dḥá-$  (4.41) =  $liḥ-dḥá-$  =  $liḍhá-$  'licked'. The governing meta-rule 2.1 does not apply here, since this particular situation is specifically made explicit by 6.3.11 whereby the preceding member denoted by the siglum [aṆ = a, i, u] is replaced by the corresponding long vowel.

### 8.3.14 r-aḥ r-i

[Substitute lópa (ḥ) replaces padá 1.16 final phoneme 13] r [before 1.1.66] (another phoneme) r (of the following expression) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1.  $r+r$ :  $nír+rak-tá-$  =  $níḥ-rak-ta-$  (6.3.111) 'colorless, faded';  $dúr+rak-ta-$  =  $dúḥ-rak-ta-$  'badly dyed'; 2.  $rU+r$ :  $agni+sU+ratha+sU$  =  $agnirU+ratharU$  =  $agnī-ratha-h$  (15). 3. Also operates within a padá:  $spardh+yaṆ-luK$  =  $pā-spardh+yaṆ-luK$  (7.4.83)+ $lAṆ$  =  $āT+pā-spardh+ḥ^1+siP$  =  $ā-pā-spardh+ḥ$  (6.1.68) =  $ā-pā-spard$  (2.39) =  $ā-pā-sparrU$  (2.75) =  $ā-pā-spāḥ$  (15).

### 8.3.15 <sup>1</sup>khāR=<sup>2</sup>ava-sā-nayo-r vi-sarj-aníya-h

The substitute visarjaníya (= ḥ) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.51 phoneme r 14 before 1.1.66] unvoiced consonants ( $khāR^{\circ}$ ) or at pausa ( $^{\circ}$ -ava-sā-nay-oḥ).

$vṛkṣá+sU+chid+yaK+te$  =  $vṛkṣá+rU+chid-ya-te$  (2.66) =  $vṛkṣaḥ chid-ya-te$  =  $vṛkṣas chid-ya-te$  (34) =  $vṛkṣaś chid-ya-te$  (4.40) 'the tree is being cut'. In pausa:  $rāmá+sU$  =  $rāmá+rU$  =  $rāmá-h$ ;  $gir+sU$  =  $gir+ḥ$  =  $gī-h$  (2.76).

### 8.3.16 rO-ḥ suP-i

[The substitute visarjaníya 15 replaces] the substitute phoneme rU [before 1.1.66 the sUP triplet] suP [locative plural].

$páyas+suP$  =  $páyarU+su$  =  $páyah-su$  'in/on milk/water' but  $gir+su$  =  $gīr-su$  (2.76; 3.59).

### 8.3.17 <sup>1</sup>bho=<sup>2</sup>bhago=<sup>3</sup>agho=<sup>4</sup>a-pūrva-sya ya-h aŚ-i

The substitute phoneme y replaces [substitute phoneme rU 16] co-occurring with bhos 'an interjection', bhagos 'illustrious', aghos 'sinner' or phoneme-class /a/ [before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum aŚ (= voiced phonemes) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*bhos á-tra = bhorU á-tra (2.66) = bhoy á-tra = bhoØ á-tra (19); bhago a-tra/agho á-tra. ká+sU ās-te = kárU ās-te = káy ās-te = ká ās-te 'who is sitting?'; brāhmaṇá+Jas. ās-ate = brāhmaṇárU ās-ate = brāhmaṇáy ās-ate = brāhmaṇá ās-ate 'brahmins are sitting'.*

### 8.3.18 <sup>1</sup>v-<sup>2</sup>y-or laghú-pra-yat-na-tara-ḥ śākaṭāyaná-sya

The substitute glide phonemes v and y [respectively 1.3.10] replace [the padá 1.1.16 final 1.1.52 phonemes v (resulting from 6.1.78) and y (resulting from 6.1.78 as well as from 17 above) before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17]d according to the grammarian Śākaṭāyaná.

[laghú-pra-yat-na-tara-] 'more lightly pronounced, requiring lax articulation = a glide sound'. *bho<sup>ʃ</sup>/bhago<sup>ʃ</sup>/agho<sup>ʃ</sup> á-tra; ká<sup>ʃ</sup> ās-te; asá<sup>ʃ</sup> ādityá-ḥ.*

### 8.3.19 lóp-a-ḥ śákalya-sya

The substitute lópa (Ø) replaces [padá 2.26 final 1.1.52 phonemes v and y (resulting from 17 above as well as from 6.1.78) 18 before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to Śákalya.

*bho/bhago/agho á-tra; ká ās-te; asá aditya-ḥ; a-smá ud-dhar-a.*

### 8.3.20 oT-aḥ gārg-ya-sya

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme y 18 after 1.1.67 the phoneme] o(T) [before 1.1.66 voiced phonemes 17 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to the grammarian Gārgya.

Examples as in 19 above.

### 8.3.21 uÑ-i ca pad-é

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phonemes v and y (resulting from 17 above and 6.1.78) 18] also [before 1.1.66] the padá uÑ [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*tád+sU = taa+sU (7.2.102) = tá+sU (6.1.97) = sá+s (7.2.106)+u  
ek-ā-gni-ḥ/eka-vimśati-ḥ = sárU u = sáy u = sáØ u = sá u  
ék-ā-gni-ḥ/éka-vimśati-ḥ/eka-vimśá-vart-ani-ḥ (MS 2.7.20).*

### 8.3.22 haL-i sārve-ṣām

[The substitute lópa (Ø) 19 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme y 18 (resulting from 17 above) before 1.1.66] a consonant (haL-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108] according to all grammarians.

*bho/bhago/agho/kó has-a-ti; brāhmaṇá has-anti.*

### 8.3.23 m-aḥ anu-svār-á-h

The substitute m̐ (anu-svār-á-h) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52] phoneme m [before 1.1.66 consonants 22 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vána+am+gacch-a-ti = vān-a-m̐ gacch-a-ti* (6.1.107) 'goes to the forest'; *pums+suP = pumØ+sú* (2.23) = *pum̐-sú* but *gam+yáK+te = gam-yá-te* (non-padá-final).

### 8.3.24 n-aś ca á-pada=anta-sya jhaL-i

[The substitute anu-svār-á m̐ 23] also replaces a non-padá-final (á-pad-ā-nta-sya) phoneme n as well as (ca) [m̐ 23 before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum jhaL (= a non-nasal consonant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. n: *páyas+Śi* (7.1.20) = *páya-nuM-s+i* (7.1.72) = *páyāns-i* (6.4.8) = *páyāṁs-i* 'milks/waters'.
2. m: *á+kram+syā+te = á-kram̐-sya-te* 'will be overcome', but *han-yá-te/gam-yá-te*.

### 8.3.25 ma-h rāj-i sám-aḥ Kv-aṇ

The substitute phoneme m replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 of the particle] sám-° [before 1.1.66 the verbal stem] rāj- 'rule, govern', co-occurring with [the affix 3.1.1] Kv̐(P) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Exception to 23. *sám+rāj+Kv̐P* (4.3.61)+sU = *sam-rāj+Ø* (6.1.68) = *sam-rāṣ* (2.36) = *sam-rát* (2.39; 4.56).

### 8.3.26 h-e má-par-e vā

[The substitute phoneme m 25] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme m 23 before 1.1.66] phoneme h- co-occurring before m [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*kím/kím mhal-ay-a-ti* 'what is he shaking?'

### 8.3.27 *ná-par-e ná-h*

The substitute phoneme *n* [optionally 26 replaces *padá* 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme *m* 23 before 1.1.66 phoneme *h* 26] co-occurring before phoneme *n* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*kím/kím hnu-te* 'what is he taking away?'

### 8.3.28 *<sup>1</sup>n-<sup>2</sup>n-oḥ <sup>1</sup>kyK-<sup>2</sup>ṭuK śaR-i*

[Final increments 1.1.46] *kyK* and *ṭuK* [respectively 1.3.10] are [optionally 26 inserted at the end of a *padá* 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes °-*n̄* and °-*n̄* [before 1.1.66] a phoneme denoted by the siglum *śaR* (= sibilant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. °-*n̄*: *prāñc+sU* = *prāñc+∅* (6.1.68) = *prāñ∅* (2.23) = *prāñ* + *śe-te* = *prāñ+kyK*  
*śe-te* = *prāñk śe-te* 'lies down facing east'. 2. °-*n̄*: *van śe-te* = *vanṭ śe-te*.

### 8.3.29 *ḍ-aḥ s-i dhuṭ*

[An initial increment 1.1.46] *dhuṭ* is [optionally 26 inserted at the head of a *padá* 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54 phoneme] *s-°* [after 1.1.67 a *padá* 1.16 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme] °-*ḍ* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*maddhu le-ḍhi* = *madhu+lḥ+KviP* (3.2.76)+*sU* = *madhu-lḥ+∅* (6.1.68) =  
*mudhu-lidḥ* (2.31) = *madhu-lid* (2.39) *śId-a-ti* = *madhu-lid+dhuṭ-śId-da-ti* =  
*madhu-lit+tsId-a-ti/śId-a-ti* (4.42,55).

### 8.3.30 *n-aś ca*

[An initial increment 1.1.46] *dhuṭ* 29 is optionally 26 inserted at the head of a *padá* 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54 the phoneme *s-°* 29 after 1.1.66 a *padá* 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] phoneme °-*n* also (*ca*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*mahāt+sU* = *mahā-n-t+sU* (7.1.20) = *mahānt+∅* (6.1.68; 4.10) = *mahān∅*  
(2.23)+*sarp-ḍ-h* = *mahān dhsarp-ḍ-h/sarp-ḍ-h* = *mahān tsarp-ḍ-h/sarp-ḍ-h* (4.55).

### 8.3.31 ś-i tuK

[The final increment 1.1.46] tuK is [optionally 26 inserted at the end of a padá 1.16 terminating in 1.1.72 phoneme n 30 before 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54] phoneme ś-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*bhāvān śe-te/bhāvān+tuK śe-te = bhāvān-c se-te (4.40) = bhāvāñc che-te (4.63)*  
'your honor is lying down'.

### 8.3.32 ṇaM-aḥ=hrasv-āt aC-i ṇaMuT nitya-m

[An initial increment 1.1.46] denoted by the siglum ṇaM (= ṇ, ṇ, n) is [respectively 1.3.10 inserted at the head of a padá 1.16 beginning with 1.1.54] a vowel (aC-i) [after 1.1.66 a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] the phonemes denoted by the siglum ṇaM(= ṇ, ṇ, n) [occurring after 1.1.67] a short (hrasv-āt: vowel 1.2.28) necessarily (nitya-m).

1. *praty-āñ ās-te = praty-āñ+nās-te* 'sits facing east'.
2. *sugāñ ās-te = sugāñ-ñās-te* 'the accountant is sitting'.
3. *kur-v-āñ ās-te = kur-v-āñ-nās-te* 'sits while performing'.

### 8.3.33 maY-aḥ uÑ-aḥ va-ḥ vā

The substitute phoneme v optionally (vā) replaces the particle uÑ [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant denoted by the siglum maY (= other than a semivowel, palatal nasal or aspirant) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*śām u as-tu vēdi-ḥ/śām v as-tu vēdi-ḥ* 'may the sacrificial altar be propitious'. *tād*  
*u/v d-sya rétaḥ* 'that indeed is his/its seed'.

### 8.3.34 vi-sarj-aníya-sya sa-ḥ

The substitute phoneme s replaces the vi-sarj-aníya [before 1.1.66 unvoiced consonants (khaR-i) 15 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṽṛkṣá-ḥ chid-yda-te (15) = ṽṛkṣá-s chid-ya-te = ṽṛkṣá-ś chid-ya-te (4.40)* 'the tree is being cut'.
2. *vípra-ḥ (2.66; 3.15) tiṣṭh-a-ti = vípra-s tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'the sage stands'.
3. *ṽṛkṣá-ḥ ṭik-a-te = ṽṛkṣá-s ṭik-a-te = ṽṛkṣá-ś ṭik-a-te (4.41)* 'the tree moves'.

### 8.3.35 śāR-par-e vi-sarj-anīya-ḥ

A substitute ḥ (vi-sarj-anīya-ḥ) replaces [a visarjanīya before 1.1.66 unvoiced consonants 15] co-occurring before sibilants (śāR-par-e) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pūruṣa-ḥ kṣīrā-m pib-a-ti* 'man drinks milk/water'; *śobh-ana-ḥ tsāru-ḥ* 'beautiful hilt'; *ghanāghanā-ḥ kṣobh-ana-ś carṣaṇī-nām* (RV 10.103.1) 'striking down and agitating people'.

By stipulating a visarjanīya as the substitute, its allomorphs jihvā-mūlīya and upa-dhmā-nīya are blocked out, cf. 37 below.

### 8.3.36 vā śāR-i

[A substitute visarjanīya (ḥ) 35] optionally (vā) replaces [a visarjanīya 34 before 1.1.66] sibilants (śāR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vrkṣā-ḥ/vrkṣā-ś śe-te* (4.40); *plakṣā-ḥ/plakṣā-ś śaṇḍ-e* (4.41); *sārah/śāras sar-ā-ti* 'the tree sleeps/the Plakṣa tree in the forest/the stream flows'.

### 8.3.37 <sup>1</sup>kU-<sup>2</sup>pV-oh <sup>1</sup>Xk-<sup>2</sup>Xp-au ca

The substitute phonemes Xk (= jihvā-mūlīya-) and Xp (upa-dhmā-nīya-) [in addition to a visarjanīya (ḥ) 35 respectively 1.3.10 replace a visarjanīya 34 before 1.1.66] velar and labial stops (kU-pV-oh).

The t.t. jihvā-mūlīya is derived by 4.3.62. *nāra-ḥ/nāra-Xk kar-o-ti* 'the man makes'; *nāra-ḥ/nāra-Xp pac-a-ti* 'the man cooks'.

### 8.3.38 śa-ḥ á-pada-ād-au

The substitute phoneme s replaces [a visarjanīya (ḥ) before 1.1.66 velar and palatal stops 37] which do not occur as initials of padás (á-pada=ād-au) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Only affixes are intended by this restriction (á-padaḍau), and they are: *pāśaP* (5.3.47), *kalpaP* (5.3.67), *kā* (5.3.70) and *kāmyāC* (3.1.9).

*pāyas+kalpaP* = *pāyah-kalpaP* (2.66; 3.15) = *pāyas-kalpa-* 'like or resembling milk'; similarly *payas-kām-yā-ti* 'desires milk'; *pāyas-pāśa-* 'inferior or adulterated milk'; *payas-kā-* 'milk'. But *pāya-Xk kām-ay-a-te/pāya-Xp pib-a-ti* (37).

### 8.3.39 iN<sup>2</sup>-aḥ ṣa-ḥ

The substitute retroflex sibilant ṣ replaces [a visarjanīya (ḥ) 34 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN<sup>2</sup> [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 which are not initial of a padá 38, in continuous utterance 2.108].

The siglum iN<sup>2</sup> is derived with the second IT marker N<sup>2</sup> of SS 6 [iĀN<sup>2</sup>] and includes all vowels other than the phoneme class a, the voiced aspirant h and the semi-vowels. But the phonemes really involved are the vowels other than phoneme-class a, and the semivowel r with which alone s occurs as a posterior member of a cluster or conjunct. *sarpis+pañśa-/kalpa-/ká/kām-yá-ti* = *sarpis-pañśa-/kalpa-/ká-/kām-yá-ti*, but *hári-ḥ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti=hari-Xk kar-o-ti/hari-Xp pac-a-ti*.

### 8.3.40 <sup>1</sup>námas-<sup>2</sup>purás-or gáty-oḥ

[The substitute phoneme dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 visarjanīya (ḥ) 34 of] the gati (1.4.60) particles nám-as 'homage' and pur-ás- 'in front' (i.e., functioning as gáti 1.4.67,74) [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

In the section beginning here the expressions \*the substitute phoneme dental sibilant s\* (38) and \*the substitute phoneme retroflex sibilant ṣ preceded by a phoneme denoted by the siglum iN<sup>2</sup>\* (39) recur as governing rules. A visarjanīya following iN<sup>2</sup> will be replaced by retroflex ṣ while the dental s will replace the phoneme s.

*nám-as+kar-tum* = *nám-arU+kár-tum* (2.66) = *namaḥ-kártum* (15) = *nam-as-kár-tum* 'to salute, bow down'; similarly *pur-as-kṛ+tum* = *pur-as-kár-tum* 'to place before or in front'. But *púr+Śas+kar-o-ti* = *púr-aḥ/púr-aXk kar-o-ti* (37) 'builds cities'.

### 8.3.41 <sup>1</sup>iT=<sup>2</sup>úT=upa-dha-sya ca á-praty-ay-a-sya

[The substitute phoneme retroflex ṣ 39 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s] other than affixes, containing phonemes short i(T) or u(T) as penultimate [before 1.1.66 velar or labial stops 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This rule pertains to [gáti- 40] particles *nís-*, *dús-*, *dúr-*, *bahís-*, *āvis-*, *catús-* and *prādús-*.

1. *nís+kṛ-ta-* = *nírU+kṛ-ta-* = *nīḥ-kṛ-ta-* = *nís-kṛ-ta-* 'expelled'; similarly *nís-pī-ta-* 'drunk up'. In like manner:
2. *dús-kṛ-ta-/pī-ta-* 'badly done/drunken'; 3. *bahís-kṛ-ta-/pī-ta-* 'expelled/drunken outside the house'; 4. *āvis-kṛ-ta-/pī-ta-* 'manifested/quietly drunk'; 5. *cátus-kaparda-* 'having four tufts' (RV 10.114.3); *cátus-pañcāśat* 'fifty-four'; 6. *prādús-kṛ-ta-* 'made visible' but *hari-ḥ kar-o-ti/pib-a-ti*.



### 8.3.42 *tiráś-aḥ anya-tará-syām*

[The substitute dental sibilant *s* 38] optionally (*anya-tará-syām*) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* of the *gáti* 40 particle] *tiráś* ‘across’ [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*tiráḥ-kṛ-t-ya/kár-tum* : *tiras-kṛ-t-ya/kár-tum* ‘having despised/to despise’, but *tiráḥ kṛ-tvá káṇḍa-m ga-tá-h* ‘placing the log along he went’.

### 8.3.43 <sup>1</sup>*dvís*-<sup>2</sup>*trís*-<sup>3</sup>*catúr* *iti kṛtvás=arth-e*

[The substitute phoneme retroflex *ṣ* 38 optionally 42 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* 34 of] *dvís* ‘twice’, *trís* ‘thrice’ and *catúr* ‘four times’ when denoting the sense of [the affix 3.1.1] *kṛtvás* (5.4.17,20) ‘times’ [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*dvīḥ/dvīṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti*; *trīḥ/trīṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti*; *catúḥ* (15)/*catúṣ kar-o-ti/pac-a-ti* but *cátuṣ-kaparda-/cátuṣ-pad-* ‘quadruped’.

### 8.3.44 <sup>1</sup>*is*=<sup>2</sup>*us-oḥ sāmāth-y-e*

[The substitute phoneme retroflex *ṣ* 39 optionally 42 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* 34 of padá-s 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] °-*is* or °-*us* [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.1.108] standing in correlation with each other (*sāmāth-y-e*).

*sarpīḥ* (15; 2.86)/*sarpīṣ kar-o-ti* ‘makes clarified butter’. But *tīṣṭh-a-tu sarpīḥ, pṣṭh-a tvám udaká-m* ‘let the clarified butter stand; drink thou water’. *yájuh/yájus kar-o-ti* ‘performs a sacrifice’.

### 8.3.45 *nítya-m sam-ās-é án-uttara-pada-stha-sya*

[The substitute phoneme retroflex *ṣ* 39] necessarily (*nítya-m*) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 *ḥ* 34 of a padá 1.16 ending in 1.1.72] °-*is* or °-*us* 44] in a compound (*sam-ās-é*), provided it is not (itself) a posterior member (*án-uttara-pada-stha-sya*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*sarpīṣ-kuṇḍ-ik-á* ‘butter jar’, but *parama-sarpīḥ-kuṇḍ-ik-á; dhānuṣ-pāṇi-* ‘archer, wielder of a bow’ but *parama-dhanuḥ-kapālá-*.

### 8.3.46 aT-aḥ <sup>1</sup>kṛ-<sup>2</sup>kāmī-<sup>3</sup>kaṁśá-<sup>4</sup>kumbhá-<sup>5</sup>pātra-<sup>6</sup>kuśá-<sup>7</sup>kārṇī-ṣu án-a-vy-ay-a-sya

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 necessarily 45 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of a padá 1.16] other than an indeclinable (án-avyaya-sya), containing short vowel a(T) [as penultimate 41, before 1.1.66 the verbal stems] kṛ- 'make' (VIII 10) and kām- 'love' (I 470) [and nominal stems 4.1.1] kaṁśá- 'goblet', kumbhá- 'goblet, jar', pātra- 'vessel', kuśá 'small piece of wood' and kārṇí 'a kind of shaft, rudder' [in a compound, provided it is not itself a posterior member 45, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*áyah kar-o-ti* = *ayas+θ<sup>1</sup>+kṛ+dN* (3.2.1) = *ayas+kār-á-* = *ayarU-kār-á-* (2.66) = *ayah-kār-á-* (15) = *ayas-kār-á-* 'blacksmith'; similarly: *ayas-kām-á-* 'iron-smith'; *ayas-kaṁśá-* 'a kind of iron weapon or an iron goblet'; *ayas-kumbhá-* 'iron pitcher'; *ayas-pātrá-* 'iron vessel'; *ayas-kuśá* 'iron peg' and *áyas-kārṇī* '(a vessel) having an iron handle', but *púnar kar-o-ti* = *punaḥ-kār-á-* (3.2.1) 'repetition', *yaśáḥ kar-o-ti* (un-compounded) and *param-ā-yah-kār-á-* 'a great black-smith'.

### 8.3.47 <sup>1</sup>adhás=<sup>2</sup>śíras-ī pad-é

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces the padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ of the padá-s 1.16] adhás 'below' and śíras- 'head' [in composition with 45 the nominal stem 4.1.1] padá- 'place' [provided it is not itself a posterior member 45, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*adhas-padá-m* 'the lower place or part'; *śiras-padá-m* 'the upper place or part'; but *param-ā-dhaḥ-padá-m/parama-śíraḥ-pada-m*.

### 8.3.48 kas-ka=ādi-ṣu ca

[The substitute phoneme dental s 38 or retroflex ṣ 39 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 of padá-s 1.16 in composition 45] of the class of compounds beginning with kas-ka- 'which of them?' [before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*kīm+sU+kīm+sU* = *ká-s+ká-s* = *ká-ḥ-ká-ḥ* (15; 2.66) = *ká-s-ka-ḥ* 'which of them?'; similarly *kú-tas-ku-tah* 'from which place or direction?'; *bhrátṛ+Nas+putra+sU* = *bhrātur* (6.1.111) -*putra-ḥ* (15; 2.66) = *bhrātus-putrá-ḥ* 'brother's son, nephew'.

### 8.3.49 chándas-i vā á<sup>1</sup>pra=<sup>2</sup>āmreḍitay-oh

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute phoneme dental s 38] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ before 1.1.66 a velar or labial stop 37 of another padá 1.16 in continuous utterance 2.108] excluding the preverb particle prá-° or an āmreḍita.

*ayas-pātrá-/ayah-pātrá-* 'iron vessel', but *agní-ḥ pra-vidvān* 'Agni, the wise one' (AV 5.26.1); *ágne trātar ḡ-tá-s/ḡ-tá-ḥ kaví-ḥ* (RV 6.60.5) 'O protector Agni, thou art respected and wise'. *páruṣaḥ paruṣas pári* (MS 2.7.15.214).

### 8.3.50 <sup>1</sup>ká-ḥ-<sup>2</sup>kár-a-t-<sup>3</sup>kár-a-ti-<sup>4</sup>kṛ-dhí-<sup>5</sup>kṛ-té-ṣu án-adite-ḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ 34 before 1.1.66 the padá-s 1.16] káḥ, kár-a-t, kár-a-ti, kṛ-dhí and kṛ-tá- excluding that of [the padá 1.16] of áditi- [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *kaḥ = kṛ+IUN = kṛ+Clī+t = kṛ+Ø<sup>1</sup> (2.4.80)+t = kár-t = karØ (2.23) = kaḥ (15) : viśvā-tas+kaḥ = viśvā-taḥ kaḥ = viśvā-tas kaḥ* 'performed all around'.
2. *kár-a-t = kṛ+IUN = kṛ+aN+t = kár-a-t : viśvā-taḥ+kár-a-t viśvā-tas kar-a-t* 'ibid'. In both these examples the initial augment [áT] is replaced by Ø (6.4.75).
3. *kár-a-ti = kṛ+ŚaP+tiP = kár-a-ti : viśvā-tas kar-a-ti.*
4. *kṛ-dhí = kr+IoT+siP = kṛ-hí (3.4.87) = kṛ-dhí (6.4.102) : urú naṣ kṛ-dhi* (RV 8.75.11) 'make us great'.
5. *sádas-i kṛ-tá-m = sádas+Ø<sup>1</sup>+kṛ-ta-m = sádaḥ-kṛ-ta-m = sád-as-kṛ-ta-m* 'made at the sacrifice', but *yá-thā no áditiḥ kár-a-t* (RV 1.43.2).

### 8.3.51 pañcamy-āḥ pár-au adhy-arth-é

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 ḥ resulting from] the fifth sUP triplet (pañcamy-āḥ = ŌasI) [before 1.1.66] the particle pári denoting the sense of ádhi (adhy-arth-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*div-ás pári prathamá-m ja-jñ-e* (RV 10.45.1) 'was born first above the heaven'; *agní-r himá-vat-as pári* 'fire above the snow-clad mountain' (AV 4.9.9); but *dhi-r iva bhog-aṣṭh páry-e-ti bāhú-m* (RV 6.75.14) 'like a snake, coils around the arm' (instr. plur.); when not having the meaning of ádhi: *div-ás pṛthivy-āḥ páry ója úd=bhṛ-ta-m* (RV 6.47.27) 'power was raised up all around heaven and earth'.

### 8.3.52 pā-t-au ca bahulá-m

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from the fifth sUP triplet (ÑasI) 52] variously (bahulá-m) [before 1.1.66 the verbal padá 1.16] pā-tu 'may he protect' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*div-ás pā-tu* 'may he protect from heaven' (RV 10.158.1) but *pari-śád-aḥ pā-tu* (15.266) 'may he protect from the assembly'.

### 8.3.53 ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ <sup>1</sup>pāti-<sup>2</sup>putrá-<sup>3</sup>ṛṣṭhá-<sup>4</sup>pārá-<sup>5</sup>padá-<sup>6</sup>páyas-<sup>7</sup>póṣe-ṣu

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute dental sibilant s 38 replaces padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from] the sixth sUP triplet (ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ = Ñas) [before 1.1.66 the nominal stems 4.1.1] pāti- 'master, lord, husband', putrá- 'son', ṛṣṭhá- 'back', pārá- 'beyond, across', padá- 'place', páyas- 'milk', and póṣa- 'prosperity' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vác-ás-pá-ti-m* *viśvá-karmāṇ-am ā-táy-e* (RV 10.81.7) 'to the lord of speech, Viśvá-karman, for protection'; *div-ás-putrá-ya sūryā-ya* (RV 10.37.1) 'to Sūrya, son of heaven'; *div-ás ṛṣṭh-é dhāu-a-m-āna-m su-parṇá-m* (AV 13.2.37) 'Suparna, soaring up on the back of Heaven'; *á-gan-ma támas-as pārd-m* 'we have gone beyond darkness' (VS 12.73); *iḥ-ás pad-é sám-idh-ya-se* 'thou art kindled at the sacrificial altar'; *sūrya-m cákṣu-r div-ás páyah* 'to Sūrya, the eye and milk of Heaven'; *rāy-ás-póṣa-m yáj-a-m-āne-ṣu dhār-a-ya* (RV 10.122.8) 'bestow on the sacrificers increasing wealth'; but *mānu-ḥ putré-bhyo dāy-á-m vy-à-bhaj-a-t* 'Manu divided (his) inheritance among (his) sons' (nom. sing.).

### 8.3.54 ídā-y-āḥ vā

[In the domain of Chándas 49 the substitute phoneme dental s 38] optionally (vā) replaces [padá 1.16 final 1.1.52 phoneme ḥ 34 arising from the sixth sUP triplet (Ñas) 53 introduced after 3.1.2 the nominal stem 4.1.1] ídā 'oblation' [before 1.1.66 the nominal stem pāti- 'lord, master, husband', putrá- 'son', ṛṣṭhá- 'back', pārá- 'across', padá- 'place', páyas- 'milk' and póṣa- 'prosperity' 53 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ídā-y-ás/ídā-y-āḥ+pāti-ḥ/pad-é* (RV 3.23.4)/*putrá-ḥ* (RV 3.29.2), etc.

### 8.3.55 á-pada=anta-sya mürdhan-yà-ḥ

The substitute retroflex (mürdhan-yà-ḥ) [sibilant § 39 replaces a phoneme] not occurring as padá-final (á-pada=anta-sya) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

This is a governing rule beginning this section and extending up to the end of this padá and will recur in each of the subsequent rules. By 56 below the substituentum is indicated as the dental sibilant s.

### 8.3.56 sáḥe-ḥ sād-aḥ s-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex sibilant § 55 replaces the dental sibilant] s of the verbal stem sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) when it acquires the form sād(h) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$jāḷā-m̐ sáh-a-te = jāḷā+θ^1+sáh+Nv̐_i$  (3.2.63) =  $jāḷā-sáh$  (6.3.137; 7.2.116)+sU =  $jāḷā-sáh+θ$  (6.1.68) =  $jāḷā-ṣādḥ$  (2.31) =  $jāḷā-ṣād$  (2.39) but  $jāḷā-sáh-au/as/am$ .

### 8.3.57 <sup>1</sup>iN<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup>kO-ḥ

(In the section beginning here and extending up to the end of this Pādá, the words) [the substitute retroflex sibilant § 55 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 co-occurring after 1.1.67] the phonemes denoted by the sigla iN<sup>2</sup> (= vowels other than a-class, semi-vowel r) and kU (=velar stops) [will recur in the subsequent rules].

This is also a governing rule, co-occurring with 55 above in the rest of this Pādá.

### 8.3.58 <sup>1</sup>nuM-<sup>2</sup>vi-sarj-aníya-<sup>3</sup>śaR-vy-av-āy-e=ápi

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant 38 s, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phonemes denoted by the sigla iN<sup>2</sup> (= vowels other than a-class and semivowel r) and kU (velar stops) 57] even when there is intervention by [the infix increment 1.1.47] nuM or ḥ (°-vi-sarj-aníya-°) or sibilants (°-śaR-vy-av-āy-e api) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. nuM-vy-av-āy-e:  $sárpis+Śi = sárpī-nuM-s+i$  (7.1.72) =  $sárpī-m̐-ṣ-i$  (24; 6.4.10);
2. ḥ-vy-av-āy-e:  $sárpis+suP = sárpīrU+su$  (2.66) =  $sárpīḥ-ṣu$  (15; 4.41);
3. śaR-vy-av-āy-e:  $sárpis+suP = sárpīṣ-ṣu$  (36; 4.41).

This rule operates only when there is a single intervention: thus from the verbal stem *nis-I cumb-an-e* (II 15)  $nis+IAT = ni-nuM-s+θ^1+se$  (7.1.58; 3.4.80) = *ni-m̐-s-se* (24) there is double intervention [nuM+śaR] so that initial dental

sibilant *s* of the l-substitute [se for thās 3.4.80] is not replaced by the retroflex sibilant *ṣ*; similarly in the Imperative 2nd pers. sing. *nī-m-s-sva*.

### 8.3.59 <sup>1</sup>ā-deś-ā-<sup>2</sup>praty-ayáy-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56] of a replacement element (*ā-deś-ā-°*) or of an affix (*°-praty-ayáy-oḥ*) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 vowels other than /a/, and semivowel *r* and velar stops 57 even when there is intervention by *ṇuM*, *ḥ* or sibilants 58 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *s* of a replacement element: *ṣiv-U tan-tu-sam-tān-e* (IV 2)+*lIT* = *ṣiv+lIT* (6.1.64) = *si-ṣiv+NaL* (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = *si-ṣév-a* (7.3.86); 2. *s* of an affix: *agní+suP* = *agní-su*. 3. intervention by *kU*: *lih+luN* = *āT+lih+Ksa+t* (3.1.45; 6.4.71) = *ā-liḡh+Ksa+t* (2.31) = *ā-lik-ṣa-t* (2.41). Cf. 58 above for example with intervention of *ṇuM*, *ḥ* and sibilants.

### 8.3.60 <sup>1</sup>śāsi-<sup>2</sup>vasi-<sup>3</sup>ghāsī-n-ām ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stema] *śās-* 'rule, reach, instruct' (II 66), *vas-* 'abide, reside' (I 1054) and *ghās-* 'eat' (I 747) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel *r* and velar stops 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *śās+luN* = *śās+Clḡ→aṆ* (3.1.43,56)+*t* = *āT+śīs-a-t* (6.4.34) = *ā-śīs-a-t* 'instructed', where the dental sibilant is neither a substitute nor an affix. 2. *vas+Ktá* = *uas+tá-* = *uas+iT-tá* (6.1.15; 7.2.52) = *uṣ-i-tá-* (6.1.108); 3. *ghas+lIT* = *ja-ghas+átus* (6.1.8; 7.34.60, 62; 8.4.54) = *ja-ghṣ+átus* (6.4.98) = *jakṣ-átuḥ* (4.55).

### 8.3.61 <sup>1</sup>staú-ti-<sup>2</sup>Ny-ór evá ṣaṆ-i abhy-ās-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant *ṣ* 39 replaces the dental sibilant *s* 56 of a substitute 59, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel *r* or a velar stop 57] of the reduplicated syllable [before 1.1.66 the desiderative marker] *ṣaṆ* [introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stem] *stu-* 'praise' (II 34) and those [ending in 1.1.72 the causative marker] *Ní(C)* only (*evá*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṣtuN+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *tú-stū-ṣa-a-ti* (6.1.9,64; 4.16; 7.4.60; 8.3.59) = *tú-stū-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97) = *tú-ṣtū-ṣa-ti* (4.41) 'desires to praise'; 2. *NíC-anta-: ṣiv+NíC+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sev+i+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (6.1.64; 7.3.86) =

*śi-sev-i+i-ṣa-a-ti* (59) = *śi-sev-i+i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.97) = *śi-sev-e+i-ṣa-ti* (7.3.84) = *śi-sev-ay+i-ṣa-ti* (6.1.78) = *śi-sev-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'desires to make (someone) to sew'. But *ṣic+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *śi-ṣic+sa+a+ti* (6.1.9,64) = *śi-ṣik-ṣa-ti* (1.2.9; 8.2.30; 3.59) 'wishes to sprinkle'.

### 8.3.62 sa-ḥ <sup>1</sup>svidi-<sup>2</sup>svádi-<sup>3</sup>sáhī-n-āñ ca

The substitute dental sibilant s replaces [the dental sibilant s of a substitute 59, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel other than /a/-class, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57 of the reduplicated syllable 61 before 1.1.66 the retroflexed desiderative marker (ṣaN-i) 61 introduced after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] svid- 'perspire, sweat' (II 789, IV 79), svád- 'taste' (I 18) and sáh- 'endure, bear' (I 905) [ending 1.1.72 in the causative marker Ní(C) 61, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *svid+NíC+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP* = *sved+f+iT+saN+ŚaP+tiP* (7.3.86) = *śi-sved-i-i-ṣa-a-ti* (6.1.9; 7.4.59-60; 1.1.48) = *śi-sved-ay-i-ṣa-ti* (7.3.86; 6.1.78; 97) 'makes (someone) desire to perspire'; similarly: 2. *śi-svād-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'causes (someone) to desire to taste'; 3. *śi-sáh-ay-i-ṣa-ti* 'makes (someone) desire to endure'.

Exception to 61 above.

### 8.3.63 prák sit-át aṬ=vy-áv-āy-é ápi

[In the sub-section beginning here and] prior to (prák) to sitá- 'bound' (70 below) [the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 sibilant s 56] even (ápi) with the intervention of [the initial increment 1.1.46] áṬ (6.4.71) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

By 65 below, *abhí+su+Śnu+tiP* = *abhí-ṣu-ṇo-ti* (59; 4.2); *abhí+su+LAÑ* = *abhi+dṬ-su+Śnu+t* = *abhy-d-ṣu-ṇo-t*.

### 8.3.64 sthā=ādi-ṣu abhy-ās-éna ca abhy-ās-á-sya

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ replaces non-padá-final 55 sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] beginning with sthā- [65, in this sub-section 63-70 prior to sitá-, even with the intervention 63] of the reduplicated syllable, as well as (ca) [the dental sibilant s 56] of the reduplicated syllable.

1. *abhí+sthā+IT* = *abbi+ta-sthā+au* (6.1.8; 7.1.34; 4.61) = *abhí-ta-ṣthā+au* (6.4.64) = *abhí-ta-ṣth-au* (4.41).

2.  $abhí+senā+NíC+saN+ŚaP+tiP = abhi-si-sen\emptyset-i+iT-saN+ŚaP+tiP$  (6.4.64) =  $abhí-si-sen-ay-i-sa-ti$ .
3.  $pári+sic+saN+ŚaP+tiP = pári-si-sik-sa-ti$  (cf. 61 above). But  $abhí-su-sā-sa-ti$ ,  $abhí-si-sā-sa-ti$  since these stems are not included in the group beginning with [sthā-].

### 8.3.65 upa-sarg-āt <sup>1</sup>su-nó-ti-<sup>2</sup>suv-á-ti-<sup>3</sup>s-yá-ti-<sup>4</sup>staú-ti-<sup>5</sup>stóbh-a-ti-<sup>6</sup>sthā-<sup>7</sup>sen-áy-a-<sup>8</sup>sédha-<sup>9</sup>sicA-<sup>10</sup>sanjA-<sup>11</sup>svanj-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\text{ṣ}$  39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant  $s$  56 of the verbal stems] su- 'press, extract' (IV 1), sū- 'impel' (VI 115), so- 'terminate' (IV 39), stu- 'praise' (II 34), stúbh- 'chant, utter' (I 421), sthā- 'remain' (I 975), sen-áy-a- 'attack', sídh- 'move, order, instruct' (I 48), sic- 'sprinkle' (VI 140), sanj- 'attach, cling' (I 1036), svanj- 'embrace, clasp' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (upa-sarg-āt) [ending 1.1.72 in phonemes  $i$  or  $u$  (iN<sup>2</sup>) 57, even with the intervention of initial increment 1.1.46 áT 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1.  $abhí/pári+su+lAT = abhí/pári+su+nu+tiP = abhí/pári-su-no-ti$  (4.2)+ $lAN = abhí/pári+a-su-no-t$ .
  2.  $abhí/pári+suv-a-ti/a-suv-a-t$ ;
  3.  $abhí/pári+syā-ti/a-syā-t$ ;
  4.  $abhí/pári+ṣṭau-ti/a-ṣṭau-t$ ;
  5.  $abhí/pári+stobh-a-ti/a-stobh-a-t$ ;
  6.  $abhí/pári+sthā-sya-ti/a-sthā-t/ta-sth-au$  (respectively IRT, IUN and IIT);
  7.  $abhí/pári+sen-ay-a-ti/a-sen-ay-a-t/si-sen-ay-i-sa-ti$  (64);
  8.  $abhí/pári+sedh-a-ti/a-sedh-a-t$ ;
  9.  $abhí/pári+siñc-a-ti/a-siñc-a-t/si-sik-sa-ti$  (64);
  10.  $abhí/pári+śaj-a-ti/a-śaj-a-t/si-śaṅk-sa-ti$  (64);
  11.  $abhí/pári+śvaj-a-ti/a-śvaj-a-t/si-śvaṅk-sa-ti$  (64).
- In the case of 10-11, cf. 6.4.25 for  $\emptyset$  replacement of the nasal before class marker [ŚaP].

### 8.3.66 sadī-r á-prate-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\text{ṣ}$  39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant  $s$  56 of the verbal stem] sad- 'sit down' (VI 133) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 45 ending in 1.1.72 phoneme  $i$  or  $u$  57, even with the intervention of áT 63] excluding preverb práti-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$ní/ví+sid-a-t/a-sid-a-t = ní/ví+ṣid-a-ti/a-ṣid-a-t$  but  $práti-sid-a-ti/a-sid-a-t$ .



### 8.3.67 stanbhē-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 29 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] stanbh(U) 'prop up' (IX 7) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 65 ending in 1.1.72 the phoneme i or u 57, even with the intervention of áṭ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*abhí/pári+ṣtabh-nā-ti/a-ṣtabh-nā-t/ta-ṣtambh-a;*  
*praty-a-ṣtabh-nā-t.*

*prati-ṣtabh-nā-ti/*

### 8.3.68 áv-āt ca <sup>1</sup>ā-lāmb-ana-<sup>2</sup>ā-vi-dūr-yaya-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem stanbh- 'prop up, support' (IX 7) 67, co-occurring after 1.1.67] the preverb áva-° to denote the sense of 'support' (ā-lāmb-ana-°) or contiguity (° ā-vi-dūr-yay-oḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *áva+stanbh+Ktvā* = *áva+stanbh+LyaP* (6.4.24) = *áva-ṣtānbh-ya ās-te/tiṣṭh-a-ti* 'sits down/remains (supporting oneself with something)'; 2. *áva-ṣtab-dhā sēnā* (= *áva+stanbh+Ktā+TāP* = *áva-ṣtaḥbh+dhā+ā* 2.40 = *áva-ṣtab-dhā* 4.53). but *áva-ṣtab-dhā* 'affected, stiff'.

### 8.3.69 vé-ś ca sván-aḥ bhóḥ-an-e

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sván- 'sound' (I 879) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] ví-° to denote the sense of 'smacking' while eating' (bhóḥ-an-e) and also [after preverb áva-° 68 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ví/dva+ṣvaṇ-a-ti/a-ṣvaṇ-a-t/ṣa-ṣvaṇ-ā* (64).

### 8.3.70 pári-ní-ví-bhyah <sup>1</sup>séva<sup>2</sup>si-tá-<sup>3</sup>say-á-<sup>4</sup>sívŪ-<sup>5</sup>sáhA-<sup>6</sup>suṭ-<sup>7</sup>stu-<sup>8</sup>sanj-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal items] sév- 'serve' (I 530), si-tá- 'bound', say-á- 'binding', sív- 'sew' (IV 2), sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905), the initial increment suṭ, stu- 'praise' (II 34) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs] pári-°, ní-° or ví-° [even with the intervention of the initial increment áṭ 63 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pári/ní/ví+sev-a-te/a-sev-a-ta/si-sev-i-ša-te*; 2. *pári/ní/vi+si-tá-h*; 3. *pári/ní/vi+say-á-h*; 4. *pári/ní/ví+šv-ya-ti/a-šv-ya-t/a-šv-ya-t* (71); 5. *pári/ní/ví+šah-a-te/a-šah-a-ta/a-šah-a-ta* (71); 6. *pári+suṭ+kar-o-ti* (6.1.137) = *pári-š-kar-o-ti/a-š-kar-o-t/a-š-kar-o-t* (71); 7. *pári/ní/ví+štau-ti/a-štau-t/a-štau-t*; 8. *pári/ní/ví+švaj-a-te/a-švaj-a-ta/a-švaj-a-ta* (71).

### 8.3.71 *siv-ādī-n-ām vā áṭ=vy-av-āy-é ápi*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] optionally (*vā*) replaces [non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stems] beginning with *siv-* ‘sew’ (IV 2) [70] [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs *pári-°*, *ní-°* or *ví-°* 70] even with the intervention of the [initial increment 1.1.46] *áṭ* (6.4.71) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Exx. cited under 70 above.

### 8.3.72 <sup>1</sup>*ánu-<sup>2</sup>ví-<sup>3</sup>pári-<sup>4</sup>abhí-<sup>5</sup>ní-bhyaḥ syánd-a-te-r á-prāṇi-ṣu*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stem] *syánd-* ‘glide, flow, run’ (I 798) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs] *ánu-°*, *ví-°*, *pári-°*, *abhí-°* or *ní-°* when the agent of the verb is not animate (*á-prāṇi-ṣu*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ánu/ví/pári/abhí/ní+syand-a-te/syand-a-te* ‘flows after/overflows/flows all around/runs towards/trickles down’.

When the agent is animate replacement by the retroflex sibilant does not take place.

### 8.3.73 *vé-h skande-r á-niṣṭhā-y-ām*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stem] *skand-* ‘leap’ (I 1028) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] *ví-°* except [before 1.1.66] *niṣṭhā* (*Ktá-*, *KtávatU* affixes 1.1.26) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vi-skand+tumyN* = *vi-škánt-tum/skánt-tum* (4.65), but *vi-skand+Ktá-* = *vi-skann+ná-* (2.42) = *vi-skan-ná-*.

### 8.3.74 páre-ś ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem skand- 'leap' (I 1028) co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] pári-° also (ca) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pari+skán-tum/skán-tum; pari+skan-ná-/skan-ná-* A separate rule has been framed to block out the constraint [á-niṣṭhā-y-ām 73].

### 8.3.75 pari-skand-á-ḥ prāc-ya-bharaté-ṣu

The expression pari-skand-á- 'a servant who runs by the side of a carriage' is introduced as current among the Eastern Bharata-s.

Elsewhere *pari+skand+áC* (3.1.134) = *pari-skand-á-*.

### 8.3.76 <sup>1</sup>sphur-á-ti-<sup>2</sup>sphul-á-ty-or <sup>1</sup>nír-<sup>2</sup>ní-<sup>3</sup>ví-bhyaḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 optionally 71 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] sphur-/sphul- (VI 95-6) 'throb, quiver, flash' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 65] nís-°, ní-° or ví-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*nís/ní/ví+sphur-a-ti/sphur-a-ti; nís/ní/ví+sphul-a-ti/sphul-a-ti.*

### 8.3.77 vé-ḥ skabh-nā-te-r nitya-m

[The retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 necessarily (nitya-m) replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] skabh- (= skanbhU IX 8) 'prop up, support' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 65] ví-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ví-skabh-nā-ti/vi-ṣkāmbh-i-tum/ví-skabh-i-ta-/vi-ṣkāmbh-á-*.

### 8.3.78 iN<sup>2</sup>-aḥ <sup>1</sup>ṣī-dhvam-<sup>2</sup>IUN<sup>3</sup>IIṬ-ām dh-aḥ áṅg-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 phoneme (ḍh)] replaces the phoneme dh of (the IIN) l-substitute ṣī-dhvam and the l-substitute (dhvam) of iUN and IIṬ [introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal] áṅga (= pre-affixal stem) [ending in 1.1.72] a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ (iN<sup>2</sup>) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *ṣI-dhvam* (optative) : *cyu+IIN(āśis-i) = cyu+ṣṛyṭ+dhvám = cyo-ṣṛy+dhvám* (7.3.84) = *cyo-ṣṛḥ-dhvám* (6.1.66) = *cyo-ṣI-dhvám* (59). 2. *cyu+IUN = áṭ+cyu+ṣiC* (3.1.44)+*dhvam = á-cyo-ḥ-dhvam* (2.25) = *á-cyo-dhvam*. 3. *cyu+IIT = cyu+dhvé* (3.4.79) = *cu-cyu+dhvé* (6.1.8; 7.4.60) = *cu-cyu-dhvé*.

The repetition of *iN<sup>2</sup>* in this rule, when the governing rule 57 is recurring, is for the purpose of blocking out [kU] from this rule: *pac+ṣI-dhvám = pak-ṣI-dhvám*.

Except for *ṣI-dhvám* (of *IIN āśisi*: Precative) and *dhvám* (of *IUN Aorist*) and *dhvé* (of *IIT Perfect*), retroflexion does not take place: *ṣtuN+IAT = stu+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+dhvé; +IAN = a-stu-ḥ<sup>1</sup>+dhvám; +IOT = stu+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+dhvám*. The constraint "after a pre-affixal stem" is to block the operation of this rule when *ṣI-dhvám* is the result of ánga-final -s with *ṣṛyṭ+dhvám* when s of *ṣṛyṭ* is replaced by ḥ in the Optative by 7.2.79: *pári+viṣ 'pervade' (III 13)+IIN = pári-viṣ+Ṡtu+ṣṛyṭ+dhvam = pári-ve-viṣ+ḥṛy+dhvam* (7.2.79; 4.75) = *pári-ve-viṣ-ḥ-dhvam* (6.1.66).

### 8.3.79 vibhāṣā iṭ-ah

[The substitute retroflex 55 phoneme ḍh] optionally replaces [the phoneme dh (of the *IIN*) substitute ṣI-dhvám and the l-substitute dhvám (of *IUN* and *IIT*)] preceded by the initial increment i(ṭ) [when introduced after 3.1.2 a pre-affixal stem 78 ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 78, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pā+IIN (āśis-i) = pā+ṣṛyṭ+dhvám = pā+iṭ+ṣṛyṭ+dhvám = po+i-ṣṛy+dhvam* (7.3.84; 8.3.59) = *pav-i-ṣṛḥ-dhvám* (6.1.66; 78) = *pav-i-ṣI-dhvám / °ṣI-dhvám*. 2. *pā+IUN = áṭ+pā+iṭ-ṣiC+dhvam = á-pav-i-dhvam / °-dhvam*. 3. *pā+IIT = pu-pā+iṭ+dhvé = pu-puv-i-dhvé / °dhvé* (6.1.77).

### 8.3.80 sam-ās-é aṅgúle-ḥ sánga-h

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sāṅg-á-* 'attachement' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1] *aṅgúli-* 'finger' (in a compound) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*aṅgúle-ḥ sāṅg-a-ḥ = aṅgúli+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+sāṅga-h = aṅguli-saṅgá-ḥ* 'contact with a finger';  
*aṅgúli-su saṅga-h a-syāḥ = aṅguli+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+saṅga+TāP* (4.1.4) = *aṅgúli-saṅg-ā yavāgú-ḥ* 'rice meal sticking to the fingers'.

### 8.3.81 bhīró-ḥ sthāna-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant of the nominal stem 4.1.4] *sthā-na-* 'place' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.4] *bhī-rú-* 'timid, cowardly' [in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

### 8.3.82 $agné-h\ ^1stú-t-^2stóma-^3sóm-ā-h$

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\ddot{s}$  39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant of the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $stú-t-$  'who praises, eulogizer',  $stó-ma-$  'praise' and  $sóma-$  'n.pr. of a liquor/divinity' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $agní-$  'n.pr. of a divinity' [in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

$agní-m\ stáu-ti = agni+\theta+stu+KviP = agni-\ddot{s}tú-t$  (6.1.71) 'laudatory of Agni, the first day of Agni- $\ddot{s}tomá$ '.

$agné-h\ stóma-h = agni+\theta^1 = stoma- = agni-\ddot{s}tomá-h$  'n.pr. of a sacrifice'.

$agní-ś\ ca\ sóma-ś\ ca = agni+\theta+sóma+au = agni-\ddot{s}óm-au$  (6.3.27) 'the divinities Agni and Soma', but  $agni-som-au$  ( $mānavak-au$ ) 'name of pupils/fire and the soma creeper'. Retroflexion does not take place here since it is restricted to a compound consisting of names of divinities, with final [i] replacement of Agni (6.3.27).

### 8.3.83 $^1jyótis=^2āyus-ah\ stóma-h$

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\ddot{s}$  39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant  $s$  56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $stóma-$  'praise' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $jyót-is-$  'light' or  $āy-us-$  'life-span' [in composition 90, in continuous utterance 2.108].

$jyót-is-as\ stó-ma-h = jyotiḥ-\ddot{s}to-má-h; āyus-as\ stó-ma-h = ayuḥ-\ddot{s}to-má-h$  (4.41) 'names of sacrifices'.

### 8.3.84 $^1mātṛ-^2pitṛ-bhyām\ svásuḥ$

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\ddot{s}$  39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant  $s$  56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1]  $svásṛ-$  'sister' [co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the nominal stems 4.1.1]  $mātṛ-$  'mother' and  $pitṛ-$  'father' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$mātúḥ/pitúḥ+svásā = mātṛ/pitṛ+svasā$  'maternal/paternal aunt'.

### 8.3.85 <sup>1</sup>mātúr=<sup>2</sup>pitúr-bhyām anyā-tará-syām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] optionally (anyā-tará-syām) replaces [the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1 svásr- 'sister' 84, co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the nominal padá-s] mātúr and pitúr 'mother's/father's' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*mātuḥ-ṣvasā́/\*-svasā́* 'mother's sister, maternal aunt'; similarly *pitúḥ-ṣvasā́/svasā́* 'father's sister' (15).

### 8.3.86 abhí+nís-aḥ stán-aḥ śabda-samjñā-y-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] stán- 'sound' (I 489) [co-occurring in composition 80 after 1.1.67 the preverb] abhi+nis [optionally 85 in continuous utterance 2.108] to denote a t.t. in grammar (śabda-samjñā-y-ām).

*abhi-nís+stan-ya-te* = *abhi-niḥ+stan+GHaṆ* (3.3.19) = *abhi-niḥ-stānd-/ṣtānd-ḥ* (15; 4.41) *várṇa-ḥ* 'a phoneme that dies away / visarjanīya (ḥ)' but *abhi-niḥ-stan-a-ti mḍa-ṅga-ḥ* 'the drum sounds heavily'.

### 8.3.87 <sup>1</sup>upa-sarga-á-<sup>2</sup>prādúr-bhyām ás-ti-r <sup>1</sup>y-<sup>2</sup>áC=para-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] as- 'be' (II 56) followed by the semi-vowel y or by a vowel (y-áC=para-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108, when co-occurring after 1.1.67] preverbs (upa-sarga- °) [ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 78] or the particle prādús- ° 'manifestly'.

*abhí+as+lAT* = *abhí+as+ḥ+jhi* = *abhí+ḥs+anti* (6.4.111; 7.1.3) = *abhí-s-anti* 'they surpass'; similarly *prādúḥ-s-anti* 'they appear/become manifest'; *abhí-/prādús+as+lIN* = *abhí-/prādús+as+ḥ<sup>1</sup>+yāsuT+suT+t* (3.4.103, 107) = *abhí-/prādús+ḥs-yāḥ+ḥ+t* (7.2.79) = *abhí-/prādúḥ-s-yā-t*.

### 8.3.88 <sup>1</sup>sú-<sup>2</sup>ví-<sup>3</sup>nís-<sup>4</sup>dúr-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>supi-<sup>2</sup>sū-tí-<sup>3</sup>sam-ā-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sup- (= svap- II 59) 'lie down' (with vocalization 6.1.15) and [the nominal stems 4.1.1] sū-ti- 'parturition' and

samā- 'equal' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverbs 87 ] sú-°, ví-°, nís-° or dús-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*su/vi/nih/duḥ+ṣup-tá-*; *su-/vi-/nih-/duḥ+ṣú-tf-/samā-* but *dúḥ-svap-na-m* 'bad dream'.

### 8.3.89 'nī-²nadī-bhyām snā-te-ḥ kauśal-é

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] snā- 'take a bath' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 87] nī-° or [the nominal stem 4.1.1] nadī 'river' to denote 'expert in' (kauśal-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*nī-snā+Ktá-* = *nī-ṣṇā-tá-* 'expert'; *nady-ām snā-ti* = *nadī+θ¹+snā+Ká* (3.2.4) = *nadī-snθ+á* (6.4.64) = *nadī-ṣṇ-á-ḥ* 'expert, specialist'.

### 8.3.90 sūtra-m prati-ṣṇā-tá-m

The expression *prati-ṣṇā-tá-* is introduced [with the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 of non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem snā- 'take a bath' (II 43) co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb 87 *prāti-*° in continuous utterance 2.108] to indicate an aphorism (sūtra-m).

The basic meaning is 'purified' without retroflexion. When not indicating an aphorism: *prati-snā-tá-*.

### 8.3.91 kapi-ṣṭhalá-ḥ gotr-é

The expression *kapi-ṣṭhalá-* is introduced to denote a lineage (go-tr-é) [with retroflex replacing a dental sibilant, in continuous utterance 2.108].

In other senses: *kapi-n-ām sthāla-m* = *kapi-sthālá-m* 'place abounding in monkeys'.

### 8.3.92 pra-ṣṭhá-ḥ agra-gām-in-i

The expression *pra-ṣṭhá-* is introduced to denote 'who goes in the van' [with retroflex sibilant replacing the dental one, in continuous utterance 2.108].

In other meanings: *prá-tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *pra+sthā+Ká* (3.2.4) = *pra-sthθ+á-ḥ* = *pra-sth-á-ḥ* 'summit (of a hill)/ a measure of grain'.

### 8.3.93 <sup>1</sup>vṛkṣá=<sup>2</sup>ās-anay-or vi-ṣṭar-á-h

The expression vi-ṣṭar-á- is introduced to denote a tree (vṛk-ṣá-°) or a seat (°-ās-anay-oḥ) [with a retroflex replacing a dental sibilant in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vi+stṛ+aP* (3.3.57) = *vi-star-á-* 'extension' elsewhere.

### 8.3.94 chandah-nāmn-i ca

The expression vi-ṣṭar-á- is also introduced to denote the name of a meter (chandah-nāmn-i) [with retroflex replacing a dental sibilant, in continuous utterance 2.108].

By 3.3.34 the affix [GHaÑ] is introduced after *vi+stṛ* in this significance; elsewhere *vi-stār-á-* 'extension, width'.

### 8.3.95 <sup>1</sup>gav-í-<sup>2</sup>yudh-í-bhyām sthi-rá-h

[The substitute retroflex 95 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthi-rá- 'firm', [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal padá-s] gav-í-° and yudh-í-° [as prior members in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*gav-í-/yudh-í-sthira-* 'proper names'.

### 8.3.96 <sup>1</sup>ví-<sup>2</sup>kú-<sup>3</sup>śámi-<sup>4</sup>pári-bhyaḥ sthál-a-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] sthál-a- 'place' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particles] ví-°, kú-° or pári-° and [the nominal stem 4.1.1] śámī 'name of a tree' [as a prior member in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vi-ṣṭhal-á-m* 'remote place'; *ku-ṣṭhal-á-m* 'bad place'; *śami-ṣṭhal-á-m* (6.3.63), *śamī* : *śami-ṣṭhala-m* (6.3.63) 'place abounding in Śamī trees'; *pári-ṣṭhal-a-m* 'surrounding place/area'.

### 8.3.97 <sup>1</sup>ámba-<sup>2</sup>āmbá-<sup>3</sup>gó-<sup>4</sup>bhūmi-<sup>5</sup>savyá-<sup>6</sup>ápa-<sup>7</sup>dví-<sup>8</sup>trí-<sup>9</sup>kuśé-<sup>10</sup>kú-<sup>11</sup>śaṅkú-<sup>12</sup>aṅgú-<sup>13</sup>mañji-<sup>14</sup>puñjī-<sup>15</sup>param-é-<sup>16</sup>barhís=<sup>17</sup>div-í=<sup>18</sup>agní-bhyaḥ stá-h

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-padá-final 55



dental sibilant s 56 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] *sthā-* 'remaining in' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the nominal stems or *padá-s*] *āmba-*, *āmbā-*, *gó-* 'cow/bull', *bhūmi-* 'earth', *savyā-* 'left', *āpa-* 'away'; *dví-* 'two', *tri-* 'three', *kuśé* 'on the *kuśa* grass', *kú-* 'bad', *śāṅkú-* 'peg', *aṅgú-* 'finger?', *mañji-* 'cluster of blossoms', *puñji-* 'heap, mass', *param-é* 'in the highest', *barhís-* '*kuśa* grass', *div-í* 'in heaven' and *agní-* 'fire' [as prior members in composition 80, in continuous utterance 2.108].

- 1-2. *amba-ṣthá/āmba-ṣthá-* 'names of countries and their inhabitants'; 3. *go-ṣthá-* 'cow-pen'; 4. *bhūmi-ṣthá-* 'situated on the earth'; 5. *savyé tiṣṭh-a-ti* = *savy-e+ṣth-á* (3.2.4; 6.3.9) 'standing on the left'; 6. *apa-ṣthá-* 'end of the elephant goad or hook'; 7. *dvi-ṣthá-* 'staying in two places'; 8. *tri-ṣthá-* 'staying at three places'; 9. *kuśe-ṣthá-* 'standing on the sacrificial grass'; 10. *ku-ṣthá-* 'n.pr. of a plant'; 11. *śāṅku-ṣthá-* 'placed on the peg or spike'; 12. *aṅgu-ṣthá-* 'big toe'; 13. *mañji-ṣthá-* 'Indian madder'; 14. *puñji-ṣthá-* 'heaped, gathered, accumulated'; 15. *parame-ṣthá-* 'supreme'; 16. *barhiḥ-ṣthá-* 'placed on the sacrificial grass'; 17. *div-i-ṣthá-* 'abiding in heaven'; 18. *agni-ṣthá-* 'placed in/on/over the fire'.

### 8.3.98 su-ṣāmá(n)=ādi-ṣu ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-*padá*-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of posterior members in composition 80 in continuous utterance 2.108] of expressions beginning with *su-ṣāmán-* 'n. beautiful song'.

*su-ṣāman-* m. 'n.pr. of a person'. *duḥ-ṣāmán-* n. 'bad chant' etc.

### 8.3.99 eT-i saṁjñā-y-ām á-g-āt

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the non-*padá*-final 55 dental s 56 before 1.1.66] the vowel e(T) [co-occurring after 1.1.66 a prior member in composition 80, ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57] excluding the phoneme g [in continuous utterance 2.108] when designating a name (*saṁ-jñā-y-ām*).

*hári-ṣeṇa-*, *jānu-ṣeṇ-I* 'proper names', but when a qualifying noun: *prthví sēná yá-sya sa-h* = *prthú-sena-h rájā* 'a king with a large army'; when [s] is not followed by [eT]: *hári-saktha-* 'having thighs like those of a horse'; when preceded by [g]: *śatá-bhiṣaj+seṇa-* = *śatá-bhiṣag+seṇa-* (2.30) = *śatá-bhiṣak-sena-* (100; 4.55).

### 8.3.100 náksatr-āt vā

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] optionally (vā) replaces [non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 followed by the vowel eT 90] [co-occurring after 1.1.67 nominal stems 4.1.1 in composition 80] denoting constellations (nák-ṣatr-āt) [ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, the semivowel r or a velar stop 57 other than phoneme g 99, in continuous utterance 2.108, when deriving a proper name 99].

*róhiṇi-ṣeṇa/sena-, bhārāṇi-ṣeṇa/sena-* (6.3.63) but *śatá-bhiṣak-sena-* (99).

### 8.3.101 hrasv-āt t-ād-au taddhit-é

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 co-occurring after 1.1.67] a short (hrasv-āt: vowel 1.2.18) [iN 57 before 1.1.66] a taddhitá [affix 3.1.1 beginning with] t-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

The taddhita affixes involved are: *tamaP*, *tayaP*, *taraP*, *taL*, *tas*, *tyaP*, *tvá*.

1. *tamaP*: *sarpís-tama* (4.41) 'most buttery'; 2. *tayaP*: *catús-taya-* 'four fold'; 3. *taraP*: *sarpís-tara-* 'more buttery'; 4. *taL*: *sarpís-tā* 'the state of being buttery'; 5. *tas*(iL): *sarpís-taḥ* (2.66; 3.15) 'from butter'; 6. *tyaP*: *āvís-tya-* 'apparent, manifest'; 7. *tvá*: *sarpís-tvá-* 'butteriness'; but *uccaís-tara-* 'higher'; *sarpís tar-a-ti* (36)·

### 8.3.102 nís-as táp-a-t-au án-ā-sev-an-e

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces non-padá-final 55 dental sibilant s 56 of the preverb] *nís-°* [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the verbal stem] *tap-* 'heat up, burn' (I 1034) when not denoting a repetition (*án-ā-sev-an-e*) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*nís-tap-a-ti su-várṇa-m* (4.41) 'heats up/melts gold (once)' *nís-tap-a-ti su-várṇa-m* 'melts gold repeatedly'.

### 8.3.103 <sup>1</sup>yuṣmád=<sup>2</sup>tád=<sup>3</sup>tataksúḥ-ṣu antaḥ-pādá-m

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces dental sibilant s 56] occurring within a quarter verse (*antaḥ-pādá-m*) [before 1.1.66 (substitutes of) the prominal stem] of *yuṣmád-* 'you' [beginning with t-° 102], *tad-* 'that' and *ta-taksúḥ* [co-occurring after a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *agní-ṣ tvám nāma ās-t-t* 'you were Agni by name'; *agní-ṣ tvā vardh-ay-ā-masi* 'we increase you, Fire'; *agní-ṣ te víśva-m ā-nay-a*; *apsv-āgne sādhi-ṣ-táva* (RV 8.43.9).
2. *agníṣ tát víśva-m ā-pr-ṇā-ti* (RV 10.2.4).
3. *dýāvā-prthivī niṣ-ṭa-takṣ-úḥ* (RV 10.31.7); when not within a *pādā*: *yán ma ātmán-o mindābhūd agnī-s tát púnar āha jātā-vedā ví-carṣaṇi-h* (TS 3.2.5.4).

### 8.3.104 yájuṣ-i éke-ṣām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces dental sibilant s 56] occurring within a *pādā* [= quarter verse 103, when preceded by a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57 before substitutes of *yusmád-* 'you' 103 beginning with the phoneme *t-* 101, and *tád* and *ta-takṣ-úḥ* 103, in continuous utterance 2.108] according to some (grammarians: *éke-ṣām*).

The reference to "some grammarians" is for the purpose of indicating that this operation is optional.

1. *arcí-bhiṣ tvám/arcí-bhiṣ tvám* ; *agní-ṣ té-gram/agní-ṣ té-gram* (TS 3.5.6.2); 2. *agní-ṣ tát/agní-ṣ tát* (TS 1.1.14.5); 3. *arcí-bhiṣ ṭa-takṣ-úḥ/arcí-bhiṣ ta-takṣ-úḥ*.

### 8.3.105 <sup>1</sup>stu-tá-<sup>2</sup>stómay-oś chándas-i

In the domain of *Chándas* [according to some grammarians 104 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56, preceded by a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, before 1.1.66 nominal *padá-s* of] *stu-tá-* 'praised' and *stóma-* 'praise' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*tri-bhiṣ stu-tá-sya/tri-bhiṣ stu-tá-sya* 'of thrice praised'; *gó-ṣ ṣtó-ma-m/gó-ṣ stó-ma-m* 'praise of a cow/bull'.

### 8.3.106 pūrva-pad-āt

[In the domain of *Chándas* 105, according to some grammarians 104, the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56, after 1.1.67] a prior member (*pūrva-pad-āt*) [in composition 80, ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*dvi-ṣandhi/-sandhi-* 'juncture of two'; similarly *tri-ṣandhi/sandhi-*; *madhu-ṣthāná/-sthāná-* 'bee hive'; *dvi-ṣāhasrá/-sāhasrá* = *dvay-oh sahasray-or bhava-h* (4.3.53; 7.3.15) 'being or obtaining in 2000'; etc.

This rule is extended to include those cases also where the prior *padā* is not a prior

member in composition: *trīḥ samyaddhatvā-ya/'-samyaddhatvā-ya* 'thrice for success'.

### 8.3.107 súÑ-aḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 105 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the particle] súÑ [occurring after 1.1.67 a prior padá 106 ending in a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57' in continuous utterance 2.108].

*abhf sú sákhi-n-ām* (RV 4.31.3) (6.3.134). *ūrdhvā ā sú nah* (RV 1.36.13).

### 8.3.108 san-ó-te-r á-n-aḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 105 the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] san- 'gain' (VIII 2), without phoneme n (á-n-aḥ: by ā replacement 6.4.41), [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior padá 106 ending in 1.1.72 a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57' in continuous utterance 2.108].

*gā-h san-o-ti* = *gó+θ<sup>1</sup>+san+viT* (3.2.67) = *go-sāā+θ* (6.4.41) = *go-ṣā'* 'winning cattle', but *go+san+iN* (3.2.27) = *go-sān-i-* 'ibid'.

### 8.3.109 sáhḥ-ḥ <sup>1</sup>pṛtanā=<sup>2</sup>ṛ-tā-bhyām ca

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 replaces the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] sáh- 'bear, endure' (I 905) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior members 106 in composition 80] pṛtanā 'opposing army' and ṛ-tā- 'universal order' [in continuous utterance 2.108, in the domain of Chándas 105].

*pṛtanā-m sáh-a-te* = *pṛtanā+θ<sup>1</sup>+sah+Nvi* (3.2.63)+*am* = *pṛtanā-ṣáh-am*. This extends the scope of 56 above in the domain of Chándas. *ṛ-tā-m sah-a-te* = *ṛ-tā-ṣáh-am* (6.3.137); the particle [ca] extends this rule to generate the form *ṛ-ti-m sah-a-te* = *ṛ-ti+sah+KviP+am* (3.3.13) = *ṛ-ti-ṣah-am* (6.3.137).

### 8.3.110 ná <sup>1</sup>rā-para-<sup>2</sup>sṛpi-<sup>3</sup>sṛji-<sup>4</sup>sṛsi-<sup>5</sup>sṛhi-<sup>6</sup>sāv-ana=ādī-n-ām

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39] does not (ná) replace [the dental sibilant s 56] preceded by phoneme r (*rā-para-*) or of the verbal stems *sṛp-* 'crawl, slide' (I 1032), *sṛj-* 'project' (VI 121), *sṛś-* 'touch' (VI

128), *sprh-* 'envy' (X 325) and the word-class beginning with *sáv-ana-* 'extraction' [when preceded by a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/ 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *vi+srans+NvuL+TāP* = *vi-sráms-ik-ā* (7.3.44); *vi-srambh+Ktā vi-sraḥbh+dhā* (6.4.24; 8.2.40) = *vi-srab-dhā-* (4.53).
2. *vi+srp+KasvN* = *vi-sṛp-aḥ* 'to crawl/glide';
3. *vi+srj+LyvT* *vi-sárj-ana-* 'dissolution, cessation, end';
4. *div-í+spṛś+KvN* (3.2.58) = *div-i-spṛś-* 'touching heaven';
5. *spṛh-i-dC* (3.3.56) = *spṛh-ḥ-ā* (6.4.51); *nir-ga-tā-ḥ spṛh-ā-ḥ* = *niḥ=spṛh-ā-ḥ*;
6. *sáv-ane sav-an-e* 'at each or every extraction'.

### 8.3.111 <sup>1</sup>sāt-<sup>2</sup>pada=ādy-óḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56] of the adverbial affix *sāt* (5.4.42) or a *padá*-initial (° *pada-ādy-óḥ*) [after 1.1.67 an expression ending in a vowel other than the phoneme-class /a/, semivowel r or a velar stop 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*agni-sāt, dadhi-sāt*; exception to 59 above. *dádhi siñc-a-ti* 'sprinkles curds'.

### 8.3.112 *sic-aḥ yaÑ-i*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56] of the verbal stem *sic-* 'sprinkle' (VI 140) [preceded by a phoneme denoted by the siglum iÑ<sup>2</sup> 57, before 1.1.66 the Intensive marker] *yaÑ* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*sic+yaÑ+SaP+te* = *se-sic-yá-te* (6.1.9; 7.4.80, 82) 'sprinkles repeatedly or intensively'.

### 8.3.113 *sédh-a-ter ga-t-aú*

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant § 39 does not 110 replace the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stem] *sídh-* 'move, rule' (I 48) when denoting movement [after an expression ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum iÑ<sup>2</sup> 57, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*abhi/pári+sédh-ay-a-ti gā-ḥ* 'drives the cattle', exception to 65 above; but *śís-ya-m á-kāry-āt prátī-sédh-ay-a-ti* 'prevents the pupil from (committing) a bad action'.

### 8.3.114 práti-stab-dha- ní-stab-dh-au ca

The expressions *prátistab-dha-* 'obstructed' and *ní-stab-dha-* 'obstructed' are introduced [without a retroflex sibilant replacing the dental, contrary to 57 above].

### 8.3.115 soḍh-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\mathfrak{s}$  39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal allomorph] *soḍh-* (of *sáh-* 'bear, endure' I 905) [after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 a phoneme denoted by the siglum  $iN^2$  or *kU* 57 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pári+saḥ+Kta* = *pári+sadh+Kta* (2.31) = *pari-sadh+dha* (2.40; 4.41) = *pári-soḍ-dha-* (13; 6.3.112); similarly *pari-sóḍh-um/soḍhavya-* etc.

### 8.3.116 <sup>1</sup>stanbhU-<sup>2</sup>śivÚ-<sup>3</sup>sáh-ām CaÑ-i

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\mathfrak{s}$  39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stems] *stanbh-* 'prop up, support' (IX 7), *siv-* 'sew' (IV 2) and *sáh-* 'bear, endure' (I 905) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72  $iN^2$  or *kU* 57 before 1.1.66 the Aorist substitute marker] *CaÑ* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pári+stanbh+N̄K+CaÑ+t* = *pári+āT+stambh+∅+a+t* (6.4.51) = *páry-a-ta-stambh-a-t* (6.1.11; 7.4.61); exception to 67 above. Similarly: 2. *páry-a-sT-siv-a-t* (7.4.1, 59, 60, 83). By a *vārttika* retroflexion is blocked only for the reduplicated syllable. *páry-a-sT-sah-at*.

### 8.3.117 su-nó-te-ḥ <sup>1</sup>syá-<sup>2</sup>saN-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant  $\mathfrak{s}$  39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant *s* 56 of the verbal stem] *su-* 'press, extract, distil' (V 1) [co-occurring after an expression ending in 1.1.72 the phonemes denoted by  $iN^2$  or *kU* 57 before 1.1.66 the sigmatic future marker] *syá* [and the desiderative marker] *saN* [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*abhí/pári+su+syá+tiP* = *abhí/pári-so-sya-ti/a-so-sya-t*. *abhí/pári+su+saN+KviP* = *abhi-su-sū-sa+∅* (6.4.16; 1.2.9) = *abhí-su-sū-s∅* (6.4.48) = *abhí-su-sū-ḥ* (2.66; 3.15). Exception to 65 above.

### 8.3.118 <sup>1</sup>sadi-<sup>2</sup>svanj-oḥ pára-sya IIṬ-i

[The substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not replace 110 the dental sibilant s 56 of the verbal stems] sad- 'sit down' (I 907, VI 133) and svanj- 'embrace' (I 1025) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 an expression ending in 1.1.72 iN<sup>2</sup> or kU 57, occurring] after (pára-sya) [the phoneme s 56 before 1.1.66 l-substitutes of] IIṬ 'Perfect Tense' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$$\begin{aligned} abhí/pári/ní+sad+IIṬ &= abhí/pári/ní+sa-sad+NaL \text{ (6.1.8)} = abhí-pári-ní-sa-sād-a; \\ pári+svanj+IIṬ &= pári-svṇj+eŚ \text{ (6.4.24)} = pári-sa-svaj-e/āte/ire. \end{aligned}$$

### 8.3.119 <sup>1</sup>ní-<sup>2</sup>ví=<sup>3</sup>abhí-bhyaḥ aṬ=vy-āv-ay-é vā chándas-i

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute retroflex 55 sibilant ṣ 39 does not 110] optionally (vā) replace [dental sibilant s 56] with the intervention of [the initial increment] áṬ of a verbal theme, co-occurring [after 1.1.67] the preverbs ní-°, ví-°, or abhí-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$$\begin{aligned} ní/ví/abhí+stu+IAN &= ní/ví/abhí+aṬ+stu+0^1+t = ní-ví-abhí+a+ṣṭau-t/staut \\ &\text{(7.3.89; 8.4.41).} \end{aligned}$$

### 8.4.1 <sup>1</sup>ra-<sup>2</sup>ṣā-bhyām n-aḥ ṇa-ḥ samāna-pad-é

The substitute retroflex nasal ṇ replaces dental nasal n [occurring after 1.1.67] the phonemes r or ṣ within the same padá (1.4.14ff.) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. r+n: *kṛ+Ktá-* = *kir-ná* (7.1.100; 8.2.44) = *kṛ-ṇá-* (2.76) 'scattered'. 2. ṣ+n: *kuṣ+IAT* = *kuṣ+ná+tiP* (3.1.81) = *kuṣ-ṇá-ti* 'examines, tests'. The inclusion of retroflex sibilant [ṣ] in this rule is for operations which follow; here, the same result is effected by 41 below. When the two phonemes belong to two different padás this rule is inoperative: *agni-r nay-a-ti*.

The sonant vowel ɾ contains the element r: *tiṣṭ+ṇ-ām* = *tiṣṭ-ṇ-ām* 'of three'.

### 8.4.2 <sup>1</sup>aṬ-<sup>2</sup>kU-<sup>3</sup>pU=<sup>4</sup>āÑ-<sup>5</sup>ṇuM-vy-av-āy-é ápi

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop, occurring in the same padá after phonemes r or ṣ 1] even (ápi) when separated by the intervention of vowels, semivowels and h (aṬ), a velar stop (kU) or a labial stop (pU), the particle āÑ or [the infix increment 1.1.47] ṇuM [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. r/ṣ+aṬ+n: *kṛ+LyuṬ* = *kár-aṇa-*; *gírí+Ṭā* = *gírí-ṇā*; *kúru-ṇā*; *kárti-ṇā*; *bhṛṣ-aṇa-*, *bhṛṣ-ṇa-*, *káṛṣ-aṇa-*.
2. kU/pU: *arká+Ṭā* = *arká+ina* (7.1.12) = *ark-éṇa*; *darpá+ina* = *darp-éṇa*.
3. āÑ: *pari-āÑ+nad-dha* = *pary-ā-ṇad-dha-*; cf. 14 below; exception to 38 below.
4. ṇuM: *bṛhI+LyuṬ* = *bṛ-ṇuM-h+ana-* = *bṛ-ṇ-h-aṇa-*.

### 8.4.3 pūrva-pad-āt sañ-jñā-y-ām á-g-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n co-occurring after 1.1.67] a prior member (pūrva-pad-āt: in composition) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇuM 2] with the exception of phoneme g, when deriving a name (sañ-jñā-y-ām) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*drú-r iva nāsikā a-syá* = *drú-nasa-ḥ* (5.4.118) 'n.pr. (lit. a large-nosed person)'; similarly *śūrpa-nakh-ā* 'n.pr. of Rāvana's sister' but *cārma-nāsika-* 'whip, leather thong'; *ṛg-ay-and-* 'name of a text'.

### 8.4.4 vána-m <sup>1</sup>puragā-<sup>2</sup>miśrakā-<sup>3</sup>sidhrakā-<sup>4</sup>śārikā-<sup>5</sup>koṭara=<sup>6</sup>ágre-bhyaḥ

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3] vána- 'forest' [when co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior



members in composition] puragā-°, miśrakā-°, sidhrakā-°, sārīkā-°, koṭarā-° ‘names of trees’ and ágre-° ‘in front’ [to derive names 3, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*purgā/miśrakā/sidhrakā/sārīkā/koṭarā/agre+vaṇá-m* ‘names of forests’, but *kubera-vaṇá-m*. Extension of 1-2, blocking out the constraint [samāna-pad-é 1] and applicable beyond the same padá, but restricted to only these specified cases.

#### 8.4.5 <sup>1</sup>prá-<sup>2</sup>nír=<sup>3</sup>antár-<sup>4</sup>śará=<sup>5</sup>ikṣú-<sup>6</sup>plakṣá-<sup>7</sup>āmra-<sup>8</sup>kārṣ-yà-<sup>9</sup>khadirá-<sup>10</sup>piyūkṣā-bhyaḥ á-saṁ-jñā-y-ām ápi

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3 vána- ‘forest’ 4 when co-occurring with prior members in composition] prá-°, nír-°, antár-°, śará-°, ikṣú-°, plakṣá-°, kārṣ-yà-°, khadirá-° and piyūkṣā-° [to derive a personal name 3] or otherwise also (á-saṁ-jñā-y-ām ápi) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra-vaṇá-m* ‘excellent forest’; *nír-vaṇá-m* ‘an area devoid of forests’; *antar-vaṇá-m* ‘inside a forest’; *śara-vaṇá-m* ‘a forest of reeds’; *plakṣa/āmra/kārṣya/khadira/piyūkṣá-m* ‘forests abounding in these specified trees’.

#### 8.4.6 vibhāṣā óṣadhi- vánas-páti-bhyaḥ

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of the posterior member 3 vána- ‘forest’ 4 when co-occurring after 1.1.67 prior members consisting of names of] annual plants (óṣadhi-°) or forest trees (° vánas-páti-bhyaḥ) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *óṣadhi: dūrvā-vaṇá-m/vaná-m; mūrvā-vaṇá-m/vaná-m.*
2. *vānas-páti: śirīṣa-vaṇá-m/vaná-m; badarī-vaṇá-m/vaná-m.*

#### 8.4.7 ahna-ḥ aṬ=ant-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member 3] °ahná- ‘day’ [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short a(T) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pūrva-m áhn-aḥ* = *pūrva+Ṭ<sup>1</sup>+ahan+ṬáC* (5.4.91) = *pūrv-ā-hná-ḥ* (5.4.88) = *pūrvahná-ḥ* ‘forenoon, morning’, similarly *apar-ā-hná-ḥ* ‘afternoon’; but

*nīr-ga-tā-ḥ āhn-aḥ nīr-ahna-ḥ* ‘dusk, evening, early night’; similarly *dūr-ahna-ḥ* ‘a bad day’ (prior member not ending in aT). Likewise *dirghā-ṇ-i āhān-i a-syām* = *dīrgha+ṇ<sup>1</sup>+ahan+NIP* (4.1.28) = *dīrghā+ahṇ+I* (6.4.134) = *dirgh-ā-hn-I śarād* ‘autumn, having long days’ (since the form of the posterior member is *āhan-* and not *ahnā-* and *samāsāntā* affix [TáC] is not applicable in generating Bahuvrīhi compounds).

#### 8.4.8 vāh-ana-m ā-hi-t-āt

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior nominal stem 3] *vāh-ana-* ‘vehicle’ [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member 3 in composition] denoting the item carried (*ā-hi-t-āt*) [containing phonemes r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aT, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ikṣu-vāhaṇā-m/śara-vāhaṇā-m* ‘conveyor of sugar cane/reeds’, but *dākṣi-vāhaṇā-m* ‘vehicle belonging to Dākṣi’.

#### 8.4.9 pāna-m deś-é

[The retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the posterior member] ° *pāna-* ‘drinking’ [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member in composition 3 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aT, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108], to denote a country (deśe).

*kṣīra-m pāna-m ye-śām* = *kṣīrā-pān-ā-ḥ uśmār-ā-ḥ* ‘the country of Uśmāra-s who are fond of drinking milk’; similarly *śūrā-pān-ā-ḥ prāc-y-ā-ḥ* ‘the country of the Easterners who are fond of drinking liquor’. The name of the country is derived from that of its inhabitants or vice versa.

#### 8.4.10 vā <sup>1</sup>bhāv-ā-<sup>2</sup>kār-aṇay-oḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (*vā*) [of the posterior member °-*pāna-* ‘drinking’ 9, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a prior member in composition 3 containing phoneme r/ṣ even when separated from it by intervention of aT, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] when denoting a condition (*bhāv-ā-°*) or an instrument (°-*kār-aṇay-oḥ*).

1. *bhāv-é: kṣīrā-sya pāna-m* = *kṣīrā-pānā-m/°-pānā-m* ‘drinking of milk’.
2. *kār-aṇ-e: kṣīrā-m pī-yā-te ān-ena* = *kṣīrā-pāna-h/pāna-ḥ kamsā-ḥ* ‘goblet for drinking milk’.

#### 8.4.11 <sup>1</sup>prāti-pad-ika=antá-<sup>2</sup>nuM-<sup>3</sup>vi-bhák-ti-ṣu ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 optionally 10] occurring as a nominal stem-final (prāti-pad-ika=antá-°) or [ending in 1.1.72] the infixed increment nuM or a vibhákṭi (1.4.104) affix [co-occurring with a prior member containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *māṣān vap-a-ti* = *māṣa+θ<sup>1</sup>+vap+Níni* = *māṣa-vāp-ín+au* / *māṣa-vāp-ín-au* 'sower of māṣa beans'.
2. *māṣān vap-anti* = *māṣa+θ<sup>1</sup>+vaP+áN* (3.2.1) = *māṣa-vāp-á+Śi* (7.1.20) = *māṣa-vāpá+nuM+i* = *masa-vāpá-ṇ-i/vāpá-n-i*.
3. *māṣa-vāp-á+Tā* = *māṣa-vāp-á+ina* (7.1.12) = *māṣa-vāp-éṇa/vāp-éṇa*.

#### 8.4.12 eka=áC=uttara-pad-e ṇa-h

(In a compound) with a mono-syllabic posterior member (eka=áC=uttara-pad-e) [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 occurring as nominal stem-final, or of infixed increment nuM or a vibhákṭi affix 11, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ of a prior member 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

The repetition of [ṇa-h] here while it was recurring from 1 above is for the purpose of blocking out [vā] from 10 above.

1. *vytrá-m ha-távān* = *vytrá+θ<sup>1</sup>+han+KviP* (3.2.87) = *vytra-hán+au* = *vytra-hán-au*; 2. *súrá-m pib-a-ti* = *súrá-pā+TáK* = *surá-pθ-á* (6.4.64)+*Śi* = *surá-p-á-ṇ-i* (7.1.72); 3. *surá-pá+Tá* = *surá-pá+ina* (7.1.12) = *surá-p-éṇa*.

#### 8.4.13 kU-mat-i ca

[In a compound with a posterior member 12] containing a velar stop (kU-mat-i) also (ca) [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 occurring as stem-final, or nuM or vi-bhák-ti affix 11, when co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ of the prior member even when there is intervention by aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This rule is in relation to a polysyllabic posterior member.

- vastra-yugá+íní* (5.2.115)+*au* = *vastra-yug-ín+au*; *svarga-kām-ín+au*;  
*vastra-yugá+Śi* = *vastra-yugá+nuM+i* = *vasta-yugá-ṇ-i*; *vastra-yugá+Tā* = *vastra-yug-éṇa*.

#### 8.4.14 upa-sarg-ât á-sam-ās-e ápi ṇá=upa-deś-a-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a verbal stem] which is first introduced with initial ṇ (ṇá=upa-deśa-sya) [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb (upa-sarg-ât) [containing phone r/ṣ preceding the dental n, even when separated by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] with or without composition (á-sam-ās-e ápi).

*prá/pári+ṇamA prahva-tv-ē (I 1030)+ŚaP+tiP = prá/pári-ṇam-a-ti; pra/pari+ṇIÑ práp-an-ē (I 950)+NvuL = pra-pari-ṇáy-aka.*

But *pra-ga-t-ā-h ṇáy-ak-ā-h a-smát deś-āt = prá-ṇáy-aka-h deś-ā-h* since *prá* is not an upasargá in relation to the verbal stem *nī*. In the case of verbal stems not introduced with initial [ṇ]: *prá-nardÁ śabde (I 57)+NvuL = pra-nárd-aka-/prá-nard-a-ti.*

#### 8.4.15 <sup>1</sup>hi-nú=<sup>2</sup>mī-nā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of verbal themes *hi-nú-* (= *hi-* V 11) 'move, increase', *mī-* IX 4 'injure' [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ, even when separated from it by intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2, in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá-hi-ṇo-ti* 'incites'; *prá-mī-ṇā-ti* 'destroys'.

#### 8.4.16 āni IOT

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of the first person singular Imperative I-substitute *ā-ni* [introduced after 3.1.2] a verbal stem, co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá/pári-vap-a+ā-ni = prá/pari-vap-ā-ṇi*; but when [ā-ni] is not a IOT-substitute, retroflexion does not take place: *prá-kṛṣ-t-ā vapá yé-śām tā-n-i = prá+vapa+Śi = prá-vapā-n-i māmsā-n-i* 'meat containing a thick membrane'.

#### 8.4.17 né-r <sup>1</sup>gádÁ-<sup>2</sup>nádÁ-<sup>3</sup>pátā-<sup>4</sup>padA-<sup>5</sup>GHU-<sup>6</sup>mā-<sup>7</sup>syā-ti-<sup>8</sup>hán-ti-<sup>9</sup>yā-ti-<sup>10</sup>vā-ti-<sup>11</sup>drā-ti-<sup>12</sup>psā-ti-<sup>13</sup>váp-a-ti-<sup>14</sup>váh-a-ti-<sup>15</sup>śām-ya-ti-<sup>16</sup>ci-nó-ti-<sup>17</sup>dég-dhi-ṣu

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of

the preverb] ní-° [before 1.1.67 the verbal stems] gád- 'speak' (I 53), nád- 'roar' (I 56), pát- 'fly, fall down' (I 898), pad- 'go' (IV 60), those designated by the t.t. GHU (1.1.20), mā- 'measure' (IV 34), meÑ 'barter' (I 1010), so- 'destroy' (IV 34), han- 'kill' (II 2), yā- 'go' (II 40), vā- 'blow' (II 41), drā- 'run' (II 45), psā- 'eat' (II 46), vap- 'sow' (I 1052), vah- 'carry, bear' (I 1053), śam- 'become quiet' (IV 92), ci- 'heap' (V 5) and dih- 'anoint' (II 5) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra/pari+ni-gad-a-ti/nad-a-ti/pat-a-ti/pad-ya-te/dā-dhā-ti/mi-mf-te/ṣya-ti/han-ti/yā-ti/vā-ti/drā-ti/psā-ti/vap-a-ti/vah-a-ti/śam-ya-ti/ci-no-ti/deg-dhi/a-gad-a-t/a-nad-a-t etc.*

#### 8.4.18 śeṣ-e vibhāṣā á-<sup>1</sup>ka-<sup>2</sup>khā=ād-au-<sup>3</sup>á-ṣa-ant-e=upa-deś-é

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the preverb ní-° 17 before 1.1.67] remaining (śeṣ-e) verbal stems not beginning with phoneme k-° or kh-° or ending in phoneme °-ṣ when first introduced (udpa-deś-é in the Dhp.) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 other preverbs 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] optionally (vibhāṣā).

DU-pac-ĀṢ I 1045: *pra-ṇf-pac-a-ti/pra-nf-pac-a-ti; pra-ṇf-/pra-nf-bhi-na-t-ti* but *pra-nf+kar-o-ti/khād-a-ti/pi-na-ṣ-ti (= piṣ+ŚnaM+tiP).*

#### 8.4.19 án-i-te-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] án- 'breathe' (II 61) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá-pārā+an-i-ti.*

#### 8.4.20 ánta-ḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem an- 'breathe' (II 61) 19, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2], occurring as padá-final (ánta-ḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá+an-i-ti = pra+an+KviP = pr-á-n+sU(voc.) = prán+Ø (6.1.68).*

#### 8.4.21 ubh-aú sá=abhy-ās-a-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem an- 'breathe' (II 61) 19] along with (sa-°) that of the reduplicated syllable (°-abhy-ās-á-sya) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá+an+saN+Śap+tiP = prá+an+iṬ-saN+a+ti = prá-ani-ni-ṣa-ti (6.1.2,9,97;  
3.59) = pr-á-ni-ni-ṣa-ti; prá+an+NñC+CaÑ+t = pr-á-ni-n-a-t (1.1.59).*

#### 8.4.22 hán-te-r aṬ-pūrva-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), preceded by phoneme short a(T) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá/pári+haṇ-ya-te; pra-pari+hán-ana-m but prá-ghn-anti.*

#### 8.4.23 <sup>1</sup>vā-<sup>2</sup>m-or yā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vā) [of the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2) preceded by phoneme short a(T) 22 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 14 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even with the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2] before l-substitutes beginning with v-° or m-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá/pári+haṇ+vas/°mas; prá-pári+han+vas/mas.*

#### 8.4.24 antár á-deś-e

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem han- 'kill, strike' (II 2), preceded by phoneme short aṬ 22 and co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle] antár-° [in continuous utterance 2.108] when not indicating a locality or country (á-deś-e).

*antár-haṇ-ya-te/antar-hán-ana-m* 'is abolished/abolition', but *antar-hán-ana-h* 'n.pr. of a country or locality'.

#### 8.4.25 áy-ana-m ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] áy-ana- 'going' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the particle antár when not indicating a locality or country 24 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*antar-áy-ana-m* 'disappearing' but *antar=áy-ana-h* 'n.pr. of a locality or country'.

#### 8.4.26 chándas-i ṛT=ava-grah-ât

In the domain of Chándas [the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a posterior member of a compound co-occurring after a prior member ending in 1.1.72] the phoneme short ṛ(T) [separated in the Padapāṭha] by an avagrahá 'mark of separation' [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*nar-í mánah a-syá* = *nṛ+ḥmánas* 'mindful or kind to men'; *pitr-yáṇa-m* 'the path leading to the Manes'.

#### 8.4.27 nas=ca <sup>1</sup>dhātu-sthá=<sup>2</sup>urú-<sup>3</sup>śú-bhyaḥ

[In the domain of Chándas 26 the substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the pronominal substitute of asmád-1.11] nas [co-occurring after 1.1.67] a verbal padá (dhātu-sthá-°) [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇM 2] or urú 'far' and śú (= sú with retroflexion) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ágne rákṣ-ā ṇah* (RV 7.15.13) 'O Agni, protect us!'. *urú nas kṛ-dhi* (RV 8.75.11) 'grant us opportunity to grow'; *ārdhvá-m ā śú ṇa ūtáy-e* (RV 1.36.13).

#### 8.4.28 upa-sarg-ât án-oT-para=h

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of the expression nas- 27 when co-occurring after 1.1.67] a preverb [containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, āÑ or ṇM 2 in continuous utterance 2.109] except when it is not followed by phoneme o(T).

This original reading has been emended by Patañjali who replaces the expression [án-oT-para-h] by [bahulá-m] which is the reading adopted by Kāśikā. The expression [nas] in the preceding as well as the present rule stands for the al-

lomorphs of the pronominal stem *asmád-* ‘we’ and *nāsikā* (5.4.119); in the preceding rule only the first one is involved, while in the present rule both al-lomorphs are involved.

1. *prá ṇa āyūñṣ-i tār-i-ṣ-at* (RV 1.25.12) but *prá no muñc-a-tam váruṇa-sya pās-āt* (RV 6.74.4). On the other hand Patañjali’s emended [bahulá-m] provides for both *prá no muñc-a-tam*, *prá ṇo vaní-r devá-ky-tā* (AV 5.7.3). 2. *pra-ga-t-á nāsikā a-syá* = *pra+nas+áC* = *pra-ṇas-á-h* (5.4.119) ‘long-nosed’.

#### 8.4.29 kṛt-i=aC-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] of a kṛt [affix 3.1.1, introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem when co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with separation from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108] when that phoneme occurs [after 1.1.67] a vowel (aC-aḥ).

The affixes referred to here are: *ana* (*LyuṬ*), (*m*)+*āná* (*KānáC*, *CānáŚ*, *SānáC*), *anfyá(R)*, *áni*, *ín* (*íní*, *Ñíní*) and *n*-replacement of *niṣṭhā* affixes (*Ktá*, *KtávatU*).

1. *pra+yā+LyuṬ* = *pra+yā+ana-* = *pra-y-ā-ṇa-* ‘journey’; similarly *pra-m-ā-ṇa-* ‘measure, standard’.
2. (*m*)+*āná*: *pra/pari+yā-yā-m-āna-*.
3. *anfyá*: *pra/pari+yā+anfyáT* = *pra/pari/y-ā-ṇfyá-*.
4. *áni*: *a-pra+yā+áni* = *a-pra-y-ā-ni*.
5. *íní/Ñíní*: *pra/pari+yā+ín+au* = *pra/pari/yāy-in-au*.
6. *n* of *niṣṭhā* (*Ktá/KtávatU*): *pra/pari+hā+Kta* = *pra/pari+hI* (6.4.66)+*na* (2.45) = *prá-pári-hI-ṇa-* ‘renounced’, but *prá/pári-bhug-na-* since *n* is preceded by a consonant.

#### 8.4.30 Né-r vibhāṣā

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces the dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vibhāṣā) [of a kṛt 28 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem ending in 1.1.72 the causative marker] *Ñí(C)* [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even with separation from it by the intervention of aṬ, kU, pU, áÑ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra/pari+yā+ÑíC+LyuṬ* = *pra/pari/yā+pñK+ÑíC+ana-* (7.3.36) = *pra/pari-yā-p-ṇ-ana-* (6.4.51) = *pra/pari-yā-p-aṇa-/°-yā-p-ana-*. Similarly *pra/pari/yā-p-yā-m-āna-/°m-āna-*; *pra/pari/yā-p-anfyá-/°-anfyá-*; *á-pra-yā-p-aṇi-/°-ani*; *pra-yā-p-ín-au/°yā-p-ín-au*.



#### 8.4.31 haL-as ca íC=upa=dh-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a kft 28 affix 3.1.1 optionally 30, introduced after 3.1.2] a verbal stem with initial consonant (haL-as=ca) and a penultimate vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ (íC=udpa-dh-āt) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by aṭ, kU, pU, āñ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra/pari+kup+LyuT* = *pra/pari-kóp-aṇa-/ 'ana-* but *pra/fh+ana-* = *pr-é-h-aṇa-*.

#### 8.4.32 íC=āde-ḥ sá-nuM-aḥ

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1 of a kft 28 affix 3.1.1 introduced after 3.1.2 a verbal stem with infixed increment 1.1.47] nuM, beginning with a vowel other than phoneme-class /a/ (íC=āde-ḥ) [and ending in 1.1.72 a consonant 31, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by aṭ, kU, pU, āñ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

This is a necessary operation since option is indicated both in the preceding and succeeding rules specifically.

*pra/parā+ikh+nuM+LyuT* (I 134 *ikhí* 7.1.58) = *pra/parā+ínkh-aṇa-* = *pr-é-nkh-aṇa-/par-é-nkh-aṇa-*; similarly *pr-ó-mbh-aṇa-*.

#### 8.4.33 vā <sup>1</sup>níṁsa-<sup>2</sup>níksA-<sup>3</sup>nínd-ām

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ replaces dental nasal stop n 1] optionally (vā) [of the verbal stems] ní-n-s (= níśI II 15) 'kiss', níks- 'kiss' (I 689) and ní-n-d (= nídí I 66) 'censure, blame' [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 with phoneme r/ṣ 1, even when separated from it by aṭ, kU, pU, āñ or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *pra-níṁsa-ana-/pra-níṁsa-ana-*; 2. *pra-níks-ana-/pra-níks-ana-*; 3. *pra-nínd-ana-/pra-nínd-ana-*.

By being introduced in the DhP. with initial retroflex nasal [ṇ] retroflexion would necessarily have taken place by 14 above, but the option indicated by this rule is an exception to that.

#### 8.4.34 ná <sup>1</sup>bhā-<sup>2</sup>bhū-<sup>3</sup>pū-<sup>4</sup>kámi-<sup>5</sup>gami-<sup>6</sup>pyāyī-<sup>7</sup>vép-ām

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1] does not (ná) replace [dental nasal stop n 1 of a kft 29 affix 3.1.1 preceded by a vowel 29, introduced

after 3.1.2 the verbal stems] bhā- 'shine' (II 42), bhū- 'become' (I 1), pū- 'purify' (IX 11), kām- 'love' (I 460), gam- 'go' (I 1031), pyāy- 'swell, increase' (I 517) and vép- 'tremble' (I 391) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ 1 even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra-/pari+bh-ā-na-/bhāv-ana-/pāv-ana-/kām-ana-/gām-ana-/pyāy-ana-/vép-ana-;*  
by a vārttika retroflexion takes place in the case of *pūN* (I 1015): *pra-pāv-aṇa-m*  
*sóma-sya* 'purification of Soma'.

#### 8.4.35 ṣ-āt pada=ant-āt

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1 occurring after 1.1.67] a padá-final (pada=ant-āt) phoneme °-ṣ [in continuous utterance 2.108, with or without the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nuM 2].

*earpiṣ-pānā-m* 'drinking of clarified butter'; *duṣ-pī-yā-m-āna* 'being drunk with difficulty', but *kuṣ+ṇā+ti*.

#### 8.4.36 naś-eh ṣá-anta-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop n 1 of the verbal stem] naś- 'disappear' (IV 85) when it ends in retroflex sibilant ṣ, [co-occurring after 1.1.67 a preverb 28 containing phoneme r/ṣ even when separated from it by the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*pra/pari+naś+Kta* = *pra/pari+naś+ṭā-* (2.36; 4.41), but *pra-/pari+naś+ya-ti*; on the other hand, however, *prā-/pāri-nañk-ṣya-ti* (= 'naś+ṣya = 'na-nuM-é+ṣya- = 'nañṣ-ṣya- 2.36 = 'nañk-ṣya- 2.41 = 'nañk-ṣya- 3.59) since the retroflex sibilant is replaced by velar stop [k].

#### 8.4.37 pada=antá-sya

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop ṇ 1 does not replace] a padá-final [dental nasal stop n 1, co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/ṣ 1 with or without the intervention of aṭ, kU, pU, āN or nuM 2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*putr-ā-n/gir-f-n/gur-ū-n/pit-f-n; vrks-ā-n/māṣ-ā-n/ś-ū-n/fṣ-I-n.*

#### 8.4.38 pada-vy-av-āy-é ápi

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop  $\eta$  1 does not replace dental nasal stop  $n$  l] also (ápi) when separated [from a preceding phoneme  $r/\eta$  l] by the intervention of *padá-s* (*pada-vy-av-āy-é*) [consisting of the phonemes denoted by the sigla  $a\bar{T}$ ,  $kU$ ,  $pU$ ,  $\acute{a}\bar{N}$  or  $n\bar{u}M$  2 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*māṣa-kumbha-vāp-éna* 'through sowing with a jar full of *māṣa* beans';  
*catur-aṅga-yog-éna, pra/pari-áva-nad-dha-*.

#### 8.4.39 $k\eta$ subh-nā=ādi-su ca

[The substitute retroflex nasal stop  $\eta$  1 does not 34 replace dental nasal stop  $n$  l, preceded by the phoneme  $r/\eta$  l, with or without intervention by phonemes denoted by the sigla  $a\bar{T}$ ,  $kU$ ,  $pU$ ,  $\acute{a}\bar{N}$  or  $n\bar{u}M$  2] in the class of expressions beginning with  $k\eta$ subh-nā- [in continuous utterance 1.208].

*kṣubh-nā-ti*, *°-nI-táh/°-n-ánti*; *hari-ndándana-*, *giri-nagará-*.

#### 8.4.40 ${}^1s$ - ${}^2tO$ - $h$ ${}^1\acute{s}$ - ${}^2cU$ - $n\bar{a}$ ${}^1\acute{s}$ - ${}^2cU$ - $h$

The substitute palatal sibilant  $\acute{s}$  and palatal stops ( $cU$ ) replace dental sibilant  $s$  and dental stops ( $tU$ ) [in contact with them 2.108].

Although the conditions specified in meta-rule 1.3.10 are satisfied here, that rule is inoperative here since the dental sibilant is replaced by the palatal even when it is in contact with palatal stops, besides the palatal sibilant. Its application is restricted to the correspondence between the substitute and substituendum only.

1.  $s+\acute{s}$ :  $\eta k\eta\acute{s}\acute{a}+sU+\acute{s}\acute{f}+\theta^1+te = \eta k\eta\acute{s}\acute{a}-\acute{s} \acute{s}\acute{e}-te$ ; 2.  $s+cU$ :  $\eta k\eta\acute{s}\acute{a}-\acute{s} ci-no-ti/ch\acute{a}d-ay-a-ti$ ;
3.  $tU+cU$ : *agni-cít jay-a-ti* = *agni-cíc jay-a-ti* = *agni-cíj jay-a-ti* (53); 4.  $tU+\acute{s}$ : *agni-cí-t \acute{s}\acute{e}-te* = *agni-cí-c \acute{s}\acute{e}-te* = *agni-cí-c che-te* (63); 5.  $cU+tU$ : *yaj-ná-* = *yaj-nā-*; *yác+nā* = *yác-nā*; *jan+lIT* = *ja-jan+e\acute{S}* = *ja-jñn-é* (6.4.98) = *ja-jñ-e*.

#### 8.4.41 ${}^1\eta$ - ${}^2tU$ - $n\bar{a}$ ${}^1\eta$ - ${}^2tU$ - $h$

The substitute retroflex sibilant  $\eta$  and retroflex stops ( $tU$ ) replace [dental sibilant  $s$  and dental stops ( $tU$ ) 40 in contact with them 2.108].

1.  $s+\eta$ :  $\eta k\eta\acute{s}\acute{a}+Jas+\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{s}+Jas = \eta k\eta\acute{s}-\acute{a}-\acute{s} \acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{t}+\theta^1$  (7.1.22); 2.  $s+tU$ :  $\eta k\eta\acute{s}\acute{a}-\acute{s} \eta k-a-te$ ; 3.  $\eta+tU$ : *pi\eta+Ktá* = *pi\eta-tá*; 4.  $tU+tU$ : *agni-cí-t \eta k-a-te/tha-kāra-h*; *agni-cí-d \eta r-ná-h* (53)/*dhauk-a-te*; 5.  $tU+tU$ : *lih+Ktá* = *lih+ta* (2.31) = *lih+dhá-* (2.40) = *lih+dha-* = *li\theta-dhá-* (6.3.111).

#### 8.4.42 na pada=ant-āt=ṭO-r á-n-ām

[Retroflex stops (ṭU) 41] do not (na) replace [dental sibilant and stops (stO-h) 40 occurring after 1.1.67] padá-final retroflex stops (ṭO-h), with the exception of the sixth plural sUP triplet n-ām [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*madhu-līṭ tar-a-ti/sar-a-ti/nay-a-ti/da-dā-ti/dhat-te* but *Id+θ<sup>1</sup>+te = n-té* (55);  
*sárpis-tama-; śát+nām = śaṇ-nām.*

#### 8.4.43 tO-h ṣ-i

[The substitute retroflex stops 41 do not replace padá-final 42] dental stops (tO-h) [before 1.1.67] retroflex sibilant ṣ (of the following padá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*agni-cí-t śaṇḍ-e.*

#### 8.4.44 ś-āt

[The substitute palatal stops 40 do not replace 42 dental stops 42 co-occurring after 1.1.67] palatal sibilant ś [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prach+ná- = praś+ná- (6.4.19) = praś-ná- 'query'.*

#### 8.4.45 yaR-aḥ áṇu-nāsik-e ánu-nāskika-h vā

A substitute nasal stop optionally (vā) replaces [a padá-final 42] consonant other than phoneme h (yaR-aḥ) [before 1.1.67 an initial] nasal stop (of the following padá) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vāg/vān nay-a-ti; madhu-līḍ/līṇ nay-a-ti; agni-cí-t/'cí-n nay-a-ti; triṣṭúb/triṣṭúm nay-a-ti* but *véd-mi, ksubh-nā-ti* since the non-nasal stops are not padá-final.

#### 8.4.46 aC-aḥ <sup>1</sup>ra-<sup>2</sup>hā-bhyām dv-é

[All consonants with the exception of h 45, co-occurring after 1.1.67] phoneme r or h preceded by a vowel (aC-aḥ) are [optionally 45] replaced by gemination (dv-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*ark-á/arkk-á- 'light'; bráh-man-/bráh-mman- n. 'the Veda'.*

#### 8.4.47 án-aC-i ca

[All consonants with the exception of h 45, co-occurring after 1.1.67 a vowel 46 and before 1.1.67] a non-vowel phoneme (án-aCi) are [optionally 45 replaced by gemination 46 in continuous utterance 2.108].

*dádhi dá-tra = dádhy a-tra (6.1.77)/dádhy a-tra. mádhu á-tra = mádhv a-tra/mádhv a-tra.*

#### 8.4.48 ná=ād-fn-ī=ā-kroś-é putrá-sya

[Substitute gemination 46] does not (ná) [replace phoneme t 46 of the nominal stem 4.1.1] putrá- 'son' [co-occurring before 1.1.66 the posterior member in composition] °ād-fn-ī 'eater' when indicating insult or censure (ā-kroś-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*putrá+ād-fn-ī = putrá-m át-tum śīla-m a-syāh = putrá<sup>1</sup>+ad+Ninī (3.2.78)+NIP (4.1.5) = putr-ā-d-fn-ī tvám asi pāp-e 'you are a devourer of your son, O vile one (said in derision)', but when it is an actual fact: putr-ā-dfnī/puttr-ā-d-fn-ī '(a feline) eating her cubs'.*

#### 8.4.49 śaR-aḥ aC-i

Sibilants (śaR-aḥ) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 phoneme r/h, preceded by a vowel 46 are not 48 replaced by gemination 46 before 1.1.66] a vowel (aC-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*kārs-a-ti, vārs-a-ti, ā-darś-ā- but dṛś+NíC+yaK+te = darś-f+yáK+te = darś-ḥ-ya-te (6.4.51) = darś-yá-te/darś-ya-te; exception to 46.*

#### 8.4.50 trí-pra-bhṛ-ti-ṣu śákāt-āyana-sya

[Gemination 46 does not take place 48] within a consonant nexus of three or more (trí-pra-bhṛ-ti-ṣu) [consonants excluding h 46 in continuous utterance 2.108] according to the grammarian Śákātāyana.

*indra-, cand-rá-, rāṣ-trá-, kārṣṇ-ya-, kārtsn-ya-.*

#### 8.4.51 sarvá-tra śákal-ya-sya

[Gemination 46 does not take place] everywhere (sarvá-tra) according to the grammarian Śákalya.

*ark-á-, mark-á- (46), dádhy á-tra/mádhv á-tra (47) etc.*

#### 8.4.52 dīrgh-āt ā-cār-yā-ṇ-ām

[Gemination 47 does not 48 take place after 1.1.67] a long (dīrgh-āt vowel 1.2.28) according to all grammarians [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*dā-trá-, dīrghá-, mūrkhá- etc.*

#### 8.4.53 jhaL-ām jaŚ jhaŚ-i

Substitute voiced un-aspirated stops (jaŚ) replace non-nasal stops and spirants (jhaL-ām) [before 1.1.67] voiced stops (jhaŚ-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*labh+tumuN = lābh+tum = lābh+dhum (2.40) = lāb-dum 'for gaining'; duh+θ<sup>1</sup>+te = dugh+te (2.32) = dugh+dhe (2.40) = dug-dhé.*

#### 8.4.54 abhy-ās-é caR ca

Substitute unvoiced unaspirated stops and sibilants (caR) as well as (ca) [voiced unaspirated stops (jaŚ) 53 replace non-nasal stops and spirants (jhaL) 53] occurring in the reduplicated syllable (abhy-ās-é) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

By interpretation voiced unaspirated stops (jaŚ) replace voiced aspirated stops (jhaŚ) and unvoiced unaspirated stops replace unvoiced aspirated stops (khaR).

*khan+saN̄ = khán-khan+sa (6.1.9) = kán-khan-iT-sa (7.2.35) = cí-khan-i-ṣa- (7.4.62,79; 8.4.59); bhā+saN̄ = bhú-bhā-sa- (7.4.59) = bú-bhā-ṣa- (3.59); sthā+saN̄ = sthá-sthā-sa- (7.4.59) = stá-sthā-sa- = tá-sthā-sa- (7.4.61) = tī-sthā-sa- (7.4.79; 8.3.59; 4.41).*

#### 8.4.55 khaR-i ca

[Substitute unvoiced unaspirated consonants (caR) 54] also replace [non-nasal stops and sibilants (jhaL) 53 before 1.1.66] unvoiced stops and sibilants (khaR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*bhid+tumuN = bhéd+tum = bhēt-tum; labh+syá- = lap-syá-; yudh+saN̄ = yú-yudh+sa- = yú-yut-sa-, etc.*

#### 8.4.56 $v\bar{a}$ $ava-s-\acute{a}-n-e$

[Substitute unvoiced unaspirated stops and sibilants 54] optionally ( $v\bar{a}$ ) [replace non-nasal stops and spirants 53] occurring in pausa ( $avas\bar{a}n-e$ ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

Although both  $caR$  and  $kaR$  sigla include sibilants, their status at pausa is governed by separate rules ( $\acute{o}-s$  2.66;  $\acute{o}-\acute{s}$  2.36,62)  $\acute{o}-s$  alone is covered by this rule. It also proves that only the unvoiced stops are intended by the siglum  $caR$ .

$v\acute{a}c+sU = v\acute{a}c+\emptyset$  (6.1.68) =  $v\acute{a}g$  (2.39) /  $v\acute{a}k$ ;  $v\acute{is}+sU = v\acute{is}+\emptyset$  (2.36) =  $v\acute{id}/v\acute{it}$  etc.

#### 8.4.57 $aN\text{-}a\grave{h}$ $\acute{a}$ - $pra-grh-ya-sya$ $\acute{a}nu-n\bar{a}sika-h$

A substitute nasalized vowel ( $\acute{a}nu-n\bar{a}sika-h$ ) [optionally 56] replaces vowel phoneme-class a, i, u ( $aN\text{-}a\grave{h}$ ) [in pausa 53] when they are not prolated ( $\acute{a}$ - $pra-grh-ya-sya$ ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$d\acute{a}dhi/m\acute{a}dhu+su/am = d\acute{a}dhi/m\acute{a}dhu+\emptyset$  (7.1.23) =  $d\acute{a}dh\bar{i}/d\acute{a}dhi$ ,  $m\acute{a}dh\bar{u}/m\acute{a}dhu$ .

#### 8.4.58 $anu-sv\bar{a}r-\acute{a}$ - $ya$ $y\bar{a}Y-i$ $p\acute{a}ra-sa-var\grave{n}\acute{a}-h$

A substitute (= nasal stop) homophonous with the following semivowel or stop ( $y\bar{a}Y-i$ ) ( $p\acute{a}ra-sa-var\grave{n}\acute{a}-h$ ) replaces an anusvāra ( $\acute{m}$ ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

$\acute{s}ak-I$  (I 86)+ $tumuN = \acute{s}a-nuM+k+iT+tum$  (7.1.58) =  $\acute{s}amk-i-tum$  (3.24) =  $\acute{s}amk-i-tum$  'to doubt'; similarly  $uch\acute{I}+tum = \acute{u}nch-i-tum$  'to glean';  $kud-I+tum = k\acute{u}nd-i-tum$ ;  $\eta ad-\acute{I}+tum = n\acute{a}nd-i-tum$ ;  $kapI+tum = k\acute{a}mp-i-tum$  'to please;/to shake'.

#### 8.4.59 $v\bar{a}$ $pada=ant\acute{a}$ - $syā$

[A substitute nasal stop homophonous with the following semivowel or stop 58] optionally ( $v\bar{a}$ ) replaces  $pad\acute{a}$ -final [anu-sv\bar{a}r-\acute{a}  $\acute{m}$  58 in continuous utterance 2.108].

$k\acute{a}ta-\acute{m}$   $kar-o-ti/$   $kata-\acute{n}$   $kar-o-ti$  'makes a mat'.  $t\acute{a}m$   $ka-th\acute{a}m$   $citr\acute{a}-pakṣam$   $\acute{d}aya-m-\acute{a}n\acute{a}m$   $nabhassth\acute{a}m$   $p\acute{u}ruṣa-h$   $a-vadh-I-t/$   $t\acute{a}n$   $ka-th\acute{a}n$   $citr\acute{a}-pakṣan$   $\acute{d}aya-m-\acute{a}n\acute{a}n$   $nabhassth\acute{a}m$   $p\acute{u}ruṣa-h$   $a-vadh-I-t$  'how did the man kill the speckled-winged bird flying in the sky?'

#### 8.4.60 tO-r l-i

[A substitute phoneme homophonous with the following phoneme 58] 1 replaces a dental stop (tO-ḥ) [before 1.1.66 the semivowel] 1 [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*úd+las-a-ti* = *úl-las-a-ti* 'shines forth'; *úd+laṅgh-a-ti* = *úl-laṅgh-a-ti* 'oversteps';  
*agni-cīt lu-nā-ti* = *agni-cīl lu-nā-ti*.

#### 8.4.61 úd-aḥ <sup>1</sup>sthā-<sup>2</sup>stanbhO-ḥ pūrva-sya

[A substitute phoneme homophonous with 58] the preceding phoneme (pūrva-sya) replaces [the initial 1.1.54 of the verbal stems] sthā- 'remain' (I 975) and stanbh(U) 'prop, support, stop' (IX 7) [co-occurring after 1.1.67 the preverb] úd-° [in continuous utterance 2.108].

1. *úd+sthā-* = *út+sthā* (55) = *út-tthā+tumyN* = *ut-thā-tum* (65).

2. *úd+stambh+tumyN* (3.24) = *ut-tthāmbh-i-tum* = *ut-thāmbh-i-tum*.

#### 8.4.62 jhāY-aḥ ha-ḥ anya-tará-syām

[A substitute phoneme homophonous 58 with the preceding phoneme 61] optionally (anya-tará-syām) replaces the phoneme h [occurring after 1.1.67] non-nasal stops (jhāY-aḥ) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*vāg has-a-ti/vāg ghās-a-ti*; *vīd has-a-ti/vīd dhas-a-ti*; *agni-cīd has-a-ti/agni-cīd dhas-a-ti*; *tri-ṣṭúb has-a-ti/tri-ṣṭúb bhas-a-ti*.

#### 8.4.63 ś-as cha-ḥ aṬ-i

The substitute phoneme ch [optionally 62] replaces sibilant ś [occurring after 1.1.67 non-nasal stops (jhāY-aḥ) 62 before 1.1.66] vowels and semi-vowels excluding lateral 1 [in continuous utterance 2.108].

A vārttika emends [aṬ-i] of this rule to [aM-i] which then extends the scope by not only including /l/ but also the nasal stops.

*vāk śe-te / vāk che-te*; *tri-ṣṭúp śe-te/che-te*; *tāt ślók-ena/chlók-ena*; *tāt śmāśru-ṇā/chmāśru-ṇā*. *tāt snāth-an-ena/chnāth-an-ena*.

#### 8.4.64 haL-aḥ yaM-ām yaM-i lopá-ḥ

The substitute lópa (Ø) [optionally 62] replaces a semivowel or nasal stop (yaM-ām) [occurring after 1.1.67] a consonant (haL-aḥ) [before 1.1.66] a semivowel or nasal stop (yaM-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].



*sáy-yā* (3.3.99)/*sáy-yy-ā*; *ādit-yā-* = *ādity-yā-/āditθ-yā-*.

#### 8.4.65 jhāR-aḥ jhāR-i sá-varṇ-e

[The substitute lópa (θ) 64 optionally 62 replaces] stops and sibilants (jhāR-aḥ) [occurring after 1.1.67 a consonant 64, before 1.1.66] homophonous (sa-varṇ-e) stops and sibilants (jhāR-i) [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*prá+dā+Kta* = *prá-tt-ta-* (7.4.47) = *prá-tθ-ta-* = *prá-t-ta-* 'donated'.

#### 8.4.66 udātt-āt ánudātta-sya svaritá-ḥ

The substitute svaritá accent replaces an ánudātta accent [occurring after 1.1.67] an udātta accent [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*bhū+ŚaP+tiP* = *bhó+a+ti* (7.3.84)+*bháv-a-ti* (6.1.78) = *bhav-á-ti* in continuous utterance. *agnīm ṛ-e* (1.28) *puró-hi-ta-m* = *agnī-m ṛ-e puro-hi-tam* (in continuous recitation where the underlined vowels bear the anudātta accent and the unmarked udātta accent).

#### 8.4.67 na=udātta-svaritá=udayam á-<sup>1</sup>gārgya-<sup>2</sup>kāśyapa-<sup>3</sup>gālava-n-ām

[A substitute svaritá 66] does not (ná) replace [an ánudātta occurring after an udātta 66] when it is itself followed by an udātta or svaritá (udātta-svaritá=udaya-m) according to the grammarians Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava [in continuous utterance 2.108].

*gārgya-s+tá-tra* = *gārgya-s ta-trà*; *gārgy-a-s kvà* = *gārgya-s kvà*.

#### 8.4.68 a a iti

The vowel phoneme short a (which was treated as an open or vi-vṛ-tá vowel) is replaced [in continuous utterance 2.108] by phoneme short a (which is in fact a close = saṁ-vṛ-tá vowel).

In grammatical operations short [a] was treated as an open or vi-vṛ-tá vowel homophonous with the long [ā], so that the notion of sávarṇa would apply to it in defining allophones of phoneme [a] with 3 lengths, 3 accents and ± nasality, but in actual usage it is a close (saṁ-vṛ-tá) vowel. Its inclusion here is to block out this particular character so as to establish its homogeneity with other allophones of this phoneme.

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aN=aÑ-au ca 4.3.33

a-Nau=a-karmak-āt=citta-vat-kartṛk-āt 1.3.88

aN-iÑ-or an-ārṣ-ay-or ° 4.1.78

aN-i ni-yuk-t-e 6.2.75

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aN-uT=IT sa-varṇa-sya ca=a-praty-ay-a-ḥ 1.1.69

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# Pāṇin-īya-Dhātu-pāṭha-ḥ

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### I.A. udāttāḥ

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1 bhū sattā-y-ām

#### I.A.2. ta-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudatta=IT-aḥ

2 édhA vṛd-dh-áu; 3 spárdhA sam-gharṣ-é; 4 gādhR 1pra-tiṣṭhā-  
2lipsáy-or-3granth-é ca; 5 bādhR vi-lóḍ-an-e; 6 nādhR 7 nāthR 1yāc-ñā=  
2upa-tāpá=3aísvaryā=4āsīḥ-su; 8 dádha dhār-aṇ-e; 9 skúdl ā-práv-aṇ-e;  
10 svidl śvaity-e; 11 vādI 1abhi-vād-ana-2stu-ty-óḥ; 12 bhádI kalyāṇ-e  
sukh-é ca; 13 mādI 1stu-tí-2móda-3máda-4sváp-na-5gá-ti-su; 14 spádI  
kim-cit=cál-an-e; 15 klídI pari-dév-ane; 16 múdA hárs-e; 17 dádA dān-é;  
18 svádA 19 svárdA ā-svād-an-e; 20 úrdA mán-e kriḍā-y-ām ca; 21  
kúrdA 22 khúrdA 23 gúrdA guda-kriḍā-y-ām eva; (24 gúdA kriḍā-y-ām  
evá); 25 súdA ksár-aṇ-e; 26 hrádA á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 27 hlādI sukh-é ca;  
28 svádA ā-svād-an-e; 29 párdA kuts-it-é sábd-e; 30 yátI pra-yat-n-é; 31  
yútR 32 jútR bhās-an-e; 33 víthR 34 véthR yác-an-e; 35 śráthI śáithily-e;  
36 gráthI kaúṭily-e; 37 kátthA ślāghā-y-ām.

#### I.A.3. ta-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

38 átÁ sātatyā-gaṇ-an-e; 39 cítI sam-jñā-n-e; 40 cyútIR ā-séc-an-e;  
41 scyútIR ksár-aṇ-e; (42 jyútIR bhās-an-e); 43 mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 44  
kúthI 45 púthI 46 lúthI 47 máthI 1himsā-2sam-klés-ay-oḥ; 48 śidhÁ  
gá-ty-ām; 49 śidhŪ sās-tr-é māṅgaly-e ca; 50 khādhR bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 51  
khádÁ sthairy-e himsā-y-ām ca; 53 gádÁ vyāk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 54 rádÁ  
vi-lékh-an-e; 55 nádÁ (á-vyak-t-e) sábd-e; 56 árdÁ gá-t-au yác-an-e ca;  
57 nárdÁ 58 gárdÁ sábd-e; 59 tárdÁ himsā-y-ām; 60 kárdÁ kuts-i-t-é  
sábd-e; 61 khárdÁ dan-das-ūk-e; 62 átI 63 ádí bāndh-an-e; 64 ídí

parama=aisvary-é; 65 bídí ava-yav-é; 65a gádí vadana=eka-deś-é; 66 nídí kutsā-y-ām; 67 ṬUnádí sám-ṛd-dh-au; 68 cádí āhlād-e dīp-t-aú ca; 69 trádí ceṣṭā-y-ām; 70 kádí 71 krádí 72 kládí ā-hvān-e ród-ane ca; 73 klídí pari-dév-an-e; 74 súndhÁ súd-dh-au.

#### I.A.4. ka-varg-īya-antāḥ ānudātta-IT-aḥ

75 síkṛ sēc-ane; 76 lókṛ dārs-an-e; 77 slokṛ saṁ-ghāt-é; 78 drékṛ 79 dhrékṛ <sup>1</sup>sābda=<sup>2</sup>ut-sāháy-oḥ; 80 rékṛ śaṅkā-y-ām; 81 sékṛ 82 srékṛ 83 srákl 84 srákl 85 slákl gá-ty-arthāḥ; 86 sákl śaṅkā-y-ām; 87 ákl lákṣ-an-e; 88 vákl kauṭily-e; 89 mákl māṇḍ-an-e; 90 kákA laúly-e; 91 kúka 92 vṛka ā-dān-e; 93 cákA ṭṛp-t-aú prati-ghāt-é ca; 94 kákl 95 vákl 96 śvákl 97 trákl 98 ḍhaúkṛ 99 traúkṛ 100 ṣváskA 101 váskA 102 máskA 103 ṭíkṛ 104 ṭíkṛ (105 tíkṛ 106 tíkṛ) 107 rághl 108 lághl gá-ty-arthāḥ; 109 ághl 110 vághl 111 mághl ga-ty-ā-kṣep-é; 112 mághl kaítav-e ca; 113 rághṛ 114 lághṛ 115 drághṛ (116 dhrághṛ) sāmārthy-e; 117 drághṛ (dhrághṛ) ā-yām-é ca; 118 slághṛ kátth-an-e.

#### I.A.5. ka-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

119 phákkÁ nicair-gá-t-au; 120 tákÁ hás-an-e; 121 tákl kṛcchra-jīv-an-e; 122 búkkÁ bhás-aṇ-e; (123 súkÁ gá-t-au); 124 kákhÁ hás-an-e; 125 ókhṛ 126 rákhṛ 127 lákhṛ 128 drákhṛ 129 dhrákhṛ <sup>1</sup>sós-aṇa=<sup>2</sup>alam-arthay-oḥ; 130 śákhṛ 131 slákhṛ vy-āp-t-au; 132 úkhÁ 133 úkhí 134 vákhÁ 135 vákhí 136 mákhÁ 137 mákhí 138 ṇákhÁ 139 ṇákhí 140 rákhÁ 141 rákhí 142 lákhÁ 142 lákhí 144 íkhÁ 145 íkhí 146 íkhÁ (147 múkhí/thákí, 148 trákhÁ 149 trákhí 150 síkhí 151 ríkhÁ) 152 válgÁ 153 rágí 154 lágí 155 ágí 156 vágí 157 mágí 158 tágí 159 tvágí/trágí 160 srágí 161 śvágí 162 slágí 163 ígí 164 rígí 165 lígí gá-ty-arthāḥ; 165 tvágí kámp-an-e ca; 167 yúgí 168 júgí 169 vúgí várj-an-e; 170 ghághÁ hás-an-e, (171 dághí pāl-an-e; 172 lághí sós-aṇ-e); 173 mághí māṇḍ-an-e; 174 síghí ā-ghrāṇ-e.

#### I.A.6. ca-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

175 várca dīp-t-au; 176 śácA sēc-an-e; 177 lócṛ dārs-an-e; 178 sácA vyāk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 179 śvácA 180 śvácí ga-t-aú; 181 kácA bāndh-an-e; 182 kácí 183 kácí <sup>1</sup>dīp-ti-<sup>2</sup>bāndh-anay-oḥ; 184 mácA 185 múcl kákl-an-e; 186 mácí <sup>1</sup>dhār-aṇa=<sup>2</sup>uc-chrāyá-<sup>3</sup>pūj-ane-ṣu; 187 pácl vyak-tī-kār-aṇ-e;

188 štúca pra-sād-é; 189 fja <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sthā-na=<sup>3</sup>árj-ana=<sup>4</sup>upa=árj-ane-ṣu;  
 190 fji 191 bhjī bhárj-an-e; 192 éjṚ 193 bhréjṚ 194 bhrájṚ dīp-t-au;  
 (195 réjṚ dīp-t-au); 196 fja <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kút-sanay-oh; (197 vīja gá-t-au).

### I.A.7. ca-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

198 súcÁ so-k-é; 199 kúcÁ sábd-e tár-e; 200 kúncÁ 201 krúncÁ  
<sup>1</sup>kaúṭilya=<sup>2</sup>alpī-bhāváy-oh; 202 lúncÁ apa-náy-an-e; 203 áncŪ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-  
<sup>2</sup>pūj-anay-oh; 204 váncŪ 205 cáncŪ 206 táncŪ 207 tváncŪ 208 mrúncŪ  
 209 mlúncŪ 210 mrúcŪ 211 mlúcŪ gá-ty-arthāḥ; 212 grúcŪ 213 glúcŪ  
 214 kújŪ 215 khújŪ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e; 216 glúncÁ 217 śásjÁ gá-t-au; 218  
 gújī á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 219 árcÁ pūjā-y-ām; 220 mléchÁ á-vyak-t-e  
 sábd-e; 221 láchÁ 222 láchī lākṣ-aṇ-e; 223 váchī icchā-y-ām; 224 áchī  
 ā-yām-é; 225 hríchÁ lajjā-y-ām; 226 hurchĀ kaúṭily-e; 227 múrchĀ  
<sup>1</sup>móh-ana=<sup>2</sup>sam-uc-chrāyáy-oh; 228 sphurchĀ vi-stṭ-t-au; 229 yúchÁ  
 pra-mād-é; 230 úchī uñch-é; 231 úchī vi-vās-é; 232 dhrájÁ 233 dhrájī  
 (234 vrájÁ 235 vrájī) 236 dhjÁ 237 dhjī 238 dhvájÁ 239 dhvájī  
 gá-t-au; 240 kújÁ (241 kújī) á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 242 árjÁ 243 śárjÁ  
 árj-an-e; 244 gárjÁ sábd-e; 245 tárjÁ bhárts-an-e; 246 kárjÁ vyáth-an-e;  
 247 khárjÁ pūj-an-e ca; 248 ájÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kṣép-aṇay-oh; 249 téjÁ pāl-an-e;  
 250 khájÁ manth-é; (251 kájÁ mād-e); 252 khájī ga-ti-vaikaly-é; 253 éjṚ  
 kámp-an-e; 254 ṬU-O-sphúrjĀ vajra-nir-ghoṣ-é; 255 kṣī ksay-é; 256  
 kṣjÁ á-vyak-t-e sábd-e; 257 lájÁ 258 lájī bhárts-an-e; 259 lāja 260 lájī  
 bhárts-an-e ca; 261 jájÁ 262 jájī yud-dh-é; 263 tújÁ himśā-y-ām; 264  
 tújī pāl-an-e; 265 gájÁ 266 gájī 267 gṛjÁ 268 gṛjī 269 mújÁ 270 mújī  
 sábd-a=arthāḥ; gájÁ mād-an-e ca; 271 vájÁ 272 vrájÁ gá-t-au.

### I.A.8. ṭa-varg-īya=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-aḥ

273 áttA <sup>1</sup>ati-kram-a=<sup>2</sup>himsáy-oh; 274 vēṣṭA vēṣṭ-an-e; 275 cēṣṭA  
 ceṣṭā-y-ām; 276 gōṣṭA 277 lōṣṭA saṁ-ghāt-é; 278 ghāṭṭA cāl-an-e; 279  
 sphúṭA vi-kás-an-e; 280 áṭhī gá-t-au; 281 váṭhī eka-caryā-y-ām; 282  
 máṭhī 283 káṭhī sók-e; 284 múṭhī pāl-an-e; 285 héṭhA vi-bādhā-y-ām;  
 286 éṭhA ca; 287 híḍī <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>án-ā-daray-oh; 288 húḍī saṁ-ghāt-é; 289  
 kúḍī dāh-e; 290 váḍī vi-bhāj-an-e; 291 máḍī ca; 292 bháḍī  
 pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 293 píḍī saṁ-ghāt-é; 294 múḍī mārj-an-e; 295 túḍī  
 tód-an-e; 296 húḍī vár-aṇ-e; (297 sphúḍī vi-kás-an-e); 298 cáḍī kop-e;  
 299 sáḍī rujā-y-ām saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 300 táḍī tād-an-e; 301 páḍī gá-t-au;  
 302 káṇḍA mād-e; 303 kháḍī manth-é; 304 hédṚ 305 hódṚ án-ā-dar-e;

306 báďR ā-plavy-é; 307 dráďR 308 dhráďR vi-sár-aṇ-e; 309 sáďR ślāghā-y-ām.

### I.A.9. ṭa-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-ah

310 saútR garv-é; 311 yaútR bandh-é; 312 mlétR 313 mrédR (314 mlétR) un-mād-é; 315 kátÉ (316 catÉ) <sup>1</sup>varṣá=<sup>2</sup>ā-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 317 átÁ 318 pátÁ gá-t-au; 319 ráťÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 320 látA bály-e; 321 sátÁ <sup>1</sup>rujā-<sup>2</sup>vi-sár-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>gá-ti=<sup>4</sup>ava-sād-ane-ṣu; 322 vátÁ vēṣṭ-an-e; 323 kíťÁ 324 khítÁ trās-e; 325 sítÁ 326 řítÁ án-ā-dar-e; 327 jáťÁ 328 jhátÁ sam-ghāt-é; 329 bhátÁ bhṭ-t-au; 330 tátÁ uc-chrāy-é; 331 khátÁ kāṅkṣā-y-ām; 332 náťÁ nṭ-t-au; 333 píťÁ <sup>1</sup>sábd-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-ghātáy-oḥ; 334 hátÁ díť-t-au; 335 sátÁ ava-yáv-e; 336 lútÁ vi-lód-an-e; 337 cíťÁ para-praiṣy-é; 338 víťÁ sábd-e; 339 bíťÁ ā-kros-é; 340 ítÁ 341 kíťÁ 342 kátÍ gá-t-au; (343 héťhÁ vi-bādhā-y-ām); 344 mádÍ bhūṣ-ā-y-ām; 345 kúďÍ vai-kal-ye; 346 múťÁ pra-márd-an-e; 347 cúďÍ alpī-bhāv-é; 348 múďÍ khaṇḍ-an-e; 349 rúťÍ 350 lúťÍ sté-y-e; (351 váťÍ vi-bhāj-an-e); 352 sphúťÍR vi-sár-aṇ-e; 353 páťhÁ vy-āktā-y-ām vāc-í; 354 váṭhÁ sthaúly-e; 355 máťhÁ <sup>1</sup>máda-<sup>2</sup>ni-vāsay-oḥ; 356 káťhÁ kṛcchra-jīv-an-é; 357 ráťhÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 358 háťhÁ <sup>1</sup>plú-ti-<sup>2</sup>śaṭha-tváy-oḥ; 359 rúťhA 360 lúťhÁ 361 úťhÁ upa-ghāt-é; 362 píťhÁ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-klés-an-ay-oḥ; 363 sáťhÁ kaitav-e ca; 364 súťhÁ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é; 365 kúťhÍ ca; 366 lúťhÍ ā-lasy-e prati-ghāt-é ca; 367 súťhÍ sós-aṇ-e; 368 rúťhÍ 369 lúťhÍ gá-t-au; 370 cúďďÁ bhāva-kár-an-e; 371 áďďÁ abhi-yog-e; 372 káďďÁ kárkaṣy-e; 373 kríďR vi-hār-é; 374 túďR tód-an-e; 375 hūďR/húďR 376 hódR gá-t-au; 377 raúďR án-ā-dar-e; 378 ródR 379 lódR un-mād-é; 380 áďÁ ud-yam-é; 381 láďÁ vi-lās-é; (382 lálÁ ṭp-sā-y-ām); 383 káďÁ mād-e; 384 gáďÍ vad-ana=eka-deś-é.

### I.A.10. pa-varg-īya=antāḥ ānudatta=IT-ah

385 típR 386 tépR 387 stípR 388 stépR kṣár-ana=arthāḥ; 389 tépR kámp-an-e ca; 390 glépR daíny-e; 391 ṭU-vépR kámp-an-e; 392 képR 393 gépR 394 glépR ca; 395 mépR 396 lépR 397 répR (398 dhépR) gá-t-au; 399 trápŪṢ lajjā-y-ām; 400 kápl cáł-an-e; 401 rábl 402 lábl 403 ábl sábd-e; 404 lábl ava-sráṁs-an-e ca; 405 kábr vārṇ-e; 406 klíbr ā-dhārṣṭy-e; 407 kṣíbr mād-e; 408 říbr kátth-an-e; 409 cíbhr ca; 410 rébhr sábd-e; (411 ábhl 412 rábhl sábd-e); 413 řṭábhI 414 skábhI prati-bandh-é; 415 jábhI 416 jṛbhI gātra-vi-nām-é; 417 sálbha

kátth-an-e; 418 válbhA bhó-j-an-e; 419 gálbhA dhārṣṭy-e; 420 sránbhU  
pra-mād-e; 421 ṣṭúbhU stambh-é.

### I.A.11. pa-varg-īya=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

422 gúpŪ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 423 dhúpÁ sam-tāp-é; 424 jápÁ 425 jálpÁ  
vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 426 cápÁ sántvan-e; 427 śápÁ sam-av-āy-é; 428  
rápÁ 429 lápÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 430 cúpÁ mandā-y-ām gá-t-au; 431  
túpÁ 432 túnpÁ 433 trúpÁ 434 trúnnpÁ 435 túphÁ 436 túnphÁ 437  
trúphÁ 438 trúnphÁ himśa=arthāḥ; 439 párpÁ 440 ráphÁ 441 ráphí 442  
árbÁ 443 párbÁ 444 lárBÁ 445 bárbÁ 446 márbÁ 447 kárbÁ 448 khárbÁ  
449 gárbÁ 450 sárbÁ 451 śárbÁ 452 cárBÁ gá-t-au; 453 kúbÍ chād-an-e;  
454 lúbÍ 455 túbÍ árd-an-e; 456 cúbÍ vaktra-sam-yog-é; 457 ṣṭbhŪ 458  
ṣṭnbhŪ himśa=arth-au; 459 súbhÁ 460 súnbhÁ bhās-an-e.

### I.A.12. ānu-nāsika=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

461 ghīṇI 461 ghúnI 463 ghīṇI gráh-aṇ-e; 464 ghúnA 465 ghūrṇA  
bhrám-aṇ-e; 466 pánA vy-ava-hār-é. stú-t-au ca; 467 pánA ca; 468  
bhāmA kródh-e; 469 kṣámŪṣ sáh-an-e; 470 kámU kán-t-au.

### I.A.13. ānu-nasika=antāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

471 ánÁ 472 ránÁ 473 vánÁ 474 bhánÁ 475 mánÁ 476 kánÁ 477  
kvánÁ 478 vránÁ 479 bhránÁ 480 dhvánÁ (481 dhánÁ) sábd=arthāḥ;  
482 óṇṚṛ apa-náy-an-e; 483 sóṇṚṛ <sup>1</sup>várṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oh; 484 sróṇṚṛ sam-ghāt-é;  
(485 slónṚṛ ca); 486 paínṚṛ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pr-é-r-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>ślēs-aṇe-ṣu; 487 dhránÁ  
sábd-e; 488 kánÍ <sup>1</sup>dīp-ti-<sup>2</sup>kán-ti-<sup>3</sup>gá-ti-ṣu; 489 stánÁ 490 vánÁ sábd-e;  
491 vánÁ 492 śánÁ sam-bhák-t-au; 493 ámÁ gá-ty-ādi-ṣu [=gá-t-au,  
sábd-e, sam-bhák-t-au]; 494 drámÁ 495 hámmÁ 496 mīmṚṛ gá-t-au; 497  
cámŪ 498 chámŪ 499 jámŪ (500 jímŪ) 501 jhámŪ ád-an-e; 502 krámU  
pāda-vi-kṣep-é.

### I.A.14. ya-ra-la-vā=antāḥ ānudātta=IT-aḥ

503 áyA 504 váyA 505 páyA 506 máyA 507 cáyA 508 táyA 509 náyA  
gá-t-au; 510 dáyA <sup>1</sup>dāná-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti-<sup>3</sup>rákṣ-aṇa-<sup>4</sup>himśa=<sup>5</sup>ā-dāné-ṣu; 511 ráya  
gá-t-au; 512 ūyÍ tan-tu-sam-tān-é; 513 pūyÍ vi-sár-aṇ-e dur-gandh-é ca;  
514 knūyÍ sábd-e únd-e ca; 515 kṣmāyÍ vi-dhū-n-an-e; 516 sphāyÍ 517  
O-pyáyÍ vṛd-dh-au; 518 táyṚṛ <sup>1</sup>sam-tāná-<sup>2</sup>pāl-anay-oh; 519 sálA <sup>1</sup>cál-ana-

<sup>2</sup>saṁ-vār-aṇay-oḥ; 520 váLA 521 válla saṁ-vār-an-e saṁ-cál-an-e ca; 522 máLA 523 málla dhār-aṇ-e; 524 bháLA 525 bhállA <sup>1</sup>pari-bhās-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsá=<sup>3</sup>ā-dāné-su; 526 káLA <sup>1</sup>sábdā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-khyānay-oḥ; 527 kállA á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e; 528 tévR̥ 529 dévR̥ dév-an-e; 530 sévR̥ 531 gévR̥ 532 glévR̥ 533 pévR̥ (534 mévR̥) 535 mlévR̥ (536 sévR̥ 537 khévR̥ 538 plévR̥ 539 kévR̥) sév-an-e; 540 révR̥ plav-a-gá-t-au.

### I.A.15. ya-ra-la-vá=antāḥ udātta=IT-ah

541 mávyÁ bāndh-an-e; 542 śūrksyÁ 543 írksyÁ 544 írşyÁ Irşyā=arthāḥ; 545 háyÁ gá-t-au; 546 súcyÁ abhi-şav-é; 547 háryÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kān-ty-oḥ; 548 álÁ <sup>1</sup>bhū-s-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>pary-āp-ti-<sup>3</sup>vār-aṇe-su; 549 ŃI-phálÁ vi-sār-aṇ-e; 550 mīlÁ 551 smīlÁ 552 smílÁ 553 ksmīlÁ ni-mēs-aṇ-e; 554 pīlÁ prati-ṣṭambh-é; 555 űlÁ vārṇ-e; 556 ślÁ sam-ā-dh-aú; 557 kílÁ bāndh-an-e; 558 kúlÁ ā-vār-aṇ-e; 559 súlÁ rujā-y-ām saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 560 túlÁ niṣ-karṣ-é; 561 púlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 562 múlÁ pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām; 563 phálÁ niṣ-pát-t-au; 564 cúlÁ bhāva-kār-aṇ-e; 565 phúllÁ vi-kās-an-e; 566 cillÁ saithilye bhāva-kār-aṇ-e ca; 567 tilÁ gá-t-au; 568 vélR̥ 569 célR̥ 570 kélR̥ 571 khélR̥ 572 kṣvélR̥ 573 véllÁ cál-an-e; 574 pélR̥ 575 phélR̥ 576 sélR̥ gá-t-au; 577 skhálÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 578 khálÁ saṁ-cay-é; 579 gálÁ ád-an-e; 580 şálÁ gá-t-au; 581 dálÁ vi-sār-aṇ-e; 582 şválÁ 583 şvállÁ āsu-gám-an-e; 584 khólR̥/khórR̥ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é; 585 dhórR̥ ga-ti-cātur-y-é; 586 tsárÁ chad-ma-gá-t-au; 587 kmárÁ hūrch-an-e; 588 ábhrÁ 589 vábhrÁ 590 mábhrÁ 591 cárÁ gáty-arthāḥ; cár-a-tir bhákṣ-aṇa=arthah=api; 592 ṣṭhívÚ/ṣṭhívÚ nir-ās-an-e; 593 jí jay-é; 594 jívÁ prāṇa-dhār-aṇ-e; 595 pívÁ 596 mívÁ 597 tívÁ 598 űívÁ sthaúlye; 599 ksívÚ nir-ās-an-e; 600 úrvÍ 601 túrvÍ 602 thúrvÍ 603 dúrvÍ 604 dhúrvÍ himsá=arthāḥ; 605 gúrvÍ ud-yám-an-e; 606 múrvÍ bāndh-an-e; 607 púrvÁ 608 párvÁ 609 márvÁ pūr-aṇ-e; 610 cárVÁ ád-an-e; 611 bhárvÁ himsā-y-ām; 612 kárvÁ 613 khárvÁ 614 gárvÁ dārp-e; 615 árvÁ 616 sárvÁ 617 şárvÁ himsā-y-ām; 618 ívÍ vy-āp-t-au; 619 pívÍ 620 mívÍ 621 űívÍ séc-an-e; 622 hívÍ 623 dívÍ 624 dhívÍ 625 jívÍ prīṇ-ana=arthāḥ; 626 rívÍ 627 rávÍ 628 dhávÍ gá-ty-arthāḥ; 629 kṛvÍ <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>kār-aṇay-oś ca; 630 mávÁ bāndh-an-e; 631 ávÁ <sup>1</sup>rākṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti=<sup>3</sup>kān-ti-<sup>4</sup>prī-ti-<sup>5</sup>tṛp-ty-<sup>6</sup>ava-gam-á-<sup>7</sup>pra-ves-á-<sup>8</sup>srāv-aṇa-<sup>9</sup>svāmy-ārtha-<sup>10</sup>yác-ana-<sup>11</sup>kriyā=<sup>12</sup>icchá-<sup>13</sup>dīp-ti=<sup>14</sup>av-ā-p-ti=<sup>15</sup>ā-líng-ana-<sup>16</sup>himsá-<sup>17</sup>dāná-<sup>18</sup>bhāga-<sup>19</sup>vṛd-dhi-şu; 632 dhávÚ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>súd-dhy-oḥ.



## I.A.16. ūṣmá=antāḥ ánudātta=IT-ah

633 dhúḱṣA 634 dhíḱṣA <sup>1</sup>saṁ-díp-ana-<sup>2</sup>klés-ana-<sup>3</sup>jív-ane-ṣu; 635 vḱḱṣA  
vár-aṇ-e; 636 síḱṣA vidyā=up-ā-dān-é; 637 bhíḱṣA bhíḱṣā-y-ām a-lābh-é  
lābh-é ca; 638 klésA á-vy-ak-tāy-ām vāc-í; 639 dáḱṣA vḱd-dh-au  
śīghrá=arth-e ca; 640 díḱṣA <sup>1</sup>mauṇḍá=<sup>2</sup>jy-yā=<sup>3</sup>upa-náy-ana-<sup>4</sup>ni-yam-á-  
<sup>5</sup>vratá=<sup>6</sup>ā-deś-é-ṣu; 641 íḱṣA dárś-an-e; 642 íṣA <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>himsā-<sup>3</sup>dárs-ane-ṣu;  
643 bhásA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 644 várṣA snéh-an-e; 645 gésṚ  
anv-icchā-y-ām; 646 yésṚ pra-yat-n-é 647 jésṚ 648 nésṚ 649 ésṚ 650  
présṚ gá-t-au; 651 réṣṚ 652 hésṚ (653 hrésṚ) á-vy-ak-te śábd-e; 654  
kásṚ śabda-kutsā-y-ām; 655 bhásṚ díp-t-au; 656 nāsṚ 657 rásṚ śábd-e;  
658 nāsA kauṭily-e; 659 bhyásA bhay-é; 660 āN-ah sásI icchā-y-ām; 661  
grásU 662 glásU ád-an-e; 663 íhA ceṣṭā-y-ām; 664 báhI 665 máhI  
vḱd-dh-au; 666 áhI gá-t-au; 667 gárhA 668 gálhA kutsā-y-ām; 669 bárhA  
670 bálhA prādhāny-e; 671 várhA 672 válhA <sup>1</sup>pari-bhás-ana-<sup>2</sup>himsā=  
<sup>3</sup>ā-cchād-ane-ṣu; 673 plíhA gá-t-au; 674 véhṚ 675 jéhṚ 676 báhṚ  
pra-yat-n-é; 677 dráhṚ nidrā-kṣay-e; 678 kásṚ díp-t-au; 679 úhA  
vi-tark-é; 680 gáhŪ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 681 gfhŪ gráh-aṇ-e; 682 ghúsI  
kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e.

## I.A.17. ūṣmá=antāḥ udātta=IT-ah

683 ghúsíR á-vi-śábd-an-e; 684 áḱṣŪ vy-áp-t-au; 685 táḱṣŪ 686  
tváḱṣŪ tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 687 úḱṣÁ séc-an-e; 688 ráḱṣÁ pāl-an-e; 689 nḱṣÁ  
cumb-ane; 690 tḱṣÁ 691 ṣṭḱṣÁ 692 náḱṣÁ gá-t-au; 693 váḱṣÁ rós-e; 694  
mḱṣÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 695 táḱṣÁ tvác-an-e; (696 pláḱṣÁ pari-grah-é); 697  
súrḱṣÁ ā-dar-é; 698 káḱṣI 699 váḱṣI 700 máḱṣI kāṅḱṣā-y-ām; 701 dráḱṣI  
702 dhráḱṣI 703 dhvákṣI ghora-vās-it-é ca; 704 cūsÁ pān-e; 705 tūsÁ  
tūs-t-au; 706 pūsÁ vḱd-dh-au; 707 mūsÁ ste-y-é; (708 lūsÁ 709 rūsÁ  
bhū-ṣ-ā-y-ām); 710 sūsÁ pra-sav-é; 711 yūsÁ himsā-y-ām; 712 bhūsÁ (713  
tásI) alam-kār-é; 714 ūsÁ rujā-y-ām 715 ísÁ ūñch-e; 716 kásÁ 717 khásÁ  
718 síṣÁ 719 jásÁ 720 jhásÁ 721 sásÁ 722 vásÁ 723 māsÁ 724 rúsÁ 725  
rísÁ himsā=arthāḥ; 726 bhásÁ bhárts-an-e; 727 úsÁ dāh-é; 728 jisŪ 729  
visŪ 730 misŪ (731 nisŪ) séc-an-e; 732 púsÁ pūs-t-au; 733 srisŪ 734  
slisŪ 735 prúsŪ 736 plúsŪ dāh-é; 737 pḱṣŪ 738 vḱṣŪ 739 mḱṣŪ séc-an-e  
ca; í-tar-au <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>klés-anay-ós ca; 740 ghḱṣŪ saṁ-gharṣ-e; 741 hḱṣŪ  
álḱ-e; 742 túsÁ 743 hrásÁ 744 hlásÁ 745 rásÁ śábd-e; 746 lásÁ <sup>1</sup>ślēs-ana-  
<sup>2</sup>krīḍ-anay-ós ca; 747 ghásI ád-an-e; 748 járjÁ 749 cárcÁ 750 jhárjhÁ/  
jhárjÁ/\*jhártsÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhás-ana-<sup>2</sup>himsā-<sup>3</sup>tárj-ane-ṣu; 751 písṚ 752 pésṚ

gá-t-au; (753 vísÁ 754 vésÁ 755 bísÁ 756 bésÁ gá-t-au); 757 hásÉ  
hás-an-e; 758 nísÁ sam-ā-dh-au; 759 mísÁ 760 másÁ sábd-e; 761 sávÁ  
gá-t-au; 762 sásÁ plu-ta-gá-t-au; 763 sásÚ himsā-y-ām; 764 sánsÚ  
stú-t-au; 765 cáhÁ pari-kálk-an-e; 766 máhÁ pūjā-y-ām; 767 ráhÁ  
tyāg-é; 768 ráhÍ gá-t-au; 769 dḥhÁ 770 dḥhÍ 771 bḥhÁ 772 bḥhÍ  
vḥd-dh-au; 773 túhÍR 774 dúhÍR 775 úhÍR árd-an-e; 776 árhÁ  
pūjā-y-ām.

### **I.A.18. dyútA=āday-aḥ (1.3.91; 3.1.55) ánudātta=IT-aḥ**

777 dyútA dīp-t-au; 778 svítĀ vārṇ-e; 779 ŃI-mídĀ snéh-an-e; 780  
ŃI-ṣvídĀ gā-tra-pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 781 rúcA dīp-t-au abhi-prí-t-au ca; 782  
ghútA pari-várt-an-e; 783 rūtA 784 lūtA 785 lúṭhA prati-ghāt-é; 786  
śúbhA dīp-t-au; 787 kṣúbhA sam-cál-an-e; 788 ṇábhA 789 túbhA  
himsā-y-ām; 790 sránsU 791 dhvánsU 792 bhránsU ava-sráṁs-an-e; 793  
dhvánsU gá-t-au ca; 794 sránbhU vi-śvās-é; 795 vṛtU várt-an-e; 796  
vḥdhU vḥd-dh-au; 797 śḥdhU śabda-kutsā-y-ām; 798 syándŪ  
pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 799 kṛpŪ sāmartye.

### **I.A.19. ghátA=āday-aḥ M-IT-aḥ (6.4.92)**

#### **I.A.19.a. ánudātta=IT-aḥ**

800 ghátA ceṣṭā-y-ām; 801 vyáthA <sup>1</sup>bhayā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-cál-anay-oḥ; 802  
práthA pra-khyān-e; 803 práśA vi-stār-é; 804 mrádA márd-an-e; 805  
skháda skhád-an-e; 806 kṣājI <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>dānáy-oḥ; 807 dákṣA <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-  
<sup>2</sup>śās-anay-oḥ; 808 krápA kṛpā-y-ām gá-t-au; 809 kádI 810 krádI 811  
kládI vaí-klavy-e; 812 ŃI-tvárĀ sam-bhram-é; ghátA=āday-aḥ M-IT-aḥ.

#### **I.A.19.b. udātta=IT-aḥ**

813 jvárÁ róg-e; 814 gádÁ séc-an-e; 815 hédÁ vēṣṭ-an-e; 816 vátÁ 817  
bhátÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 818 nátÁ nṛt-t-au; 819 ṣṭákÁ prati-ghāt-é; 820  
cákÁ ṭṭp-t-au; 821 kákhÉ hás-an-e; 822 rágÉ śaṅká-y-ām; 823 lágÉ  
sāṅg-e; 824 hrágÉ 825 hlágÉ 826 śágÉ 827 ṣṭhágÉ sam-vár-aṇ-e; 828  
kágÉ ná=uc-yá-te; 829 ákÁ 830 ágÁ kutījā-y-ām gá-t-au; 831 kápÁ 832  
ránÁ gá-t-au; 833 cápÁ 834 sánÁ 835 sránÁ dān-é ca; 836 sráthÁ (837  
knáthÁ) 838 kráthÁ 839 kláthÁ himsā=arthāḥ; 840 cánÁ ca; 841 vánŪ  
ca ná=úpa-labh-ya-te; 842 jválÁ dīp-t-au; 843 hválÁ 844 hmálÁ cál-an-e;

845 smġ ā-dhyā-ne; 846 dġ bhay-é; 847 nġ nay-é; 848 śrā pāk-é; 849 <sup>1</sup>mār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>tōṣ-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>ni-sām-ane-su jñā; 850 kámp-an-e cáliḥ; 851 chādī-r ūj-an-e; 852 jihvā=un-máth-an-e laḍiḥ; 853 mādġ <sup>1</sup>hārṣa-<sup>2</sup>glép-anay-oḥ; 854 dhvánÁ sábd-e; ghátA=āday-aḥ MIT-aḥ.

(855 ránÁ sábd-e; 856 dálġ 857 válġ 858 skháli 859 trápi 860 kṣáp-ay-as ca; 861 svánÁ ava-táms-an-e)

862 jánġ- 863 jġṢ- 864 knásŰ- 865 ránj-aḥ-866 ám-antās ca; 867 jválÁ-hválÁ-hmálÁ-nám-ām án-upa-sarg-āt=vā; 868 glā-snā-vánŰ-vam-ām ca; 869 ná kámi=ámi-cám-ām; 870 sám-aḥ dárś-an-e; 871 yam-aḥ=á-pari-veṣ-aṇ-e; 872 skhádġr <sup>1</sup>áva-<sup>2</sup>pári-bhyām ca; 873 phánÁ gá-t-au; vṛt.

## **I.A.20. phaṇA=āday-aḥ (6.4.125)**

873 phánÁ gá-t-au; 874 rájġ dġp-t-au (svarita=IT); 875 ṬU-bhráj-Ṛ 876 ṬU-bhrás-Ṛ 877 ṬU-bhlás-Ṛ dġp-t-au; 878 syámŰ 879 svánÁ sábd-e (udātta=IT-au); (880 ṣtánÁ) 881 DHvánÁ sábd-e (udātta=IT); 882 ṣámÁ 883 ṣtámÁ vaikaly-e.

## **I.A.21. jválÁ=āday-aḥ (3.1.140)**

### **I.A.21.a. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ**

884 jválÁ dġp-t-au; 885 cálá kámp-an-e; 886 jálÁ ghāt-an-e; 887 tálÁ 888 ṭválÁ vaiklavy-e; 889 ṣthálÁ sthān-e; 890 hálÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 891 nálÁ gandh-é; 892 pálÁ gá-t-au; 893 bálÁ pr-āṇ-an-e dhānya=ava-rodh-é ca; 894 púlÁ mahat-tv-e; 895 kúlÁ sam-styā-n-é; 896 sálÁ 897 húlÁ 898 pátġ gá-t-au; húlÁ hīmsā-sam-vár-aṇay-oś ca; 899 kváthĒ niṣ-pāk-é; 900 páthĒ gá-t-au; 901 máthĒ vi-lód-an-e; 902 ṬU-vámÁ ud-gír-aṇ-e; 903 bhrámŰ cáł-an-e; 904 kṣárÁ sam-cál-an-e;

### **I.A.21.b. udāttāḥ=ánudātta=IT**

905 śáhA mārṣ-an-e;

### **I.A.21.c. án-udāttāḥ ánudātta=IT**

906 ramA krīḍā-y-ām;

### I.A.21.d. ánudāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

907 ṣadġ <sup>1</sup>vi-sār-ana-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti=<sup>3</sup>ava-sād-ane-ṣu; 908 ṣadġ ṣāt-an-e; 909 krusÁ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca.

### I.A.21.e. udāttau udātta=IT-au

910 kúcÁ <sup>1</sup>saṃ-pārc-ana-<sup>2</sup>kaūṭilya-<sup>3</sup>prati-ṣṭambhá-<sup>4</sup>vi-lékh-ane-ṣu; 911 búdhÁ ava-gám-an-e;

### I.A.21.f. ánudāttāḥ udātta=IT

912 ruhÁ bīja-jánman-i prādur-bhāv-é ca;

### I.A.21.g. udāttah udātta=IT

913 kásÁ gá-t-au; vṛt.

### I.A.22. svartitá=IT-aḥ

914 híkkÀ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e; 915 āñcŪ gá-t-au yāc-an-e ca; 916 ṬU-yācṚ yāc-ñā-y-ām; 917 rétṚ pari-bhās-aṇ-e; 918 cáṭÈ/cádÈ yāc-an-e ca; 919 próthṚ pary-āp-t-au; 920 mídṚ/médṚ <sup>1</sup>medhā-<sup>2</sup>híms-anay-oḥ; 921 nídṚ/nédṚ <sup>1</sup>kutsā-<sup>2</sup>saṃ-ni-kāṣ-ay-oḥ; 922 śṛdhŪ 923 mṛdhŪ únd-an-e; 924 búdhĪR bódh-an-e; 925 U-búndĪR ni-sām-an-e; 926 vénṚ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>jñāna-<sup>3</sup>cintā-<sup>4</sup>ni-sām-ana-<sup>5</sup>vād-i-tra-<sup>6</sup>gráh-aṇ-e-ṣu; 927 khánŪ ava-dār-aṇ-e; 928 cīvṚ <sup>1</sup>ā-dāná-<sup>2</sup>saṃ-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 929 cāyṚ <sup>1</sup>pūjā-<sup>2</sup>ni-sām-anay-oḥ; 930 vyáyÀ gá-t-au; 931 dāsṚ dān-é; 932 bhésṚ bhay-é; 933 bhrésṚ/bhlésṚ gá-t-au; 934 ásÀ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ti=<sup>3</sup>ā-dāné-ṣu; (935 áyÀ gá-t-au); 936 spásÁ <sup>1</sup>bádha-<sup>2</sup>spárs-anay-oḥ; 937 lāsÀ kán-t-au; 938 cāsÀ bháṣ-aṇ-e; 939 chāsÀ hímsā-y-ām; 940 jhāsÀ <sup>1</sup>ā-daná-<sup>2</sup>saṃ-vár-aṇay-oḥ; 941 bháṣÀ ád-an-e; 942 dāsṚ dān-é; 943 mǎhṚ mǎn-e; 944 gúhŪ saṃ-vár-aṇ-e; 945 śríÑ sevā-y-ām.

### I.B. ánudāttāḥ

## **I.B.1. áC=antāḥ**

### **I.B.1.a. svar-itá=IT-aḥ**

946 bḥṛÑ bhár-aṇ-e; 947 ḥṛÑ hár-aṇ-e; 948 dhṛÑ dhár-aṇ-e; (949 kṛÑ kár-aṇ-e); 950 ṇīÑ pr-āp-aṇ-e;

### **I.B.1.b. parasmai-padín-aḥ**

951 dheṬ pān-e; 952 glai 953 mlai harṣa-ksay-é; 954 dyai nyak-kár-aṇ-e; 955 drai svap-n-é; 956 dhrai tṛp-t-au; 957 dhyai cintā-y-ām; 958 rai śábd-e; 959 styai/ṣṭyai <sup>1</sup>śábda-<sup>2</sup>saṃ-ghātáy-oḥ; 960 khai khád-ane; 961 kṣai 962 jai 963 ṣai kṣay-é; 964 kai 965 gai śábd-e; 966 sai 967 śrai pāk-é; 968 pai 969 O-vai sóṣ-aṇ-e; 970 ṣṭai véṣṭ-an-e; 971 daiP sódh-an-e; 972 pā pān-e; 973 ghrā ghrāṇ-é; 974 dhṃā <sup>1</sup>śábda=<sup>2</sup>agni-sam-yog-áy-oḥ; 975 ṣṭhā gati-ni-vṛt-t-aú; 976 mnā abhy-ās-é; 977 dāÑ dān-é; 978 hvṛ kauṭily-e; 979 svṛ <sup>1</sup>śabda=<sup>2</sup>upa-tāp-ay-oḥ; 980 smṛ cintā-y-ām; (981 dvṛ vār-aṇ-e); 982 ṣṛ gá-t-au; 983 ṛ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pr-āp-aṇay-oḥ; 984 gṛ 985 ghṛ séc-an-e; 986 dhvṛ hūrch-an-e; 987 sru gá-t-au; 988 ṣu <sup>1</sup>pra-sav-á=<sup>2</sup>aśvavyay-oḥ; 989 sru sráv-aṇ-e; 990 dhru sthāiry-e; 991 du 992 dru gá-t-au; 993 ji 994 jri abhi-bhav-é; (995 ju iti sautrā-ḥ dhātu-ḥ gá-ti=artha-ḥ);

### **I.B.1.c. ātmane-padín-aḥ**

996 smiÑ Ṭsad-dhás-an-e; 997 guÑ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e; 998 gāÑ gá-t-au; 999 kuÑ 1000 ghuÑ 1001 uÑ 1002 nuÑ (1003 khuÑ) śábd-e; 1004 cyuÑ 1005 jyuÑ 1006 pruÑ 1007 pluÑ gá-t-au; 1008 ruÑ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>roṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 1009 dhṛÑ ava-dhvāms-an-e; 1010 meÑ pra-ṇi-dān-é; 1011 deÑ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 1012 śyaiÑ gá-t-au; 1013 pyaiÑ vṛd-dh-au; 1014 traiÑ pāl-an-e;

### **I.B.1.d. udāttāḥ atmane-padín-aḥ**

1015 púÑ páv-an-e; 1016 múÑ bándh-an-e; 1017 ḍíÑ víhāyas-ā gá-t-au;

## **I.B.1.e. udāttah parasmai-pad-ī**

1018 tī<sup>1</sup> plāv-ana-<sup>2</sup>tār-aṇay-oḥ;

## **I.B.2. hāl=antāh**

### **I.B.2.a. ānudātta=IT-aḥ**

1019 gupA góp-an-e; 1020 tijA ni-sān-e; 1021 mānA pūjā-y-ām; 1022 badhA bāndh-an-e; 1023 rabhA rābh-asy-e; 1024 ḌU-labhaṢ pra=āp-t-au; 1025 svanjA pari-ṣvang-é; 1026 hadÁ purīṣa=ut-sarg-é; (udātta=IT ca)

### **I.B.2.b. udātta=IT-aḥ**

(1026 hadÁ purīṣa=ut-sarg-é); 1027 ŃI-kṣvíd-Ā á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e (udāttah), 1028 skandĪR <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sós-aṇay-oḥ; 1029 yabhÁ vi-par-ī-ta-maithun-é; 1030 ṇamÁ pra-hva-tvé śábd-e ca; 1031 gamĪ 1032 sṛpĪ gá-t-au; 1033 yamÁ upa-ram-é; 1034 tapÁ saṁ-tāp-é; 1035 tyajÁ hān-au; 1036 ṣanjÁ sāṅg-e; 1037 ḍṣĪR pr-ékṣ-aṇ-e; 1038 danśA dās-an-e; 1039 kṛṣÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 1040 dahÁ bhasm-ī-kār-aṇ-e; 1041 mihÁ séc-an-e; 1042 kitA ni-vās-e roga=apa-náy-an-e ca;

### **I.B.2.c. svar-īta=IT-aḥ**

1043 dānÀ khāṇḍ-an-e; 1044 sānÀ téj-an-e; 1045 ḌU-pac-ĀṢ pāk-é; (1046 śacÀ sam-av-ay-ē;) 1047 bhajÀ sevā-y-ām; 1048 ranjÀ rāg-é; 1049 śapÀ ā-kroś-é; 1050 tviṣÀ dīp-t-au;

### **I.B.2.d. yajÀ=ād-ay-aḥ (6.1.15)**

#### **I.B.2.d.i. svar-itá=IT-aḥ**

1051 yajÀ <sup>1</sup>deva-pūjā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-ga-ti-kār-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>dāné-ṣu; 1052 ṬU-vapÀ bija-saṁ-tān-é; 1053 vahÀ pr-āp-aṇ-e; 1054 vasÁ ni-vās-e (udātta=IT); 1055 veÑ tan-tu-sam-tān-é; 1056 vyeÑ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e; 1057 hveÑ spardhā-y-ām śábd-e ca;

## **I.B.2.d.ii. udāttau parsmāi-pad-ín-au**

1058 vādÁ vy-àk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 1059 T̥U-O-sví <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>v̥d-dhy-oḥ.

## **II. Ad=āday=aḥ**

### **II.A. ánudattāḥ**

#### **II.A.1. udātta=IT-au**

1 adÁ bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 2 hanÁ <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ;

#### **II.A.2. svar-itá=IT-aḥ**

3 dviṣÀ á-prī-t-au; 4 duhÀ pra-pūr-aṇ-e; 5 dihÀ upa-cay-é; 6 lihÀ ā-svād-an-e;

#### **II.A.3. ánudātta=IT**

7 cakṣlN̄ vy-àk-tā-y-ām vāc-í;

## **II.B. udāttāḥ**

### **II.B.1. ánudātta=IT-aḥ**

8 írA gá-t-au; 9 íḍA stú-t-au; 10 íśA aísvary-e; 11 āsA upa-vés-an-e; 12 áN̄-aḥ sāsU icchá-y-ām; 13 vásA ā-cchād-an-e; 14 kásI <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sās-anay-oḥ; 15 ṇísI cúmb-an-e; 16 ṇíjI súd-dh-au; 17 síjI á-vy-ak-te sábd-e; 18 píjI várṇ-e; 19 v̥j̥jI várj-an-e; 20 p̥c̥l̄ sam-park-é; 21 ṣún̄ prāṇi-garbha-vi-móc-ane; 22 śíN̄ sváp-n-e;

### **II.B.2. parasmāi-pad-ín-aḥ**

23 yú mís-r-aṇ-e; 24 rú sábd-e; (25 tú v̥d-dhy-arth-a-ḥ); 26 ṇú stú-t-au; 27 T̥Ukṣú sábd-e; 28 kṣṇú téj-an-e; 29 ṣnu pra-srāv-aṇ-e;

## II.B.3. ubha-ya-pad-ī

30 ūṛṇuÑ ā-cchād-an-e

## II.C. ānudāttāḥ parasmai-pad-īn-aḥ (excepting 34,35,37)

31 dyu abhi-gām-an-e; 32 ṣu <sup>1</sup>pra-savá=<sup>2</sup>aísvaryay-oḥ; 33 ku śábd-e; 34 ṣtuÑ stú-t-au; 35 brūÑ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 36 iÑ gá-t-au; 37 iÑ adhy-áy-an-e; 38 iK smár-aṇ-e; 39 vī <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pra-janá-<sup>3</sup>kān-ti=<sup>4</sup>ás-ana-<sup>5</sup>khād-ane-ṣu; 40 yā pr-āp-aṇ-e; 41 vā <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>gándh-anay-oḥ; 42 bhā díp-t-au; 43 ṣnā sauc-é; 44 śrā pāk-é; 45 drā kutsā-y-ām gá-t-au; 46 psā bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 47 pā rákṣ-aṇ-e; 48 rā dan-é; 49 lā ā-dān-é; 50 dāP lāv-an-e; 51 khyā pra-kāth-an-e; 52 prā pūr-aṇ-e; 53 mā mán-e; 54 vacÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 55 vídÁ jñān-e (udātta-ḥ); 56 asÁ bhuv-í; 57 mṛjŪ súd-dh-au.

### II.C.1. rud=āday-aḥ (7.2.76; 3.98,99)

58 rúdÍr asru-vi-móc-an-e (udātta-ḥ); 59 ŪI-ṣvapÁ śay-é (ānu-dātta-ḥ); 60 śvāsÁ pr-āṇ-an-e; 61 ánÁ ca; 62 jákṣÁ <sup>1</sup>bhákṣa-<sup>2</sup>hás-anay-oḥ (60-62 udātt-āḥ).

### II.C.2. jákṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ (6.1.6)

62 jákṣÁ <sup>1</sup>bhákṣa-<sup>2</sup>hás-anay-oḥ; 63 jágṛ nidrā-kṣay-é; 64 dāridrā dur-gá-t-au; 65 cākāśŪ díp-t-au; 66 śāsŪ anu-siṣ-ṭ-au; 67 dídhīÑ <sup>1</sup>díp-ti-<sup>2</sup>dév-anay-oḥ; 68 vévīÑ vé-ti-nā túl-y-e (62-68 udatt-āḥ; 67-68 chānd-as-au).

### II.C.3. chāndas-au

69 śásÁ (śás-ti) sváp-n-e; 70 vāsÁ kān-t-au. 71 cár-kar-I-tam ca; 72 hnuÑ apa-náy-an-e (ānudātta-ḥ).

## III. Ju-hó-ti=āday-aḥ



### III.A. ánuḍāttāḥ

1 hu <sup>1</sup>dāná=<sup>2</sup>ád-anay-oḥ; 2 ÑI-bhī bhay-é; 3 hrī lajjā-y-ām; 4 pṛ <sup>1</sup>pāl-ana-<sup>2</sup>pūr-aṇay-oḥ; 5 ḌU-bhṛÑ <sup>1</sup>dhār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 6 māÑ mán-e sábd-e ca; 7 O-hāÑ gá-t-au; 8 O-hāK tyāg-é; 9 ḌUdāÑ dān-é; 10 ḌU-dhāÑ <sup>1</sup>dhār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 11 ñij̃R <sup>1</sup>śaucā-<sup>2</sup>pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 12 vij̃R pṛthag-bhāv-é; 13 viṣ̃ḷ vy-āp-t-au (11-13 svar-ita=IT-aḥ).

### III.B. chāndasāḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

14 ghṛ <sup>1</sup>kṣār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ty-oḥ; 15 hṛ pra-sah-ya-kār-aṇ-e; 16 ṛ 17 sṛ gá-t-au; 18 bhasÁ <sup>1</sup>bhārts-ana-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ty-oḥ; 19 ki (20 kitÁ) jñān-e; 21 turÁ tvār-aṇ-e; 22 dhiṣÁ sábd-e; 23 dhanÁ dhāny-e; 24 janÁ ján-an-e; 25 gā stú-t-au.

### IV. Dív-āday-aḥ

#### IV.A. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

1 dívÚ <sup>1</sup>krīdā-<sup>2</sup>vi-ji-gī-ṣ-ā-<sup>3</sup>vy-ava-hāra-<sup>4</sup>dyú-ti-<sup>5</sup>stú-ti-<sup>6</sup>mód-a-<sup>7</sup>mád-a-<sup>8</sup>sváp-na-<sup>9</sup>kān-ti-<sup>10</sup>gá-ti-ṣu; 2 śívÚ tan-tu-sam-tān-e; 3 srívÚ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sós-aṇay-oḥ; 4 ṣthívÚ ṣthívÚ nir-ás-an-e; 5 ṣnúṣÚ ád-an-e; ā-dān-é ity ék-e; á-darś-an-e ity ápar-e; 6 knásÚ <sup>1</sup>hvar-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>dīp-tyo-h; 7 v́yusÁ dāh-é; 8 plúsÁ ca; 9 ñt̃Í gā-tra-vi-ksep-é; 10 trásÍ ud-veg-é; 11 kúthÁ pū-tī-bhāv-é; 12 púthÁ himsā-y-ām; 13 gúdhÁ pari-veṣṭ-an-e; 14 kṣípÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 15 púṣpÁ vi-kás-an-e; 16 tímÁ 17 ṣtímÁ/ṣtímÁ ārdṛi-bhāv-é; 18 vr̃ṇdÁ cód-an-e (lajjā-y-ām ca); 19 íṣÁ gá-t-au; (20 śáhÁ) 21 śúhÁ caky-arth-e; 23 j̃ṣ̃ 23 jh̃ṣ̃ vayo-hā-n-aú.

#### IV.B. sú=āday-aḥ (oT=IT-aḥ) ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

##### IV.B.1. udāttau

24 sūÑ prāṇi-pra-sav-é; 25 dūÑ pari-tāp-é.

## IV.B.2. ánuḍāttāḥ

26 dīN̄ kṣay-é; 27 dīN̄ víhāyas-ā gá-t-au; 28 dhīN̄ ā-dhār-é; 29 mīN̄ himśá-y-ām; 30 rīN̄ śráv-aṇ-e; 31 hīN̄ śléṣ-aṇ-e; 32 vrīN̄ vṛ-ṇó-ty=arth-e; sú=āday-aḥ oT=IT-aḥ.

33 pīN̄ pān-e; 34 māN̄ mán-e; īN̄ gá-t-au; 36 prīN̄ prī-t-au;

## IV.C. ánuḍāttāḥ parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

37 só tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 38 cho chéd-an-e; 39 ṣo anta-kar-mán-i; 40 do ava-khāṇḍ-an-e.

## IV.D. udāttāḥ

### IV.D.1. ánuḍatta=IT-aḥ

41 jánī prādur-bhāv-é; 42 dīpī dīp-t-au; 43 pūrī ā-pyáy-an-e; 44 túrī <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-tvár-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>hims-anay-oḥ; 45 dhūrī 46 gūrī <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ; 47 ghūrī 48 jūrī <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>vayo-hā-ny-oḥ; 49 sūrī <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>stambháy-oḥ; 50 cūrī dāh-é; 51 tapA aísvary-e vā (ánuḍatta-ḥ); 52 vṛtU vart-an-e; 52a klísA upa-tāp-é; 53 kásṚ dīp-t-au; 54 vásṚ sábd-e;

### IV.D.2. svar-itá=IT-au

55 mṛśÀ titikśá-y-ām; 56 ī-súcĪR pūti-bhāv-é;

## IV.E. ánuḍāttāḥ

### IV.E.1. svar-itá=IT-aḥ

57 ṇahÀ bāndh-ane; 58 ranjÀ rāg-é; 59 śapÀ ā-krós-e;

### IV.E.2. ánuḍatta=IT-aḥ

60 padA gá-t-au; 61 khidA daíny-e; 62 vidA sattá-y-ām; 63 budhA ava-gám-an-e; 64 yudhA sam-pra-hār-é; 65 ánoḥ=rudhA kām-é; 66 anA pr-āṇ-an-e; 67 manA jñān-e; 68 yujA sam-ā-dh-aú; 69 sṛjA vi-sarg-é; 70 liśA alpī-bhāv-é;

### IV.E.3. udātta=IT-au

71 rādhÁ=h á-karma-k-āt vṛd-dh-āv evá; 72 vyadhÁ táđ-an-e;

### IV.F. puṣÁ=āday-aḥ (3.1.55) udātta=IT-aḥ

#### IV.F.1. ánudāttāḥ

73 puṣÁ púṣ-t-au; 74 śuṣÁ sóṣ-aṇ-e; 75 tuṣÁ prí-t-au; 76 duṣÁ vai-kṛ-t-y-e; 77 śliṣÁ ā-líng-an-e; 78 śakÁ ví-bhāṣ-i-ta-ḥ mārṣ-aṇ-e; 79 ṣvidÁ gā-tra-pra-kṣár-aṇ-e; 80 krudhÁ kópe; 81 kṣudhÁ bubhuk-ṣā-yā-m; 82 śudhÁ śauc-é; 83 ṣidhÚ sam-rād-dh-au;

#### IV.F.2. radhA=āday-aḥ (7.2.45)

84 radhÁ <sup>1</sup>himśā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-rād-dhy-oḥ; 85 ṇasÁ á-dars-an-e; 86 ṭpÁ prīṇ-an-e; 87 ḍpÁ <sup>1</sup>hārṣa-<sup>2</sup>móh-anay-oḥ; 88 druḥÁ jighamsā-y-ām; 89 muḥÁ vaicitty-e; 90 ṣṇuhÁ ud-gír-aṇ-e; 91 ṣṇihÁ prí-t-au;

#### IV.F.3. udāttāḥ

##### IV.F.3.a. sám=āday-aḥ (3.2.141; 7.3.74)

92 sámÚ upa-sám-é; 93 támÚ kāṅkṣā-y-ām; 94 dámÚ upa-sám-é; 95 śramÚ táp-as-i khed-é ca; 96 bhrámÚ án-ava-sthān-e; 97 kṣámÚ sáh-an-e; 98 klámÚ glā-n-aú; 99 mādĪ hārṣ-e;

100 ásÚ kṣép-aṇ-e; 101 yásÚ pra-yat-n-é; 102 jásÚ mókṣ-aṇ-e; 103 tásÚ upa-kṣay-é; 104 dásÚ ca; 105 vásÚ stambh-é; 106 vyúṣÁ vi-bhāg-é; 107 plúṣÁ dāh-é; 108 bisÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 109 kúsÁ slés-aṇ-e; 110 búsÁ ut-sarg-é; 111 músÁ khaṇḍ-an-e; 112 másĪ pari-mān-e; 113 lútÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e; 114 úcÁ sam-av-āy-é; 115 bhṛśÚ/bhṛnsÚ adhaḥ-pát-an-e; 116 vṛṣÁ vár-aṇ-e; 117 kṛṣÁ tanū-kár-aṇ-e; 118 ŅI-tṛṣÁ pipā-sā-y-ām; 119 hṛṣÁ tús-t-au; 120 rúṣÁ rós-e; 121 dípÁ kṣép-e; 122 kúpÁ kródh-e; 123 gúpÁ vy-ā-kula-tv-é; 124 yúpÁ 125 rúpÁ 126 lúpÁ vi-móh-an-e; (127 ṣtúpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é); 128 lúbhÁ gārd-dhy-e; 129 kṣúbhÁ sam-cál-an-e; 130 nábhÁ 131 túbhÁ himśā-y-ām; 132 klídĪ ārdri-bhāv-é; 133 ŅI-míd-Ā snéh-an-e; 134 ŅI-kṣvíd-Ā <sup>1</sup>snéh-ana-<sup>2</sup>móc-anay-oḥ; 135 ḡdhÚ vṛd-dh-au; 136 ḡdhÚ abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām; vṛt.

**V. Su=āday=aḥ**

**V.A. ānudāttāḥ**

**V.A.1. ubha-ya-pad-ín-aḥ**

1 ṣuÑ abhi-ṣav-é; 2 ṣiÑ bāndh-an-e; 3 śiÑ ni-śān-e; 4 DU-miÑ pra-kṣép-aṇ-e; 5 ciÑ cáy-an-e; 6 stṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e; 7 kṛÑ himsā-y-ām; 8 vṛÑ vár-aṇ-e (udātta-h); 9 dhuÑ kámp-an-e;

**V.A.2. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ**

10 TU-du upa-tāp-é; 11 hi gá-t-au vṛd-dh-au ca; 12 pṛ prít-t-au; 13 spṛ <sup>1</sup>prít-ti-<sup>2</sup>pāl-anay-oḥ; <sup>1</sup>prít-ti-<sup>2</sup>cál-anay-or ity ány-e; smṛ ity ék-e; 14 āpṛ vy-āp-t-au; 15 śakṛ śák-t-au; 16 rādhÁ 17 sādhdÁ saṁ-síd-dh-au;

**V.B. udāttāḥ**

**V.B.1. ān-udātta=IT-au**

18 ásŪ vy-āp-t-au saṁ-ghāt-é ca; 19 ṣtígghA ā-skánd-an-e;

**V.B.2. udātta=IT-aḥ**

20 tíkÁ/tígÁ gá-t-au; 21 śághÁ himsā-y-ām; 22 ŃI-dhṛṣ-Ā prā-galbhy-e; 23 dānbhŪ dambh-é; 24 ḡdhŪ vṛd-dh-au; 25 tṛpÁ prít-an-e;

**V.B.3. chándas-i**

26 áhÁ vy-āp-t-au; 27 dághÁ ghāt-an-e pāl-an-e ca; 28 cāmŪ bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 29 rí 30 kṣí 31 círi 32 jíri 33 dāsÁ 34 ḡ himsā-y-ām; vṛt.

**VI. Tudà=āday-aḥ**

## VI.A. án-udattāḥ svaríta=IT=aḥ

1 tudÀ vyáth-an-e; 2 ṇudÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 3 diśÀ ati-sárj-an-e; 4 bhrasjÀ pāk-é; 5 kṣipÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 6 kṛṣÀ vi-lékh-an-e;

## VI.B. udāttāḥ

### VI.B.1. udātta=IT

7 ḡṣĪ gá-t-au;

### VI.B.2. án-udatta=IT-aḥ

8 júṣĪ <sup>1</sup>prĭ-ti-<sup>2</sup>sév-anay-oḥ; 9 O-vĭj-Ī <sup>1</sup>bhay-á-<sup>2</sup>cál-anay-oḥ; 10 O-láj-Ī/O-lásj-Ī vrĭd-é;

### VI.B.3. udātta=IT-aḥ

11 O-vrásce-Ū chéd-an-e; 12 vyácÁ vyāji-kár-aṇ-e; 13 úchĪ uñch-é; 14 úchĪ vi-vās-é; 15 ḡchÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>indr-iya-pra-lay-á-<sup>3</sup>mūrti-bhāve-ṣu; 16 míchÁ ut-kles-é; 17 járjÁ/cárcÁ/jhárjhÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-a-<sup>2</sup>bhārts-anay-oḥ; 18 tvácÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 19 ḡcÁ stú-t-au; 20 úbjÁ ājav-é; 21 údjhÁ ut-sárg-e; 22 lúbhÁ vi-móh-an-e; 23 ríphÁ <sup>1</sup>kátth-ana-<sup>2</sup>yuddhá-<sup>3</sup>nindá-<sup>4</sup>himsá=<sup>5</sup>ā-dāné-ṣu; 24 tḡphÁ 25 tḡnphÁ tḡp-t-au; 26 túpÁ/túnphÁ/ 27 túphÁ/túnphÁ himsá-y-ām; 28 dḡphÁ 29 dḡnphÁ ut-klés-e; 30 ḡphÁ/ḡnphÁ himsá-y-ām; 31 gúphÁ/gúnphÁ granth-é; 32 úbhÁ/únbhÁ pūr-aṇ-e; 33 súbhÁ/súnbhÁ sóbhā=arth-e; 34 dḡbhĪ granth-é; 35 cḡtĪ <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>gránth-anay-oḥ; 36 vídhÁ vidhān-é; 37 júḍÁ gá-t-au; 38 mḡḍÁ súkh-an-e; 39 pḡḍÁ ca; 40 pḡṇÁ prĭṇ-an-e; 41 mḡṇÁ himsá-y-am; 42 dúṇÁ kauṭīl-y-e; 43 púnÁ kár-maṇ-i śubh-é; 44 múnÁ prati-jñān-e; 45 kúnÁ <sup>1</sup>sábd=²upa-tāpay-oḥ; 46 sunÁ gá-t-au; 47 drúnÁ <sup>1</sup>himsá-²gá-ti-³kauṭīlye-ṣu; 48 ghúnÁ 49 ghūrṇÁ bhrám-aṇ-e; 50 súrÁ <sup>1</sup>aśvarya-²dīp-ty-oḥ; 51 kúrÁ sábd-e; 52 khúrÁ chéd-an-e; 53 múrÁ saṁ-véṣṭ-an-e; 54 kṣúrÁ vi-lékh-an-e; 55 ghúrÁ <sup>1</sup>bhīmá=artha-²śábd-ay-oḥ; 56 púrÁ agra-gamane; 57 vḡhŪ ud-yām-an-e; 58 tḡhŪ/stḡhŪ/tḡnhŪ himsá=arthāḥ; 59 iśÁ icchā-y-ām; 60 mīśÁ spardhā-y-ām; 61 kílÁ śváity-e; 62 tílÁ snéh-an-e; 63 cílÁ vás-an-e; 64 cálÁ vi-lás-an-e; 65 ílÁ <sup>1</sup>sváp-na-²kṣép-aṇay-oḥ; 66 vílÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 67 bílÁ bhéd-an-e; 68 ṇílÁ gáh-an-e; 69 hílÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e; 70 sílÁ ṣílÁ uñch-é; 71 mílÁ slés-aṇ-e; 72 líkhÁ akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é.

## VI.C. kútÁ=āday-aḥ (1.2.1)

### VI.C.1. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

73 kútÁ kauṭily-e; 74 pútÁ saṁ-sleṣ-aṇ-e; 75 kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 76 gújÁ śábd-e; 77 gúdÁ rakṣá-y-ām; 78 dípÁ kṣép-e; 79 chúrÁ chéd-an-e; 80 sphútÁ vi-kás-an-e; 81 mútÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-kṣep-á-<sup>2</sup>pra-márd-anay-oḥ; 82 trútÁ chéd-an-e; 83 tútÁ kalaha-kár-maṇ-i; 84 cúťÁ/chúťÁ chéd-an-e; 85 júđÁ bándh-an-e; 86 kádÁ mad-é; 87 lútÁ saṁ-sleṣ-aṇ-e; 88 kṛđÁ ghana-tv-é; 89 kúđÁ bály-e; 90 púđÁ ut-sárg-e; 91 ghútÁ prati-ghāt-é; 92 túđÁ tóđ-an-e; 93 thúđÁ 94 sthúđÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 95 sphúrÁ 96 sphúlÁ saṁ-cál-an-e; 97 sphúđÁ 98 cúđÁ 99 vrúđÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; (100 krúđÁ 101 bhṛđÁ ni-máj-j-an-e; 102 húđÁ saṁ-ghā-té); 103 gúrĪ ud-yám-an-e; 104 nú stú-t-au; 105 dhú vi-dhūn-an-e; 106 gú purīṣa=ut-sargé; 107 dhru <sup>1</sup>gāti-<sup>2</sup>sthaíryay-oḥ (ánudātta-ḥ).

### VI.C.2. ātmane-pad-ī

108 kúŃ śábd-e;

## VI.D. ánudāttāḥ

### VI.D.1. ātmane-pad-ín-au

109 pṛŃ vy-ā-yām-é; 110 mṛŃ prāṇa-tyāg-é;

### VI.D.2. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

111 ri 112 pi gá-t-au; 113 dhi dhār-aṇ-e; 114 kṣi <sup>1</sup>ni-vās-á-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ; 115 śú pr-ér-aṇ-e (udātta-ḥ);

### VI.D.3. kir-āday-aḥ (7.2.75)

116 kṛ vi-kṣép-e; 117 gṛ ni-gár-aṇ-e; 118 dṛŃ ā-dar-é; 119 dhṛŃ ava-sthān-e; 120 prachA jñīpsá-y-ām; [116-17 udātt-au; 118-19 ātmane-pad-in-au].

#### VI.D.4. udātta=IT-ah

121 sṛjÁ vi-sárg-e; 122 ṭU-masj-Ó súd-dh-au; 123 rujÓ bhaṅg-é; 124 bhujÓ kaúṭily-e; 125 chupÁ sparsé; 126 ruśÁ/riśÁ himśā-y-ām; 127 liśÁ gá-t-au; 128 spṛśÁ saṁ-spárs-an-e; 129 vichÁ gá-t-au; 130 viśÁ pra-vés-an-e; 131 mṛśÁ ā-márs-an-e; 132 ṇudÁ pr-ér-an-e; 133 ṣadḷ<sup>1</sup>vi-sár-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti=<sup>3</sup>ava-sād-ane-su; 134 śadḷ<sup>1</sup>śāt-an-e;

#### VI.D.5. svar-íta=IT

135 mīlÀ saṁ-gám-an-e (udātta-h);

#### VI.D.6. muc=āday-ah (7.1.59)

##### VI.D.6.a. svar-ita-it-ah

136 mucḷ mokṣ-an-e; 137 lupḷ chéd-an-e; 138 vidḷ lābh-é; 139 lipÀ upa-déh-e; 140 ṣicÁ kṣár-an-e;

##### VI.D.6.b. udātta=IT-ah

141 kṛtḷ chéd-an-e; 142 khidÁ pari-ghāt-é; 143 písÁ ava-yav-é. vrt.

#### VII. Rudh=āday-ah

##### VII.A. ánudattāḥ svar-íta=IT-ah

1 rudhÌR ā-vár-an-e; 2 bhidÌR vi-dār-an-e; 3 chidÌR dvaidhī-kár-an-e; 4 ricÌR vi-réc-an-e; 5 vicÌR pṛthag-bhāv-é; 6 kṣudÌR sam-pr-éṣ-an-e; 7 yujÌR yóg-e;

##### VII.B. udāttāḥ

##### VII.B.1. svar-íta=IT-au

8 UchḡdÌR <sup>1</sup>dīp-ti-<sup>2</sup>dév-anay-oḥ; 9 UtḡdÌR <sup>1</sup>himsā=<sup>2</sup>án-ā-dar-ay-oḥ;

## VII.B.2. udātta=IT

10 kṛtĪ veṣṭ-an-e;

## VII.B.3. ānudātta=IT

11 ŅI-īndh-Ī dīp-t-au;

## VII.C. ānudāttāḥ

### VII.C.1. ānudātta=IT-aṁ ,

12 khidA daīny-e; 13 vidA vi-cār-aṇ-e;

### VII.C.2. udātta=IT-aḥ

14 sīṣṬ vi-ṣeṣ-aṇ-e; 15 piṣṬ sam-cūrṇ-an-e; 16 bhanjÓ ā-márd-an-e; 17  
bhujÁ <sup>1</sup>pāl-ana=<sup>2</sup>abhy-ava-hār-áy-oḥ;

## VII.D. udāttāḥ udātta=IT-aḥ

18 tṣhÁ himsā-y-ām; 19 hísĪ himsā-y-ām; 20 úndĪ kléd-an-e; 21 ánĵŪ  
<sup>1</sup>vy-ák-ti-<sup>2</sup>mrákṣ-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>kān-ti-<sup>4</sup>gá-ti-su; 22 táncŪ sam-kóc-an-e; 23 O-vīj-Ī  
<sup>1</sup>bhayá-<sup>2</sup>cál-anay-oḥ; 24 vĵĵĪ várj-an-e; 25 pċĪ sam-park-é; vṛt.

## VIII. Tan-āday-aḥ

### VIII.A. udāttāḥ

#### VIII.A.1. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1 tánŪ vi-stār-é; 2 śánŪ dān-é; 3 kṣánŪ himsā-y-ām; 4 kṣínŪ ca; 5  
ṣṇŪ gá-t-au; 6 tṣṇŪ ád-an-e; 7 ghṣṇŪ dīp-t-au;

#### VIII.A.2. ānudātta=IT-au

8 vánU yác-an-e; 9 mánU ava-bódh-an-e;



## VIII.B. ánuḍāttāḥ=ubha-ya-to-bhāśā-ḥ

10 ḍU-kṛ-Ñ kár-aṇ-e.

## IX. Krī=aday-aḥ

### IX.A. ánuḍāttāḥ svar-íta=IT-aḥ

1 ḍU-kṛ-Ñ dravya-vi-ni-may-é; 2 prīÑ tárp-aṇ-e kân-t-au ca; 3 śrīÑ pāk-é; 4 mīÑ mán-e; 5 ṣiÑ bándh-an-e; 6 skuÑ ā-práv-aṇ-e; (7 stanbhÛ stunbhÛ 8 skanbhÛ skunbhÛ ródh-an-e); 9 yuÑ bándh-an-e;

### IX.B. udāttāḥ

#### IX.B.1. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

10 knūÑ sábd-e; 11 drūÑ himsā-y-ām;

#### IX.B.2. pū=āday-aḥ (7.3.80)

##### IX.B.2.a. svar-íta=IT-aḥ

12 pūÑ páv-an-e; [12-33: pū=aday-aḥ].

##### IX.B.2.b. lū=āday-aḥ (8.2.44: 13-33)

13 lūÑ chéd-an-e; 14 stīÑ ā-cchād-an-e; 15 kīÑ himsā-y-ām; 16 vīÑ vár-aṇ-e; 17 dhūÑ kámp-an-e;

#### IX.B.3. udātta=IT-aḥ

18 śī himsā-y-ām; 19 pī<sup>1</sup> pāl-ana-<sup>2</sup>pūr-aṇay-oḥ; 20 vī vár-aṇ-e; 21 bhī bhárt-an-e; 22 mī himsā-y-ām; 23 dī vi-dár-aṇ-e; 24 jī vayo-hā-n-áu; 25 nī nay-é; 26 kī himsā-y-ām; 27 ī gá-t-au; 28 gī sábd-e;

### IX.C. ánuḍāttāḥ udātta-it-aḥ

29 jyā vayo-hā-n-áu; 30 rī<sup>1</sup> gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>rēs-aṇay-oḥ; 31 lī śleṣ-aṇ-e; 32 vlī vár-aṇ-e; 32a plī gá-t-au; vṛt. 33 vrī vár-aṇ-e; 34 bhrī bhay-é; 35 kṣī himsā-y-ām; 36 jñā ava-bódh-an-e; 37 bandhÁ bándh-an-e;

## IX.D. udāttah

### IX.D.1. ātmane-pad-ī

38 vṛñ sām-bhāk-t-au;

### IX.D.2. udātta=it-ah

39 śrānthÁ <sup>1</sup>vi-móc-ana-<sup>2</sup>prati-harṣáy-oh; 40 mánthÁ vi-lód-ane; 41 gránthÁ sam-darbh-é; 42 kúnthÁ sam-sleş-aṇ-e; 43 mṛdÁ kṣód-e; 44 mṛdÁ ca; 45 gúdhÁ roṣ-e; 46, kūṣÁ niṣ-karṣ-é; 47 kṣúbhÁ sam-cál-an-e; 48 nābhÁ 49 túbhÁ himsā-y-ām; 50 klísŪ vi-bādh-an-e; 51 ásÁ bhó-j-an-e; 52 údhrasÁ uñch-é; 53 iṣÁ ābhīksny-e; 54 viṣÁ vi-pra-yog-é; 55 prúsÁ 56 plúsÁ <sup>1</sup>snéh-ana-<sup>2</sup>sév-ana-<sup>3</sup>pūraṇe-ṣu; 57 púsÁ pús-t-au; 58 músÁ sté-y-e; 59 khácÁ bhūta-prādur-bhāv-é; (60) hédhÁ ca;

### IX.D.3. svar-ita=it

61 gráhÁ up-ā-dān-é.

## X. Cur-āday-ah

### X.A. parasmai-pad-in-ah

1 curÁ ste-y-é; 2 citÍ smṛ-ty-ām; 3 yatrÍ sam-kóc-an-e; 4 sphuḍÍ pari-hās-é; 5 lakṣÁ <sup>1</sup>dárs-ana-<sup>2</sup>ánk-ānay-oh; 6 kudrÍ an-ṛta-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 7 laḍÁ upa-sevā-y-ām; 8 midÍ snéh-an-e; 9 olaḍÍ ut-kṣép-aṇ-e; 10 jalÁ apa-vār-aṇ-e; 11 pīḍÁ ava-gāh-an-e; 12 naṭÁ ava-syān-d-an-e; 13 śrathÁ pra-yat-n-é; 14 badhÁ sam-yám-an-e; 15 pṛ pūr-aṇ-e; 16 ūrjÁ <sup>1</sup>bála-<sup>2</sup>pr-āṇ-anay-oh; 17 pakṣÁ pari-gráh-e; 18 varṇÁ cūrṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 19 prathÁ pra-khyān-e; 20 pṛthA pra-kṣep-é; 21 śambÁ sam-bāndh-an-e; 22 bhakṣÁ ád-an-e; 23 kuṭṭÁ <sup>1</sup>chéd-ana-<sup>2</sup>bhārts-anay-oh; 24 puṭṭÁ cuṭṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é; 25 aṭṭÁ 26 suṭṭÁ án-ā-dar-e; 27 luṇṭhÁ sté-y-e; 28 śathÁ 29 śvathÁ <sup>1</sup>a-sam-s-kār-a-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oh; 30 tujÍ 31 pijÍ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>bála-<sup>3</sup>ā-dānā-<sup>4</sup>ni-két-ane-ṣu; 32 piśa gá-t-au; 33 śāntvÁ sāma-pra-yog-é; 34 śvalkÁ 35 valkÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 36 ṣnihÁ snéh-an-e; 37 smiṭÁ án-ā-dar-e; 38 śliṣÁ śleş-aṇ-e; 39 pathÍ ga-t-au; 40 pichÁ kúṭṭ-an-e; 41 chadÍ sam-vār-aṇ-e; 42 śraṇÁ dān-é; 43 tadÁ ā-ghāt-é; 44 khadÁ khadÍ kaḍÍ khāṇ-d-an-e; 45 kuḍÍ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 46 guḍÍ vēṣṭ-an-e; 47 khuḍÍ khāṇ-d-an-e; 48 vaṭÍ

vi-bhāj-an-e; 49 maḍÍ bhūśā-y-ām; 50 bhaḍÍ kalyāṇ-e; 51 chardÁ vām-an-e; 52 pustÁ bustÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-darā=<sup>2</sup>ān-ā-daray-oḥ; 53 cudÁ saṁ-cód-an-e; 54 nakkÁ 55 dhakkÁ nās-an-e; 56 cakkÁ cukká vyáth-an-e; 57 kṣalÁ sāuca-kār-maṇ-i; 58 talÁ pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām; 59 tulÁ un-mān-e; 60 dulÁ ut-kṣep-é; 61 pulÁ mahat-tv-é; 62 culÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é; 63 mūlÁ rōh-aṇ-e; 64 kalÁ 65 vilÁ kṣep-e; 66 bilÁ bhéd-an-e; 67 tilÁ snéh-an-e; 68 calÁ bhṭ-t-au; 69 palÁ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 70 lūśÁ himśā-y-ām; 71 ūlbÁ mām-e; 72 cuṭÁ chéd-an-e; 73 muṭÁ saṁ-cūrṇ-an-e; 74 paḍÍ paśÍ nās-an-e; 75 vrajÁ <sup>1</sup>mārga-saṁ-s-kār-a-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ; 76 ūlkÁ aī-sārj-an-e; 77 caḍÍ gá-ty-ām; 78 kṣaḍÍ kṣān-ty-ām; 79 kṣajÍ kṣcchra-jīv-an-e; 80 svartÁ gá-ty-ām; 81 jñapÁ M-IT=ca jñapÁ <sup>1</sup>jñāna-<sup>2</sup>jñāp-ana-<sup>3</sup>mār-aṇa-<sup>4</sup>tōṣ-aṇa-<sup>5</sup>ni-sāna-<sup>6</sup>ni-sām-ane-ṣu 82 yamÁ ca pari-vēṣ-aṇ-e; 83 cahÁ pari-kālk-an-e; 84 rahÁ tyāg-é; 85 balÁ pr-āṇ-an-e; 86 ciṅ cāy-an-e; na-āny-e M-IT-aḥ.

87 ghaṭṭÁ cāl-an-e; 88 mustÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 89 khaṭṭÁ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e; 90 ṣaṭṭÁ 91 sphittÁ 92 cubÍ himśā-y-ām; (93 puśÁ) 94 pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 95 puṁśÁ abhi-vārdh-an-e; (96 vyapÁ kṣep-e); 97 takÍ bāndh-an-e; 98 dhūsÁ kān-ti-kār-aṇ-e; 99 kītÁ vārṇ-e; 100 cūrṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 101 pūjÁ pūjā-y-ām; 102 arkÁ stāv-an-e; 103 śuṭhÁ ā-lasy-e; 104 śuṭhÍ sós-aṇ-e; 105 juḍÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 106 gajÁ 107 mārjÁ śābda-arth-au; 108 ghṛ pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 109 paḥÍ vi-stāra-vāc-an-e; 110 tijÁ ni-sān-e; 111 kṛtÁ saṁ-sābd-an-e; 112 vardhÁ <sup>1</sup>chéd-ana-<sup>2</sup>pūr-aṇay-oḥ; 113 kubÍ chād-an-e; 114 lubÍ 115 tubÍ ā-dars-an-e; 116 hlapÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 117 cuṭÍ chéd-an-e; (118 mṛḍÍ tuḍÍ) 119 ilÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e; 120 mraḥśÁ mlécch-an-e; 121 mlechÁ ā-vy-ak-tā-y-ām vāc-í; 122 brūsÁ 123 barhÁ himśā-y-ām; (124 garjÁ gardÁ śābd-e; 125 gardhÁ abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām); 126 gurdÁ 127 pūrvA ni-két-an-e; 128 jasÍ rákṣ-aṇ-e; 129 ṭḍÁ stū-t-au; 130 jasÚ himśā-y-ām; 131 piḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-é; 132 ruśÁ rōṣ-e; 133 ḍipÁ kṣep-e; 134 ṣṭupÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é.

## X.B. ātmane-pad-in-aḥ

ā kusm-āt=ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ: 135 citA saṁ-cét-an-e; 136 daśÍ dáms-an-e; 137 dasÍ <sup>1</sup>dárs-ana-<sup>2</sup>dáms-anay-oḥ; 138 ḍapA ḍipA saṁ-ghāt-é; 139 tatrÍ kuṭumba-dhār-aṇ-e; 140 matrÍ gup-ta-bhāṣ-aṇ-é; 141 spaśÁ <sup>1</sup>grāh-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-slēṣ-aṇay-oḥ; 142 tarjA 143 bhartsA saṁ-tārj-an-e; 144 hastA 145 gandhA ārd-an-e; 146 viṣkA himśā-y-ām; 147 niṣkA pari-mām-e; 148 lalA ṭp-sā-y-ām; 149 kūṇA saṁ-kóc-an-e; 150

tūṇA pūr-aṇ-e; 151 bhrūṇA āśā-y-ām; 152 śathA ślāghā-y-ām; 153 yakṣA pūjā-y-ām; 154 syamA vi-tārke; 155 gūrA ud-yām-an-e; 156 śamA 157 lakṣA ā-lóc-an-e; 158 kutsA ava-kṣép-aṇ-e; 159 truṭA chéd-an-e; 160 gala srāv-aṇ-e; 161 bhalA ā-bhāṇḍ-an-e; 162 kūṭA á-pra-dān-e; 163 vancU pra-lāmbh-an-e; 164 vṛṣA śak-ti-bāndh-an-e; 165 madA tṛp-ti-yog-é; 166 divU pari-kūj-an-e; 167 gṛ vi-jñan-é; 168 vidA <sup>1</sup>cét-ana=<sup>2</sup>ā-khyā-na-<sup>3</sup>ni-vāsé-ṣu; 169 manA stambh-é; 170 yu jugup-sā-y-ām; 171 kusMA nāmn-aḥ vā [kuts-ita-smáy-an-e].

## X.C. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

172 carcÁ adhy-áy-an-e; 173 bukkÁ bhaṣ-aṇ-e; 174 śabdÁ śabda-kriy-ā-y-ām; upa-sarg-āt=āviṣ-kār-é ca; 175 kaṇÁ ni-mṛl-an-e; 176 jabhl̥ nās-an-e; 177 śūdÁ kṣār-aṇ-e; 178 jasÚ tād-an-e; 179 paśÁ bāndh-an-e; 180 amÁ róg-e; 181 caṭÁ 182 sphuṭÁ bhéd-an-e; 183 ghaṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é; 184 hān-ti=arth-ās=ca; 185 divÚ márd-an-e; 186 arjÁ pra-yat-n-é; 187 ghuṣṛ vi-śábd-an-e; 188 āN-aḥ krandÁ sá-ta-ty-e; 189 lasA śilpa-yog-é; 190 tasí bhūṣÁ alaṁ-kār-é; 191 mokṣA ás-an-e; 192 arhÁ pūjā-y-ām; 193 jñā ni-yog-é; 194 bhajÁ vi-srāṇ-an-e; 195 śṛdhÚ pra-sáh-an-e; 196 yatÁ <sup>1</sup>ni-kār-á=<sup>2</sup>upa-s-kār-áy-oḥ; 197 rakÁ lagÁ ā-svād-an-e; 198 ancÚ vi-sés-aṇ-e; 199 ligí citrī-kār-aṇ-e; 200 mudÁ saṁ-sarg-é; 201 trasÁ dhār-aṇ-e; 202 udhrasÁ uñch-é; 203 mucÁ pra-móc-an-e mód-an-e ca; 204 vasÁ<sup>1</sup>sneh-á=<sup>2</sup>ched-á=<sup>3</sup>apa-hár-aṇ-e-ṣu; 205 carÁ saṁ-sáy-é; 206 cyu-hás-an-e; sáh-an-e ca ity ék-e; 207 bhuv-aḥ ava-kálk-an-e; 208 kṛpṣ ca.

## X.C.1. ā svad-aḥ sa-kar-ma-k-āt

209 grasÁ gráh-aṇ-e; 210 puṣÁ dhār-aṇ-e; 211 dalÁ vi-dār-aṇ-e; 212 paṭÁ 213 puṭÁ 214 luṭÁ 215 tují 216 mijí 217 pijí 218 lují 219 bhají 220 laghí 221 trasí 222 piśí 223 kuśí 224 daśí 225 kuśí 226 ghaṭÁ 227 ghaṭí 228 bṛhí 229 barhÁ 230 balhÁ 231 gupÁ 232 dhupÁ 233 vichÁ 234 cīvÁ 235 puthÁ 236 lokṛ 237 locṛ 238 ṇadÁ 239 kupÁ 240 tarkÁ 241 vṛtÚ 242 vṛdhÚ bhāṣā=arth-aḥ; (243 ruṭÁ 244 lají 245 ají 246 daśí 247 bṛṣí 248 ruśí 249 śikÁ 250 naṭÁ 251 puṭí 252 jucí 253 raghí 254 laghí 255 ahí 256 rahí 257 mahí bhāṣā=arth-aḥ; 258 laḍí 259 taḍÁ 260 nalÁ ca); 261 pūrí ā-pyáy-an-e; 262 rujÁ himsā-y-ām; 263 ṣvadÁ ā-svād-an-e; svād-Á ity ék-e.

## X.C.2. ā dhr̥ṣ-āt vā

264 yujÁ 265 pṛcÁ saṁ-yám-an-e; 266 arcÁ pūjā-y-ām; 267 ṣahÁ mārṣ-aṇ-e; 268 īrÁ kṣép-e; 269 lī dravī-kár-aṇ-e; 270 vṛñ ā-vár-aṇ-e; 271 vṛjī várj-an-e; 272 jī vayo-hā-n-au; 273 ricÁ <sup>1</sup>vi-yój-ana-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-párc-anay-oḥ; 274 śisÁ á-sarva=upa-yog-e; 275 tapÁ dāh-é; 276 tṛpÁ tṛp-t-au; 277 chṛdī saṁ-dīp-an-e; 278 dṛbhī bhay-é; 279 dṛbhÁ saṁ-dárbh-e; 280 śrathÁ mókṣ-aṇ-e; 281 mī gá-t-au; 282 granthÁ bándh-an-e; 283 śikÁ ā-mārṣ-aṇ-e; 284 cikÁ ca; 285 ardÁ himsā-y-ām; 286 hisī himsā-y-ām; (287 arhÁ pūjā-y-ām); 288 āñ-ah ṣad-Á padi=arth-é; 289 śundhÁ śauca-kár-maṇ-i; 290 chadÁ apa-vár-aṇ-e; 291 juśÁ pari-tárk-aṇ-e; 292 dhūñ kámp-an-e; 293 pṛñ tárp-aṇ-e; 294 śranthÁ granthÁ saṁ-dárbh-e; 295 āpḷ lāmbh-an-e (svar-it=IT ca); 296 tanŪ <sup>1</sup>śrad-dhā=<sup>2</sup>upa-kár-aṇay-oḥ; upa-sárg-āt ca dairghy-e; 297 vadÁ saṁ-deśa-vác-an-e; 298 vacÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 299 mñnÁ pūjā-y-ām; 300 bhū pr-āp-t-au ātmane-pad-ī vā; 301 garhÁ vi-nínd-an-e; 302 mārġÁ anv-ēs-aṇ-e; 303 kaṭhī sók-e; 304 mṛjÁ <sup>1</sup>saucá=<sup>2</sup>alaṁ-kār-áy-oḥ; 305 mṛṣÁ titik-ṣā-y-ām (ānudātta=IT/mṛṣÁ svar-ita=IT); 306 dhr̥ṣÁ pra-sáh-an-e.

## X.D. aT=ant=āḥ

### X.D.1. parasmai-pad-ín-aḥ

307 katha vāk-ya-pra-bándh-e; 308 vara īp-sā-y-ām; 309 gaṇa saṁ-khyān-e; 310 śaṭha śvaṭha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e; 311 paṭa vaṭa gránth-e; 312 raha tyāg-é; 313 stana 314 gadī deva-sabd-é; 315 pata gá-t-au vā; 316 paṣa án-upa-sarg-āt; 317 svara ā-kṣep-é; 318 raca prati-yat-n-é; 319 kala gá-t-au saṁ-khyān-e ca; 320 caha pari-kálk-an-e; 321 maha pūjā-y-ām; 322 sara 323 kṛpa 324 śratha daur-bal-y-e; 325 spṛha īp-sā-y-ām; 326 bhāma kródh-e; 327 sūca paísuny-e; 328 kheṭa bhákṣ-aṇ-e; 329 kṣoṭa kṣép-e; 330 goma upa-lép-an-e; 331 kumāra krīḍā-y-ām; 332 śīla upa-dhār-a-ṇ-e; 333 sāma śāntva-pra-yog-é; 334 vela kāla=upa-deś-é; 335 palyūla <sup>1</sup>láv-ana-<sup>2</sup>páv-anay-oḥ; 336 vāta <sup>1</sup>sukhá-<sup>2</sup>sév-anay-oḥ; 337 gaveṣa mārġ-aṇ-e; 338 vāsa upa-sév-ā-y-ām; 339 nivāsa ā-cchād-an-e; 340 bhāja pṛthak-kár-maṇ-i; 341 sabhāja <sup>1</sup>prī-ti-<sup>2</sup>dárs-anay-oḥ; 342 ūna pari-hā-ṇ-é; 343 dhvana śabd-e; 344 kūta pari-tāp-é; 345 saṁketa 346 grāma 347 kuṇa guṇa ca ā-māntr-aṇ-e; (348 kūna saṁ-kóc-an-e); 349 ste-na caúry-e.

## X.D.2. ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

### X.D.2.a. ā garv-āt ātmane-pad-ín-aḥ

350 pada gá-t-au; 351 gr̥ha gráh-aṇ-e; 352 mrga anv-éṣ-aṇ-e; 353 kuha vi-smā-p-an-e; 354 sūra 355 vīra vi-krān-t-au; 356 sthūla pari-bṛñh-aṇ-e; 357 artha upa-yac-ñā-y-ām; 358 sattra sam-tāna-kriyā-y-ām; 359 garva mán-e;

360 sūtra véṣṭ-an-e; 361 mūtra pra-srāv-aṇ-e; 362 rūkṣa páruṣy-e; 363 pāra 364 tīra kar-ma-sam-āp-t-aú; 365 puṭa sam-sarg-é; 366 kattrā śáithily-e.

368 prātipadik-āt dhātv-arth-é bahulám iṣṭa-vát=ca; tát kar-ó-ti tát ā-caṣ-te; t-éna áti-krām-a-ti; dhātu-rúpá-m ca; kartṛ-kar-aṇ-āt dhātv=arth-é.

369 baṣka dárś-ane; 370 citra citrī-kár-aṇ-e; kadā-cid dárś-an-e; 371 aṁsa sam-ā-ghāt-é; 372 vaṭa vi-bhāj-an-e; (373 raṭa pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e); 374 laja pra-kās-an-e; 375 mīśra sam-park-é; 376 sam-grāma yud-dh-é; 377 stoma ślāgh-ā-y-ām; 378 chidra karṇa-bhéd-an-e; (379 karṇa bhéd-an-e); 380 andha dṛṣ-ṭi=upa-ghāt-é; 381 daṇḍa daṇḍa-ni-pāt-é; 382 aṅka pad-é lākṣ-aṇ-e ca; 383 sukha 384 duḥkha tat-kriyā-y-ām; 385 rasa <sup>1</sup>ā-svād-ana-<sup>2</sup>snéh-anay-oḥ; 386 vyaya vitta-sam-ut-sarg-é; 387 rūpa rūpa-kriyā-y-ām; 388 cheda dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e; 389 lābha pr-ér-aṇ-e; 390 vṛaṇa gātra-vi-cūrṇ-an-e; 391 varṇa <sup>1</sup>varṇa-kriyā-<sup>2</sup>vistār-á-<sup>3</sup>guṇa-vác-ane-ṣu; bahulám étad ni-dárś-an-am; 392 parṇa harita-bhāv-é; viṣka dárś-an-e; kṣapa pr-ér-aṇ-e; vasa ni-vás=e; tuttha ā-vár-aṇ-e.

393 Niñ áṅg-āt nir-ás-an-e; 394 <sup>1</sup>śveta=aśvá=<sup>2</sup>aśva-tará-<sup>3</sup>gāloḍi-tá=<sup>4</sup>ā-hvar-akā-ṇ-ām <sup>1</sup>aśva-<sup>2</sup>tará=<sup>3</sup>itá-<sup>4</sup>ká-lop-a-ś ca; 395 púccha=ādi-ṣu dhātv=arthá ity evá siddhám.

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## A

aṁsa sam-ghāt-é X 371; (aṁh) = áhI ga-t-au I 666; (aṁh) = (ahI bhāṣā=artha-h X 255); ákÁ kuṭilā-y-ām gá-t-au I 829; ákṣŪ vy-āp-t-au I 684; (agha pāpa-kār-aṇ-e X 392); (aṅk) = ákI lākṣ-aṇ-e I 87; anka pad-é lākṣ-aṇ-e ca X 382; (aṅg) = ágI gá-ty-artha-a-h I 155; aṅga pad-é lākṣ-aṇ-e ca X 382; (aṅgh) = ághI ga-ty-ā-kṣep-é I 109; ájÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kṣép-aṇa-yoḥ I 248; áñcŪ gá-ti-pūj-anay-oḥ I 203; áñcŪ gá-t-au yác-an-e ca I 915; añcŪ vi-sés-aṇ-e X 198; ánjŪ <sup>1</sup>vy-ák-ti-<sup>2</sup>mrákṣ-aṇ-a-<sup>3</sup>kān-ti-<sup>4</sup>gá-ti-su VII 21; (añj) = ajI bhāṣā-artha-a-h X 245; átÁ gá-t-au I 317; átṭA <sup>1</sup>ati-kram-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>hims-anay-oḥ I 273; aṭṭÁ án-ā-dar-e X 25; áḍÁ ud-yám-e I 380; áḍḍÁ abhi-yog-é I 371; áṇÁ pr-āṇ-an-e IV 66; áṇÁ sábd-a-rtha-h I 471; (aṇth) = áthI gá-t-au I 280; átÁ sá-tat-ya-gám-an-e I 38; adÁ bhákṣ-aṇ-e II 1; anÁ pr-āṇ-an-e II 61; áncŪ gá-t-au yác-an-e ca I 915; áncŪ gá-ti-pūj-anay-oḥ I 203; áncŪ vi-sés-aṇ-e X 198; (ant) = átI bándh-an-e I 62; (and) = ádí bándh-an-e I 63; andha ḍṣ-ṭi=upa-ghāt-é X 380; abhrA ga-ty-artha-h I 588; ámÁ gá-ty-ādi-su I 493, 869; amÁ róg-e X 180; (amb) = ábI sábd-e I 403; (ambh) = (ábhI sábd-e I 411); áyA ga-t-au I 503, (935); arkÁ stáv-an-e X 102; árcÁ pūjā-y-ām I 219; arcÁ pūjā-y-ām X 266; artha upa-yác-ñā-y-ām X 357; árdÁ gá-t-au yác-an-e ca I 56; ardÀ himsā-y-ām X 285; árbÁ gá-t-au I 442; árvÁ himsā y-ām I 615; árhÁ pūjā-y-ām I 776; arhA pūjā-y-ām X 192 (287); álÁ <sup>1</sup>bhūs-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>pary-āp-ti=<sup>3</sup>vār-aṇe-su I 548; ávÁ <sup>1</sup>rákṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti-<sup>3</sup>kān-ti- . . . I 631; ásÁ bhój-an-e IX 51; ásŪ vy-āp-t-au sam-ghāt-e ca V 18; asva X 394; asÁ bhuv-í II 56 ásÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ti=<sup>3</sup>ā-dā-né-su I 934; ásŪ kṣép-aṇ-e IV 100; áhÁ vy-āp-t-au V 26.

## Ā

áchI (āñch) ā-yām-é I 224: āpḷ, lāmbh-an-e X 295; āpḷ vy-āp-t-au V 14; āsA upa-vés=an-e II 11; āhvara X 394.

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iK smár-aṇ-e II 35; iÑ adhy-áy-an-e II 37; iN gá-t-au II 36; íkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 144; (iñkh) = íkhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 145; (iñg) = 'ígÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 163; ítÁ gá-t-au I 340; (ind) = ídÍ parama=aiśvary-é I 64; ÑI-índh-Ī díp-t-au VIII 11; (inv) = ívÍ vy-āp-t-au I 618; ílÁ 'svap-ná-<sup>2</sup>kṣép-aṇay-oḥ VI 65; ilA pr-ér-aṇ-e X 119; íṣá ábh-ṭ-kṣṇy-e IX 53; íṣÁ icchā-y-ām VI 59; íṣÁ gá-t-au IV 19.

# Ī

iN gá-t-au IV 35 íkṣA dárs-an-e I 641; íkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 146; (īñkh) íkhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 146; íjA 'gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kúts-anay-oḥ I 196; ídA stú-t-au II 9; ṭdÁ stú-t-au X 129; ṭrÁ kṣép-e X 268; írA gá-t-au kámp-an-e ca II 8; írṣyÁ ṭrṣyā=artha-ḥ I 543; írṣyÁ ṭrṣyā-artha-ḥ I 544; íśA aís-var-y-e II 10; íṣÁ uñch-é I 715; ṭṣA 'gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>himsā-<sup>3</sup>dárs-an-e-ṣu I 642; íhA ceṣṭā-y-ām I 663.

# U

uN sábd-e I 1001; úkṣÁ séc-an-e I 687; úkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 132; (uñkh) = úkhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 133; úcÁ sam-av-āy-é IV 114; úchÍ vi-vās-é I 231; VI 14; ujjhA (= údjhÁ) ut-sarg-é VI 21; (uñch) = úchÍ uñch-é I 230, VI 13; úṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é I 361; údhrasÁ uñch-é IX 52; udhrasÁ uñch-é X 202; úndÍ kléd-an-e VII 20; úbjÁ ārjav-é VI 20; úbhÁ pūr-aṇ-e VI 32; (umbh) = únbhÁ pūr-aṇ-e VI 32; úrdA mán-e krīḍā-y-ām ca I 20; úrvÍ himsā-y-am I 600; (ulaṇḍ/olaṇḍ) = (ulaḍÍ ut-kṣép-aṇ-e X 9); úhÍR árd-an-e I 775.

# Ū

(úṭhÁ upa-ghāt-é I 361); ūna pari-hā-ṇ-é X 342; ūyĪ tantu-saṁ-tān-é I 512; ūrjÁ 'bāla-<sup>2</sup>pr-āṇ-anay-oḥ X 16; ūrṇuÑ ā-cchād-an-e II 30; ūṣÁ rujā-y-ām I 714; ūhA vi-tark-é I 679; (úhÍR árd-an-e I 775).



## R

r gá-t-au III 16; r <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pr-áp-anay-oh I 983; řcÁ stú-t-au VI 19; řchÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti=<sup>2</sup>indriyá-<sup>3</sup>pra-lay-á-<sup>4</sup>mūrti-bhāvē-ṣu VI 15; řjA <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sthāna=<sup>3</sup>ārj-ana=<sup>4</sup>upa=ārj-ane-ṣu I 189; (řñj) = řjI bhārj-an-e I 190; řñŮ gá-t-au VIII 5; řdhŮ vřd-dh-au IV 135; V 34; řphÁ himsā-y-ām VI 30; (řmph) = řnphÁ himsā-y-ām VI 30; řřĪ gá-t-au VI 7.

## R̄

ř gá-t-au IV 27.

## E

ějŘ kámp-an-e I 253; έjŘ đřp-t-au I 192; έřhA vi-bādhā-y-ām I 286; édħA vřd-dh-au I 2; eşŘ gá-t-au I 649.

## O

ókhŘ <sup>1</sup>śóṣ-aṇ-a=<sup>2</sup>ālaṃ-arthay-oh I 125; óñŘ apa-náy-an-e I 482; (olaṇḍ) = olađĪ ut-kṣép-aṇ-e X 9.

## K

(káms) = kásI <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>śās-anay-oh II 14; kákA lauly-e I 90; kákhÁ hás-an-e I 124; kákhÉ hás-an-e I 821; kágÉ ná=uc-yá-te I 828; (káñk) = kákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 94; kácA bāndh-an-e I 181; (kañc) = kácI <sup>1</sup>dřp-ti-<sup>2</sup>bāndh-anay-oh I 182; (kájÁ mād-e 1.251); kátĪ gá-t-au I 342; kátÉ <sup>1</sup>varṣá=<sup>2</sup>ā-vár-aṇay-oh I 315; káthÁ kṛcchra-jīv-an-é I 356; kádÁ mād-e I 383; VI 86; káddÁ kārkaṣ-y-e I 372; kaṇÁ gá-t-au I 831; kaṇÁ ni-mřl-an-e X 175; kaṇÁ śābda-artha-ḥ I 476; (kaṇḍ) = kađĪ bhéd-an-e X 44; (káṇḍ) = kađI mād-e I 302; kattrā śáithily-e X 367; kátthA ślāghā-y-ām I 37; katha vāk-ya-pra-bandh-é X 307; kánĪ <sup>1</sup>dřp-ti-<sup>2</sup>kānt-i-<sup>3</sup>gá-ti-ṣu I 488; (kánd) = kádĪ ā-hvā-n-e ród-an-e ca I 70; (kánd) = kádI vai-klav-y-e I 809; kábŘ várṇ-e I 405; kámU kán-t-au I 470, 869; (kámp) = kápI cáł-an-e I 400; kárjÁ vyáth-ane I 246; (kaṇa bhéd-an-e X 367); kárdÁ kuts-it-é śābd-e I 60; kárbÁ gá-t-au I 447; kárvÁ dārp-e I 612; kalÁ kṣép-e X 64; kala gá-t-au saṃ-khyān-e ca X 319; kállA á-vy-ak-t-e śābd-e I 527; kāsÁ himsā=artha-ḥ I 716; kásÁ gá-t-au I 913; (káñks) =

kákṣí kṅksā-y-ām I 698; (kāñc) = kácI <sup>1</sup>dīp-ti-<sup>2</sup>bāndh-anay-oḥ I 183; kāla upa-deś-é X 334; kāsṚ dīp-t-au I 678; IV 53; kāsṚ <sup>1</sup>śabda=<sup>2</sup>kutsā-y-ām I 654; ki jñān-e III 19; kītÁ gá-t-au I 314: kītÁ trās-é I 323; kitÁ ni-vās-é I 1042; (kitÁ jñān-e III 20); kitA varṇ-e X 99; kilA śvaity-e VI 61; kílÁ śvaity-e X 65; kītÁ varṇ-e X 99; kílÁ bānd-an-e I 557; ku śabd-e II 33; kúÑ śabd-e I 999; VI 108; (kuñs) = kuśí bhāṣā-artha-h X 225; (kuñs) = kuśí bhāṣā=artha-h X 223; kúA ád=an-e I 91' kúCÁ śabd-e tār-é I 199; kúCÁ <sup>1</sup>saṃ-pārc-ana-<sup>2</sup>kaūṭilya-<sup>3</sup>prati-stambhá-<sup>4</sup>vi-lékh-ane-ṣu I 910; kúCÁ saṃ-kóc-an-e VI 75; kújŰ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e I 214; kúncÁ <sup>1</sup>kaūṭilya=<sup>2</sup>alpī-bhāv-áy-oḥ I 200; (kunj) = kújí á-vy-ak-t-e śabd-e I 241; kútÁ kaūṭily-e VI 73; kuṭṭÁ <sup>1</sup>chéd-ana-<sup>2</sup>bhārts-anay-oḥ X 23; kuṭṭA pra-tāp-an-e X 162; kúdÁ bály-e VI 89; kúnÁ <sup>1</sup>śabda=<sup>2</sup>upa-kár-aṇay-oḥ VI 45; kuṇa ā-mánt-an-e X 347; (kúñt) = kútí vaí-kaly-e I 345; (kúñth) = kúthí ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é I 365; (kúñd) = kúdí dāh-é I 289; (kuñd) = kuđí rákṣ-aṇ-e X 45; kutsA ava-kṣep-aṇ-e X 158; kúthÁ pūṭi-bhāv-é IV 11; (kúñth) = kúthí saṃ-sleṣ-aṇ-e IX 42; kúthí hīmsā-saṃ-pleśay-oḥ I 44; kunthÁ saṃ-sleṣ-aṇ-e IX 42; (kundr) = kudrí an-ṛta-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 6; kúpÁ kródh-e IV 122; kupa bhāṣā=artha-h X 339; kumāra krīḍā-y-ām X 331; (kúmb) = kúbí chād-an-e I 453; kubí chād-an-e X 113; kúrÁ śabd-e VI 51; kúrdA guda-krīḍā-y-ām I 21; kúlÁ saṃ-styān-e bāndhu-ṣu ca I 895; kuṣÁ niṣ-karṣ-é IX 46; kúsA śléṣ-aṇ-e IV 109; kusma nāmno vā X 171; kuha vi-smāp-an-e X 353; kújÁ á-vy-ak-t-e śabd-e I 240; kūṭa pari-tāp-é X 344; kūṭÁ ā-pra-dān-e X 162; kūṆÁ saṃ-kóc-an-e X 149; kūṇa saṃ-kóc-an-e X 348; kúlÁ ā-vár-aṇ-e I 558; ĐU-kr-Ñ kar-aṇ-e VIII 10; krÑ hīmsā-y-ām V 7; (krÑ kár-aṇ-e I 949); krḍÁ ghana-tv-é VI 88; (kṛṇv) = kṛví <sup>1</sup>hīmsā-<sup>2</sup>kár-aṇay-oḥ I 629; kṛtí chéd-an-e VI 141; kṛtí véṣṭ-an-e VII 10; kṛpŰ sāmāthy-e I 799; kṛpA kṛpā-y-ām gá-t-au I 808; kṛpa daúr-baly-e X 323; kṛśÁ tanū-kár-aṇ-e IV 117; kṛśÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 1039; VI 6. kṛ vi-kṣep-é VI 116; kṛ hīmsā-y-ām IX 26; kṛÑ hīmsā-y-ām IX 15; kṛtÁ saṃ-śabd-an-e X 111; kēpṚ kámp-an-e I 392; kélṚ cáł-an-e I 570; (kévṚ sév-an-e I 539); kai śabd-e I 964; knásŰ <sup>1</sup>hvar-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ty-oḥ IV 6; I 864; (knáthÁ hīmsā=arth=ah I 837); knŰÑ śabd-e IX 10; knŰyÍ śabd-e únd-e ca I 514; kmárÁ hūrch-an-e I 587; kráthÁ hīmsā=artha-h I 838; (kránd) = krádí ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca I 71; (kránd) = krádí vaí-klavy-e I 810; āÑ-ah krandÁ sātaty-e X 188; krápA kṛpā-y-ām gá-t-au I 808; krámŰ pād-a-vi-kṣep-é I 502; ĐU=krī-Ñ drav-ya-vi-ni-may-é IX 1; krīḍṚ vi-hār-é I 373; krúncÁ <sup>1</sup>kaūṭilya=<sup>2</sup>alpī-bhāv-ay-oḥ I 201; (krúdÁ ni-máj-j-an-e VI 100); krudhÁ

kóp-e IV 80; (kruśÁ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca I 909); kláthÁ himśā-artha-ḥ I 839; (klánd) = kládĪ ā-hvān-e ród-an-e ca I 72; (klánd) = kládĪ vai-klavy-e I 811; klámŪ glān-aú IV 98; klídŪ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 132; (klínd) = klídĪ pari-dév-an-e I 15; (klínd) = klídĪ pari-dév-an-e I 73; klísÁ upa-tāp-é IV 52a; klísŪ vi-bādh-an-e IX 50; klíḃṚ ā-dhārṣṭy-e I 406; klésÁ á-vy-ak-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 638; kvānÁ śabda=artha-ḥ I 477; kvathE niṣ-pāk-e I 899; (kṣaṇj) = kṣajĪ kṛcchra-jīv-an-e X 79; (kṣanj) = kṣajĪ 'gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>dān-áy-oḥ I 806; kṣaṇŪ himśā-y-ām VIII 3; (ksapi) I 860; kṣapa pr-ér-aṇ-e X 392; kṣámŪ sáh-an-e IV 97; kṣámŪṢ sáh-an-e I 469; (kṣamp) = kṣapĪ kṣān-ty-ām X 78; kṣárÁ saṁ-cál-an-e I 904; kṣalÁ śauca-kār-maṇ-i X 57; kṣī kṣay-é I 225; kṣī 'ni-vās-á-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ VI 114; kṣī himśā-y-ām V 30; kṣīS himśā-y-ām IX 35; kṣīṇŪ himśā-y-ām VIII 4; kṣípÁ pr-ér-an-e IV 14; kṣipÀ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 5; kṣívŪ nir-ás-an-e I 599; kṣīṢ himśā-y-ām IX 35; kṣījÁ á-vy-ak-t-e śabd-e I 256; kṣīḃṚ mād-e I 407; kṣívŪ nir-ás-an-e I 599; ṬU-kṣú śabd-e II 27; kṣudĪR sam-pr-éṣ-aṇ-e VII 6; kṣudhÁ bubhuksā-y-ām IV 81; kṣúbhÁ saṁ-cál-an-e IV 129; IX 47; kṣúrÁ vi-lékh-an-e VI 54; kṣai kṣay-e I 961; kṣoṭa kṣép-e X 329; kṣnú téj-an-e II 28; kṣmāyĪ vi-dhūn-an-e I 515; kṣmĪA ni-méṣ-aṇ-e I 553; ŪI-kṣvidĀ á-vy-ak-t-e śabd-e I 1027; ŪI-kṣvidĀ 'snéh-ana-<sup>2</sup>móh-anay-oḥ I 780; IV 134; kṣvéllṚ cāl-an-e I 527.

## KH

khácÁ bhū-ta-prādur-bhāv-é IX 59; khájÁ manth-é I 250; (khánj) = khájĪ ga-ti-vai-kaly-é I 252; khátÁ kāṅkṣā-y-ām I 331; khaṭṭÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e X 89; khaḍÁ bhéd-an-e X 44; (khaṇḍ) = khaḍĪ bhéd-an-e X 44; (khāṇḍ) = khaḍĪ manth-é I 303; khádÁ sthaíry-e I 51; khánŪ ava-dār-aṇ-e I 927; khárjÁ pūj-an-e ca I 247; khárdÁ dandaś-ūk-e I 61; khárbÁ gá-t-au I 448; khárvÁ dārp-e I 613; khálÁ saṁ-cay-é I 578; khásÁ himśā-artha-ḥ I 717; khādṚ bhakṣ-aṇ-e I 50; khítÁ trās-é I 324; khidA daíny-e IV 61; VII 12; khidÁ pari-ghāt-é VI 142; khújŪ ste-ya-kār-aṇ-e I 215; (khuṇḍ) = khuḍĪ khāṇḍ-an-e X 47; khúrÁ chéd-an-e VI 52; khúrdA guda-kṛṭḍā-y-ām I 22; kheṭa bhákṣ-aṇ-e X 328; khélṚ cāl-an-e I 571; (khévṚ sév-an-e I 537); khai khád-an-e I 960; khórṚ ga-ti-pa-ghāt-é I 584; khólṚ ga-ti-pa-ghāt-é I 584; khyā pra-káth-an-e II 51.

gájÁ sábd-a-*rtha*-h I 265, gajÁ sábd-a-*rtha*-h X 106; (gañj) = gájí sábd-a-*rtha*-h I 266; gádÁ sác-an-e I 814; gaṇa saṁ-khyān-e X 309; (gāṇḍ) = gádí vad-ana-eka-deś-é I 65a, 384; gádÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 53; gada deva-sábd-é X 314; gandhÁ árd-an-e X 145; gamḷ gá-t-au I 1031; gárjÁ sábd-e I 244, X 124; gárdÁ sábd-e I 58, X 124; gardha abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām X 125; gárbÁ gá-t-au I 449; gárvÁ dārp-e I 614; garva mán-e X 359; gárhA kutsā-y-ām I 667; garhÁ vi-nínd-an-e X 301; gálÁ ád-an-e I 579; galA sráv-aṇ-e X 160; gálbhA dhārṣṭy-e I 419; gálhA kutsā-y-ām I 668; gaveṣa mārḡ-aṇ-e X 337; gā stút-t-au III 25; gāñ ga-t-au I 998; gādhṚ <sup>1</sup>pra-tiṣṭhā-<sup>2</sup>lipsáy-oḥ I 4; gāloḍa X 394; gāhŪ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 680; gú purīṣa-ut-sarg-é VI 106; guñ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 997; gújÁ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e VI 76; (gúnj) = gújí á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 218; gúdÁ rakṣā-y-ām VI 77; guṇa ā-māntr-aṇ-e X 347; (guṇḍ) = guḍí veṣṭ-an-e X 46; gúdhÁ pari-veṣṭ-an-e IV 13; gúdhÁ rós-e IX 45; gúnphÁ granth-é VI 31; gupA góp-an-e I 1019; gupÁ bhāṣā-*rtha*-h X 231; gúpÁ vy-ā-kula-tv-é IV 123; gúpŪ rákṣ-aṇ-e I 422; gúphÁ granth-é VI 31; (gumph) = gún-phÁ granth-é VI 31; gúrĪ ud-yám-an-e VI 103, X 155; gúrdA guda-krīḍā-y-ām I 23; gurdÁ ni-két-an-e X 126; gúrvĪ ud-yám-an-e I 605; gúhŪ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 944; gúrĪ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>gáty-oḥ IV 46; gūrÁ ud-yám-an-e X 155; gṛ vi-jñān-e X 167; gṛjÁ sábd-a-*rtha*-h I 267; (gṛñj) = gṛjí sábd-a-*rtha*-h I 268; gṛdhŪ abhi-kāṅkṣā-y-ām IV 136; gṛhŪ grāh-aṇ-e I 681; gṛha grāh-aṇ-e X 351; gṛ ni-gár-aṇ-e VI 117; gṛ sábd-e IX 28; gépṚ kámp-an-e I 393; gévṚ sác-an-e I 531; géṣṚ anv-icchá-y-ām I 645; gai sábd-e I 965; goma upa-lép-an-e X 339; góṣṭA saṁ-ghāt-é I 276; (gránth) = gráthI kauṭily-e I 36; gránthÁ saṁ-darbh-é X 41, 294; granthÀ bāndh-an-e X 282; grasÁ grāh-aṇ-e X 209; grásU ád-an-e I 661; gráhÀ up-ā-dān-é IX 61; grāma ā-māntr-aṇ-e X 346; grúcŪ ste-ya-kár-aṇ-e I 212; glásU ád-an-e I 662; glúcŪ ste-ya-kár-an-e I 213; glúncÁ gá-t-au I 216; glépṚ kámp-an-e I 394; glépṚ daíny-e I 390; glévṚ sév-an-e I 532; glai harṣa-kṣay-é I 868, 952.

## GH

ghághÁ hás-an-e I 170; ghátA ceṣṭā-y-ām I 800; ghaṭÁ bhāṣā-*rtha*-h X 226; ghaṭÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 163; gháṭṭA cáł-an-e I 278, X 87; (ghaṇṭ) = ghaṭí bhāṣā-*rtha*-h X 227; ghásĪ ad-an-e I 747; (ghinṇ) = ghínI grāh-an-e I 461; ghuñ sábd-e I 1000; (ghúmṣ) = ghúṣI kān-ti-kár-aṇ-e I

682; ghútA pari-várt-an-e I 782; ghútÁ prati-ghāt-é VI 91; ghuṇA bhrám-aṇ-e I 464; ghúnA bhrám-aṇ-e VI 47; (ghúnṇ) = ghúnI gráh-aṇ-e I 462; ghúrÁ <sup>1</sup>bhīmá-artha-<sup>2</sup>śábd-ay-oḥ VI 55; ghúsÍR á-vi-śabd-an-e I 683; ghuśÍR vi-śabd-an-e X 187; ghūrĪ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>vayo-hā-ny-oḥ IV 48; ghūrṇA bhrám-aṇ-e I 465; ghūrṇÁ bhrám-aṇ-e VI 49; ghṛ <sup>1</sup>kṣár-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>díp-ty-oḥ III 14; ghṛ pra-srāv-aṇ-e X 108; ghṛṇŪ díp-t-au VIII 7; (ghṛṇṇ) = ghṛní gráh-aṇ-e I 463; ghṛsŪ saṁ-ghárs-e I 740; ghrā gandha-up-ā-dān-é I 973.

## N

ñuN śábd-e I 1002.

## C

cákA tṭp-t-auprati-ghāt-é ca I 93; cákÁ tṭp-t-au I 820; cákāsŔ díp-t-au II 65; cakkÁ vyáth-an-e X 56; cakṣIN vy-ák-tā-y-ām vāc-í II 7; cáñcŪ gá-ty-artha-h I 205; caṭÁ bhéd-ane X 181; cáṭĒ varṣá-ā-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 833; cáṇÁ dān-é I 316; (cáṇḍ) = cáṇI kóp-e I 298; cáṭĒ yāc-an-e I 918; cáḍĒ yāc-an-e I 918; cánÁ himsā-artha-h I 840; (cánd) = cáḍĪ ā-hlād-é I 68; cáncŪ gá-ty-artha-h I 205; cápÁ sántv-an-e I 426; cáṁŪ ád-an-e I 497, 869; cáṁŪ bhákṣ-aṇ-e V 28; (camp) = capĪ gá-ty-ām X 77; cáyA gá-t-au I 507; cárÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 591; carÁ saṁ-sáy-é X 205; carcÁ adhy-áy-an-e X 172; cárcÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>bhārts-anay-oḥ VI 17; cárcÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsā-<sup>3</sup>tārj-ane-ṣu I 749; cárḃÁ gá-t-au I 452; cárṽÁ ád-an-e I 610; calÁ kámp-an-e I 850,885; calÁ bhṭ-t-au X 68; calÁ vi-lás-an-e VI 64; cáṣÀ bhákṣ-aṇ-e I 938; cáhÁ pari-kálk-an-e I 765; caḥA pari-kálk-an-e X 83; caḥa pari-kálk-an-e X 320; cáyŔ <sup>1</sup>pūjā-<sup>2</sup>ni-sām-anay-oḥ I 929; ciN cáy-an-e V 5, X 86; ciṭa para-praiṣy-é I 337; citÁ saṁ-cét-an-e X 135; citĪ saṁ-jñān-e I 39; citra citrī-kár-aṇ-e X 370; (cint) = citi smṭ-ty-ām X 2; círi himsā-y-ām V 31; cílÁ vás-an-e VI 63; cíllÁ saíthily-e bhāva-kár-aṇ-e ca I 566; cíkÁ ā-márs-aṇ-e X 284; cíṽÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 234; cíṽŔ <sup>1</sup>ā-dānā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 928; cukkÁ vyáth-an-e X 56; cúṭÁ chéd-an-e VI 84; cuṭÁ chéd-an-e X 72; cuṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é X 24; cuṭṭA alpī-bhāv-é X 24; cúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 98; cúḍḍA bhāva-kár-aṇ-e I 370; (cuṇṭ) = cuṭĪ chéd-an-e X 117; (cúṇṭ) = cúṭĪ alpī-bhāv-é I 347; (cúṇḍ) = cúḍĪ alpī-bhāv-é I 347; cudÁ saṁ-cód-an-e X 53; cúpÁ mandā-y-ām gá-t-au I 430; (cúmb) = cúḃĪ vak-tra-saṁ-yog-é I 456; (cumb) = cubĪ himsa-y-ām X 92; curÁ ste-y-é X 1; culÁ

sam-uc-cchrāy-é X 62; cúllÁ bhāva-kár-aṇ-e I 564; cūrĪ dāh-é IV 50; cūrṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 18; cūrṇÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e X 100; cūsÁ pān-e I 704; cŭtĪ <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>grānth-anay-oh VI 35; cṛpÁ saṁ-dīp-an-e X 277; célĪ cāl-an-e I 569; cestÁ cestā-y-ām I 275; cyu hās-an-e X 206; cyuÑ gá-t-au I 1004; cyútĪR ā-séc-an-e X 206.

## CH

chadÀ apa-vār-aṇ-e X 290; chadi ūrj-an-e I 851; chadÁ apa-vār-aṇ-e X 290; (chand) = chadĪ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e X 41; chámÚ ád-an-e I 498; chardÁ vām-an-e X 51; chāsÀ himsā-y-ām I 939; chidĪR dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e VIII 3; chidra karṇa-bhéd-an-e X 378; chútÁ chéd-an-e VI 84; chupÁ spars-é VI 125; chúrÁ chéd-an-e VI 79; U-chŭdĪR <sup>1</sup>dīp-ti-<sup>2</sup>dév-anay-oh VII 8; chŕdi saṁ-dīp-an-e X 277; cheda dvaidhī-kár-aṇ-e X 388; cho chéd-an-e IV 38; (chyuÑ gá-t-au I 1005).

## J

(jams) = jasĪ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 128; jákṣÁ <sup>1</sup>bhákṣa-<sup>2</sup>hás-anay-oh II 62; jájÁ yud-dh-é I 261; (jānj) = jájĪ yud-dh-e I 262; jātÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 327; jánÁ ján-an-e III 24; jánĪ prādur-bhāv-é IV 41; I 862; jápÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 424; jámÚ ád-an-e I 499; (jāmbh) = jábhĪ gātra-vi-nām-é I 176; (jambh) = jabhĪ nās-an-e X 176; jārjÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsa-<sup>3</sup>tārj-an-e-ṣu I 748; jalÁ apa-vār-aṇ-e X 10; jálÁ ghāt-an-e I 886; jálPÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 425; jáśÁ himsā-artha-h I 719; jasÚ tād-an-e X 178; jasÚ mókṣ-aṇ-e IV 102; jasÚ himsā-y-ām X 130; jāgṛ nidrā-kṣay-é II 63; ji abhi-bhav-é I 993; jí jay-é I 59; (jínv) = jívĪ prīṇ-ana-artha-h I 625; (jinv) = (jivĪ bhāṣā-artha-h X 252); jírĪ himsā-y-ām V 32; jiśÚ séc-an-e I 728; jīvÁ pr-āṇa-dhār-an-e I 594; ju sautró dhātuh gá-ty-artha-h; vega-vác-ana ity ánye I 1005; (júng) = júgĪ várj-an-e I 168; (juñc) = jucí bhāṣā-artha-h X 252; júḍÁ gá-t-au VI 37; juḍÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 105; júḍÁ bāndh-an-e VI 85; jútR bhās-an-e I 32; juśÁ pari-tárk-aṇ-e X 291; júsĪ <sup>1</sup>prī-ti-<sup>2</sup>sév-anay-oh VI 8; jūrĪ <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>vayo-hāny-oh IV 48; jūsÁ himsā-y-am I 711; (jŭmbh) = jŭbhĪ gātra-vi-nām-é I 416; jŭ vayo-hā-n-aú IX 24; jŕ vayo-hā-n-aú X 272; jŕṢ vayo-hā-n-aú I 863, IV 22; jésR gá-t-au I 647; jéhR pra-yat-n-é I 675; jai kṣay-é I 962; jñapÁ M-IT ca X 81; jñā ava-bódh-an-e IX 36; jñā ni-yog-é X 193; jñā <sup>1</sup>mār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>tós-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>ni-sām-an-e-ṣu I 849; jyā vayo-hā-n-aú IX 29; jyuÑ gá-t-au I 1005; jri abhi-bhav-é I 994; jvárÁ róg-e I 813, jválÁ dīp-t-au I 842, 867, 884.

## JH

jhátÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 328; jhámÚ ád-an-e I 501; jhárjhÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>bhārts-anay-oḥ VI 17; jhárjhÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsā-<sup>3</sup>tárj-ane-ṣu I 750; jhāṣÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-dānā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 940; jhāṣÁ himsā-artha-h I 720; jhṣṢ vayo-hā-n-aú IV 23.

## T

(ṭaṅk) = ṭakÍ bāndh-an-e X 97; ṭálÁ vai-klavy-e I 887; ṭíkṚ gá-ty-artha-h I 103; ṭíkṚ gá-ty-artha-h I 104; ṭválÁ vai-klavy-e I 888.

## D

ḍapÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 138; ḍípÁ kṣép-e IV 121; VI 78; ḍipÁ ksép-e X 133; ḍipÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 138; ḍíÑ víhāyas-ā gá-t-au I 1017; IV 27.

## DH

ḍhaúḱṚ gá-ty-artha-h I 98.

## N

nāksÁ gá-t-au I 692; nākhÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 138; (nāṅkh) = nākhÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 139; nātÁ nṭt-au I 332; nadÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 238; nádÁ śábd-e I 55; nābhA himsā-y-ām I 788; nābhÁ himsā-y-ām IV 130; IX 48; namÁ pra-hva-tv-é śábd-e ca I 867, 1030; náyA gá-t-au I 509; náśÁ á-dars-an-e IV 85; násA kauṭily-e I 658; nahÁ bāndh-an-e IV 57; nāthṚ I 7 nādhṚ I 6 bāndh-an-e; nāsṚ śábd-e I 656; níksÁ cúmb-an-e I 687; nijlṚ <sup>1</sup>śaucá-<sup>2</sup>pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 11; nijl súd-dh-au II 16; nídṚ <sup>1</sup>kutsā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-ni-kārṣ-ay-oḥ I 921; nílÁ gáh-an-e VI 68; nísÁ sam-ā-dh-aú I 758; nīÑ pr-āp-aṇ-e I 950; nílÁ várṇ-e I 555; nívÁ sthaúly-e I 598; nú stú-t-au II 26; nudÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 2; nudÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 132; nú stáv-an-e VI 104; nédṚ <sup>1</sup>kutsā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-ni-kārṣ-ay-oḥ I 921; nesṚ gá-t-au I 648. [See under N: cf. 6.4.65 for n---n].

(taṁs) = taśí alaṁ-kār-é X 190; (táms) = (tásí alaṁ-kār-e I 713); tákÁ há-s-an-e I 120; táksÁ tvác-an-e I 695; táksŰ tanū-kār-aṇ-e I 685; (tánK) = tákÍ kṛcchra-jīv-an-é I 121; (táng) = tágÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 158; (tānc) = táncŰ gá-ty-artha-h I 206; táncŰ saṁ-kóc-an-e VII 22; tátÁ uc-chrāy-é I 330; taḍÁ ā-ghāt-é X 43; (taḍÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 259); tánŰ vi-stār-é VIII 1; tanŰ <sup>1</sup>srad-dhā-<sup>2</sup>upa-kār-aṇay-oḥ X 296; (tantr) = tatrÍ kuṭumba-dhār-aṇ-e X 139; tapA aśvāy-e IV 51; tapÁ dāh-e X 275; tapÁ saṁ-tāp-e I 1034; támŰ kāṅkṣā-y-ām IV 93; táyA gá-t-au I 508; tarkÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 240; tárjÁ bhārts-an-e I 245; tarjÁ saṁ-tárj-an-e X 142; tárdÁ hīmsā-y-ām I 59; talÁ pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām X 58; tásŰ upa-kṣay-é IV 103; táyṚ <sup>1</sup>saṁ-tānā-<sup>2</sup>pāl-anay-oḥ I 518; tíkÁ ā-skānd-an-e V 20; tíkṚ gá-ty-artha-h I 105; tígÁ ā-skānd-an-e V 20; tijA ni-sān-e I 1020; X 110; típṚ kṣār-aṇa-artha-h I 385; tímÁ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 16; tilÁ gá-t-au I 567; tilÁ snéh-an-e X 67; tīra kar-ma-saṁ-āp-t-au X 364; tīvÁ sthāuly-e I 597; (tu vīd-dhy-artha-h II 25), tújÁ hīmsā-y-ām I 263; (tuñj) = tújÍ pāl-an-e I 264; (tuñj) = tújÍ <sup>1</sup>hīmsā-<sup>2</sup>bāla-<sup>3</sup>ā-dānā-<sup>4</sup>ni-két-an-e-ṣu X 30; (tuñj) = tújÍ bhāṣā-artha-h X 215; túṭÁ kalaha-kār-maṇ-i VI 83; túḍÁ tód-an-e VI 92; túḍṚ tód-an-e I 374; túnÁ kauṭily-e VI 42; (tuṇḍ) = (túḍI chéd-an-e X 118); (túṇḍ) = túḍI tód-an-e I 295; tuttha ā-vār-aṇ-e X 392; tudÀ vyāth-an-e VI 1; túpÁ hīmsā-y-ām VI 26; túpÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 431; túphÁ hīmsā-y-ām VI 27; túphÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 435; túbhA hīmsā-y-ām I 789; túbhÁ hīmsā-y-ām IV 131; IX 49; (tump) = túnpÁ hīmsā-y-ām VI 26; (tump) = túnpÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 432; (tumph) = túnpHÁ hīmsā-artha-h VI 27; (tumph) = túnpHÁ hīmsā-artha-h I 436; (tumb) = tubÍ á-dars-an-e X 115; (tumb) = tubÍ árd-an-e I 455; túrÁ tvār-aṇ-e III 21; túrvÍ hīmsā-artha-h I 601; tulÁ un-mān-e X 59; tuṣÁ prī-t-au IV 75; túsÁ sábd-e I 742; túhÍR árd-an-e I 773; tūṇÁ pūr-aṇ-e X 150; túrĪ <sup>1</sup>ga-ti-tvár-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>hīms-anay-oḥ IV 44; tulÁ niṣ-karṣ-é I 560; tūṣÁ tūṣ-t-au I 705; (tṛmḥ) = tṛṇhŰ hīmsā-artha-h VI 58; (tṛmḥ) = tṛhÍ hīmsā-artha-h VII 18; tṛksÁ gá-t-au I 690; tṛṇŰ ád-an-e VIII 6; U-tṛḍ-ĪR <sup>1</sup>hīmsā-<sup>2</sup>án-ā-dar-ay-oḥ VII 9; tṛpÁ tṛp-t-au VI 24; trpÁ tṛp-t-au X 276; tṛpÁ prīṇ-an-e IV 86; (tṛpÁ prīṇ-an-e V 25); (tṛmḥ) = tṛṇphÁ tṛp-t-au VI 25; ŅI-tṛṣ-Á pipāsā-y-ām IV 118; tṛhÁ hīmsā-y-ām VII 18; tṛhŰ hīmsā-artha-h VI 58; tṛ <sup>1</sup>plāv-ana-<sup>2</sup>tār-aṇay-oḥ I 1018; téjÁ pāl-an-e I 249; tépṚ kámp-an-e I 389; tepṚ kṣār-aṇa-artha-h X 221; tévṚ dév-an-e I 528; tyajÁ hā-n-aú I 1035; (traṁs) = traśí bhāṣā-artha-h X 221; (trákhÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 148); (tránk) = trakÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 97; (traṅkh)



= (trákhí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 149); (traṅg) = trágí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 159; (tránd) = trádí ceṣṭā-y-ām I 69; (trapī śábd-e I 859); trápūṢ lajjā-y-ām I 399; trasÁ dhār-aṇ-e X 201; trásĪ ud-veg-é IV 10; trútÁ chéd-an-e VI 82; truṭÁ chéd-an-e X 159; trúpÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 433; trúphÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 437; (trump) = trúnphÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 434; (trumph) = trúnphÁ himsā-artha-ḥ I 438; traiÑ pāl-an-e I 1014; traúkĪ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 99; tváksĪ tanū-kār-aṇ-e I 686; (tvaṅg) = tvágí kámp-an-e ca I 166; (tvaṅg) = tvágí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 159; tvácÁ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e VI 18; (tvañc) = tváncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 207; Ñi-tvár-Ā sam-bhram-é I 812; tvīṣÀ díp-t-au I 1050; tsárÁ chad-ma-gá-t-au I 586.

## TH

(thankh) = thákí gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 147; thúđÁ saṁ-vār-aṇ-e VI 93; thúrvĪ himsā-artha-ḥ I 602.

## D

(daṁś) = daśĪ dāṁś-an-e X 136; (daṁś) = daṁśÁ dās-an-e I 1038; (daṁś) = daśĪ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 224; (daṁś) = daśĪ <sup>1</sup>dārs-ana-<sup>2</sup>dāṁś-anay-oḥ X 137; (daṁś) = daśĪ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 246; dáksA <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>śās-anay-oḥ I 807; dáksA vḥd-dh-au I 639; dāghÁ ghāt-an-e V 27; daṇḍa daṇḍa-ni-pāt-an-e X 381; dádA dān-é I 17; dádha dhār-aṇ-e III 8; dāmÚ upa-sam-é IV 94; (dámhb) = dánbhÚ dámhb-an-e V 23; dáyA <sup>1</sup>dānā-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti-<sup>3</sup>rākṣ-aṇa-<sup>4</sup>himsā-<sup>5</sup>ā-dānē-ṣu I 510; dáridrā dur-gá-tau II 64; dalÁ vi-dār-aṇ-e X 211; dálÁ vi-sār-aṇ-e I 581; (dalī śábd-e I 856); dásÚ upa-kṣay-é IV 104; dahÁ bhaṣmī-kār-aṇ-e I 1040; ĐU-dā-Ñ dān-é III 9; dāÑ dān-é I 977; dāP lāv-an-e II 50; dānÁ khāṇḍ-an-e I 1043; dāsÁ himsā-y-ām V 33; dāsĪ dān-é I 931; dāsĪ dān-é I 942; (dínv) = dívĪ prīṇ-ana-artha-ḥ I 623; dívÚ <sup>1</sup>krīḍā-<sup>2</sup>vi-ji-gī-śā-<sup>3</sup>vy-ava-hār-á-° . . . IV 1; divÚ pari-kūj-an-e X 166; divÚ márd-an-e X 185; díśÁ ati-sārj-an-e VI 3; diḥÀ upa-cay-é II 5; đĩÑ kṣay-é IV 26; díksA <sup>1</sup>mauṇḍā-<sup>2</sup>ijyā-<sup>3</sup>upa-náy-ana-° . . . I 640; dídhĩÑ <sup>1</sup>díp-ti-<sup>2</sup>dév-anay-oḥ II 67; díplĪ díp-t-au IV 42; du gá-t-au I 991; ȚU-du upa-tāp-é V 10; duḥkha tat-kri-yā-y-ām X 384; dúrvĪ himsā-artha-ḥ I 603; dulÁ ut-kṣep-é X 60; duṣÁ vai-kṛ-t-y-e IV 76; duḥÀ pra-pūr-aṇ-e II 4; dúhĪR árd-an-e I 774; đũÑ pari-tāp-é IV 25; đĩ himsā-y-ām V 34; đĩÑ ā-dar-é VI 118; (đĩmh) = đĩhĪ vḥd-dh-au I 770; đĩpÁ <sup>1</sup>hārṣa-<sup>2</sup>móh-anay-oḥ IV 87; đĩphA ut-kleś-é VI 28; đĩbhÁ

saṁ-darbh-é X 279; dṛbhī granth-é VI 34; dṛbhī bhay-é X 278; (dṛmph) = dṛnphÁ ut-kleś-é VI 29; dṛśīR pr-éks-aṇ-e I 1037; dṛhÁ vṛd-dh-au I 769; dṛ bhay-é I 846; dṛ vi-dār-aṇ-e IX 23; deÑ rákṣ-aṇ-e I 1011; dévR dév-an-e I 529; daiP sódh-an-e I 971; do ava-khāṇḍ-an-e IV 40; dṛu abhi-gām-an-e II 31; dyútA dīp-t-au I 777; dyai nyak-kār-aṇ-e I 954; drámÁ gá-t-au I 494; drā kutsā-y-ām gá-t-au II 45; drákhR ṣós-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>álam-arthay-oḥ I 128; drāghR ā-yām-é ca I 117; (drāghR sám-arthy-e I 115); (drāṅks) = dráksī ghora-vās-i-té I 701; drādR vi-sār-aṇ-e I 307; drāhR nidrā-kṣay-é I 677; dru gá-t-au I 992; (dru himsā-y-ām V 34); drúṇÁ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti-<sup>3</sup>kaúṭīlye-ṣu VI 47; drúhÁ jighāmsā-y-ām IV 88; druÑ himsā-y-ām IX 11; drékR ṣábd-<sup>2</sup>ut-sāháy-oḥ I 78; drai sváp-n-e I 955; dviṣÁ á-prī-t-au II 3; (dvṛ vár-aṇ-e I 981).

## DH

dhakkÁ nás-an-e X 55; (dhánÁ sábd-e I 481); dhánÁ dhāny-e III 23; (dhānv) = dhávÍ gá-ty-artha-h I 628; ḌU-dhā-Ñ <sup>1</sup>dhār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>pós-aṇay-oḥ III 10; dhāvÚ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>súd-dhy-oḥ I 632; dhi dhār-aṇ-e VI 113; dhíkṣA <sup>1</sup>saṁ-dīp-ana-<sup>2</sup>klés-ana-<sup>3</sup>jīv-ane-ṣu I 634; (dhínv) = dhívÍ prīṇ-ana-artha-h I 624; dhísÁ sábd-e III 22; dhīÑ ā-dhār-é IV 28; dhuÑ kamp-an-e V 9; dhukṣA <sup>1</sup>saṁ-dīp-ana-<sup>2</sup>klés-ana-<sup>3</sup>jīv-ane-ṣu I 633; dhúrvÍ himsā-artha-h I 604; dhū vi-dhūn-an-e VI 105; dhūÑ kámp-an-e (V 9); IX 17; dhūÑ kámp-an-e X 292; dhūpÁ bhāṣā-artha-h X 232; dhūpÁ saṁ-tāp-é I 423; dhūrÍ himsā-artha-h IV 45; dhūsÁ kán-ti-kār-aṇ-e X 98; dhṛÑ ava-dhvāms-an-e I 1009; dhṛÑ ava-sthān-e VI 119; dhṛÑ dhār-aṇ-e I 948; dhṛjÁ gá-t-au I 236; (dhṛñj) = dhṛjÍ gá-t-au I 237; dhṛṣÁ pra-sáh-an-e X 306; ÑI-dhṛṣ-À prá-galbhy-e V 22; dheṬ pán-e I 951; dhórR ga-ti-cātur-y-é I 585; dhmā <sup>1</sup>sábd-<sup>2</sup>agni-saṁ-yog-áy-oḥ I 974; dhyai cintā-y-ām I 957; dhrájÁ gá-t-au I 232; (dhrāñj) = dhrájÍ gá-t-au I 233; dhrāṇÁ sábd-e I 487; ÚdhrasÁ uñch-é IX 52; UdhrasÁ uñch-é X 202 (cf. udhrasA under U above); drákhR ṣós-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>álam-arthay-oḥ I 129; (dhrāghR sám-arthy-e I 116); (dhrāghR ā-yām-é ca I 117); (dhrāṅks) = dhráksī ghora-vās-i-té I 702; dhrādR vi-sār-aṇ-e I 308; dhru <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sthaíryay-oḥ VI 107; dhru sthaíry-e I 990; dhrékR ṣábd-<sup>2</sup>ut-sāháy-oḥ I 79; dhrai tīp-t-au I 956; (dhvāms) = dhvānsU ava-sráms-an-e I 791; (dhvāms) = dhvānsU gá-t-au ca I 793; dhvájÁ gá-t-au I 238; (dhvāñj) = dhvájÍ gá-t-au I 239; dhvánÁ sábd-<sup>2</sup>artha-h I 480; dhvánÁ sábd-e I 854, 881; dhvanÁ sábd-e X 33; (dhvāṅks) = dhvāksī ghora-vās-i-té I 703; dhvṛ hūrch-an-e I 986.

nakkÁ nās-an-e X 54; naṭÁ ava-syánd-an-e X 12; (naṭÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 250) ṬU-nád-Í sam-ḡd-dh-au I 67; nárdÁ sábd-e I 57; (nalÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 260) náthṚ <sup>1</sup>yāc-ñā-<sup>2</sup>upa-tāpá-<sup>3</sup>aśvarya-<sup>4</sup>āsīḥ-ṣu I 7; nádhṚ <sup>1</sup>yāc-ñā-<sup>2</sup>upa-tāpá-<sup>3</sup>aśvarya-<sup>4</sup>āsīḥ-ṣu I 6; nídÍ kutsā-y-ām I 66; nivāsa ā-cchād-an-e X 339; nṭÍ gātra-vi-kṣep-é IV 9; nṛ nay-é I 847; IX 25; (cf. under N above).

## P

(paṁs) = paśÍ nās-an-e X 74; (pákṣÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-grah-é I 696); pakṣÁ <sup>1</sup>pari-grah-é X 17; ḌU-pac-ÀṢ pāk-é I 1045; (pañc) = paćÍ <sup>1</sup>vi-stāra-vác-an-e X 109; (pañc) = paćÍ <sup>1</sup>vy-ak-tī-kár-aṇ-e I 187; pátÁ gá-t-au I 318; paṭÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 212; paṭa gránth-e X 311; páthÁ <sup>1</sup>vy-āk-tā-y-ām vác-í I 466; paṇA <sup>1</sup>vy-ava-hār-é stú-t-au ca I 466; (paṇḍ) = paḍÍ gá-t-au I 301; (paṇḍ) = paḍÍ nās-an-e X 74; pata gá-t-au X 315; pátÍ gá-t-au I 898, páthÉ gá-t-au I 900; padA gá-t-au IV 60; pada gá-t-au X 350; pánA stú-t-au I 467; páyA gá-t-au I 505; parṇa harita-bhāv-é X 392; párdA kuts-i-t-é sábd-e I 29; párpÁ gá-t-au I 439; párbÁ gá-t-au I 443; párvÁ pūr-aṇ-e I 608; pálÁ gá-t-au I 892, palyūla <sup>1</sup>lávana-<sup>2</sup>páv-anay-oḥ X 335; paśÁ bándh-an-e X 179; paṣa gá-t-au X 316; pasÁ bándh-an-e X 179; pā pān-e I 972; pā rákṣ-aṇ-e II 47; pāra kar-ma-sam-āp-t-au X 363; pālÁ rákṣ-aṇ-e X 69; pi gá-t-au VI 112; (piṁs) = piśÍ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 222; pichÁ kúṭṭ-an-e X 40; (piñj) = piǵÍ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 217; (piñj) = píǵÍ várṇ-e II 18; (piñj) = píǵÍ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>bála-<sup>3</sup>ā-dānā-<sup>4</sup>ni-két-an-e-ṣu X 31; pítÁ <sup>1</sup>sábdā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-gharṣ-áy-oḥ I 333; píthÁ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-klés-anay-oḥ I 362; (pínḍ) = píḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-e I 293; (piṇḍ) = piḍÍ saṁ-ghāt-é X 131; (pínv) = píví séc-an-e I 619; písÁ ava-yav-é VI 143; piśÍ saṁ-cūrṇ-an-e VII 15; pisÁ gá-t-au X 32; písṚ gá-t-au I 751; pīÑ pān-e IV 33; píḍA ava-gāh-an-e X 11; pílÁ prati-ṣṭambh-é I 554; pírvÁ sthaúy-e I 595; puṁsÁ abhi-várdh-an-e X 95; puccha X 395; puṭÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 213; púṭÁ saṁ-slés-aṇ-e VI 74; puṭa saṁ-sarg-é X 365; puṭṭÁ alpī-bhāv-é X 24; puḍÁ ut-sarg-e VI 90; púnÁ kár-maṇ-i śubh-é VI 43; (puṇṭ) = puṭÍ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 251; puthÁ bhāṣā-artha-ḥ X 235; puthA himsā-y-ām IV 12; (púnth) = púthÍ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-klés-anay-oḥ I 45; púrÁ agra-gám-an-e VI 56; púrvÁ pūr-aṇ-e I 607; púlÁ mahat-tv-é I 894; pulÁ mahat-tv-é X 61; puṣA dhār-aṇ-e X 210; púsÁ pús-t-au I 732; IX 57; puṣÁ pús-t-au IV 73; púspÁ vi-kás-an-e IV 15; (pusÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X

93); pustÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-dará-<sup>2</sup>án-ā-daray-oh X 52; pūN páv-an-e I 1015; pūN páv-an-e IX 12; pūjÁ pūjā-y-ām X 101; pūyĪ vi-sár-aṇe dur-gandh-é ca I 513; pūrĪ ā-pyāy-an-e IV 43; pūrĪ ā-pyāy-an-e X 261; pūrvÁ ni-két-an-e X 127; pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é I 561; pūlÁ saṁ-ghāt-é X 94; pūṣÁ vṛd-dh-au I 706; pṛ prī-t-au V 12; pṛN vy-ā-yām-é VI 109; pṛcÁ saṁ-yám-an-e X 265; pṛcĪ sam-park-é VII 25; pṛcĪ sam-párc-an-e II 20; pṛdÁ súkh-an-e VI 39; pṛṇÁ prīn-an-e VI 40; pṛthÁ pra-kṣ-ep-é X 20; pṛṣÚ séc-an-e I 737; pṛ <sup>1</sup>pāl-ana-<sup>2</sup>pūr-anay-oh III 4, IX 19; pṛ pūr-aṇ-e X 15; pélĪ gá-t-au I 574; pévĪ sév-an-e I 533; péṣĪ gá-t-au I 752; pai sós-aṇ-e I 968; paínĪ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pr-ér-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>śléṣ-aṇe-ṣu I 486; O-pyāy-Ī vṛd-dh-au I 517; pyaiN vṛd-dh-au I 1013; prachÁ jñīpsā-y-ām VI 120; práthA pra-khyān-e I 802; prathÁ pra-khyān-e X 19; prása vi-stār-é I 803; prā pūr-aṇ-e II 52; prīN prī-t-au IV 36; prīN tárp-aṇ-e IX 2; X 293; pruN gá-t-au I 1006; prúsÁ <sup>1</sup>snéh-ana-<sup>2</sup>sév-ana-<sup>3</sup>pūr-aṇe-ṣu IX 55; prúṣÚ dāh-é I 735; próthĪ pary-āp-t-au I 919; plīhA gá-t-au I 673; plī gá-t-au IX 32; pluN gá-t-au I 1007; plúsÁ dāh-é IV 8, 107; plúsÁ <sup>1</sup>snéh-ana-<sup>2</sup>sév-ana-<sup>3</sup>pūr-aṇe-ṣu IX 56; (plévĪ gá-t-au I 538); psā bhákṣ-aṇ-e II 46.

## PH

phákkÁ nīcair-gá-t-au I 119; phāṇÁ gá-t-au I 873; phálÁ niṣ-pát-t-au I 563; Ńi-phál-Ā vi-sár-aṇ-e I 549; phúllÁ vi-kás-an-e I 565; phélĪ gá-t-au I 575.

## B

(bámh) = báhI vṛd-dh-au I 664; bádÁ sthāiry-e I 52; badhA bāndh-an-e I 1022; badhÁ bāndh-an-e X 14; badhÁ saṁ-yám-an-e X 14; bandhÁ bāndh-an-e IX 37; bárbÁ gá-t-au I 445; bárhA prá-dhāny-e I 669; barhÁ bhāṣā=arth-aḥ X 229; barhÁ himsā-y-ām X 123; bálÁ pr-āṇ-an-e I 893; balÁ pr-āṇ-an-e X 85; bálhA prá-dhāny-e I 670; balhÁ bhāṣā=artha-h X 230; baṣka dārs-an-e X 369; bastÁ árd-an-e X 144; bādĪ a-plāvy-è I 306; bādhĪ lód-an-e I 5; bāhĪ ā-kroś-é I 676; bíṭÁ a-kroś-é I 339; (bīnd) = bídĪ ava-yav-é I 65; bílÁ bhéd-an-e VI 67; bílÁ bhéd-an-e X 66; bísÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e IV 108; búkkÁ bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 122; bukkÁ bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 173; búdhÁ ava-gám-an-e I 911; budhA ava-gám-an-e IV 63; búdhĪR bódh-an-e I 924; U-búnd-ĪR ni-sām-an-e I 925; búsÁ ut-sarg-é IV 110; bustÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-dará-<sup>2</sup>án-ā-daray-oh X 52; (bṛm̐h) = bṛhĪ bhāṣā=artha-h X 228;

(bḡmh) = bḡhĭ vḡd-dh-au I 772; bḡhÁ vḡd-dh-au I 771; (bésÁ gá-t-au I 756); brūÑ vy-àk-tā-y-ām vāc-í II 35; brūsÁ himsā-y-ām X 122.

## BH

bhaksÁ ád-an-e X 22; bháksÁ ád-an-e I 941; bhajÁ vi-srāṇ-an-e X 194; bhajÁ sevā-y-ām I 1047; (bhañj) = bhajĭ bhāsā=artha-ḥ X 219; bhanjÓ ā-márd-an-e VII 16; bhátÁ pari-bhās-aṇ-e I 817; bhátÁ bhṡ-t-au I 329; bhaṇÁ sábd-a-ṛtha-ḥ I 474; \*(bhaṇt) = \*bhaṡĭ pra-tār-aṇ-e X 50; (bhánd) = bhádĭ pari-bhās-aṇ-e I 292; (bhaṇḍ) = bhaḍĭ kalyāṇ-e X 50; (bhánd) = bhádĭ kalyāṇ-e I 12; bhartsÁ saṁ-tárj-an-e X 143; bhárvÁ himsā-y-ām I 611; bhalÁ ā-bhāṇḍ-an-e X 161; bhálA <sup>1</sup>pari-bhās-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsā=<sup>3</sup>ā-dané-ṣu I 524; bhállA <sup>1</sup>pari-bhās-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsā=<sup>3</sup>ā-dané-ṣu I 525; bhásÁ bharts-an-e I 726; bhásÁ <sup>1</sup>bharts-ana-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ty-oḥ III 18; bhā dīp-t-au II 42; bhāja pṛthak-kār-aṇ-e X 340; bhāmA kródh-e I 468; bhāma kródh-e X 326; bhāsA vy-àk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 643; bhāsṚ dīp-t-au I 655; bhíksA bhíksā-y-ām I 637; bhidĪR vi-dār-aṇ-e VII 2; Ñi-bhĭ bhay-é III 2; bhujÁ <sup>1</sup>pāl-ana=<sup>2</sup>abhy-ava-hāráy-oḥ VIII 17; bhujo kauṡily-e VI 124; bhū ava-kalk-an-e X 207; bhū pr-āp-t-au X 300; bhū sattā-y-ām I 1; bhūsÁ alaṁ-kār-é I 712; bhūsÁ alaṁ-kār-é X 190; bhṛÑ bhár-aṇ-e I 946; ḐU-bhṛ-Ñ <sup>1</sup>dhār-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>pōṣ-aṇay-oḥ III 5; (bhṛms) = (bhṛsĭ bhāsā=artha-ḥ X 247); bhṡjĪ bhárj-an-e I 191; (bhṡḍÁ ni-májj-an-e VI 101); bhṡsU adhaḥ-pát-an-e IV 115; bhṡ bharts-an-e IX 21; bhésṚ bhay-é I 932; bhyásA bhay-é I 659; (bhráms) = bhránsÚ adhaḥ-pát-an-e IV 115; \*(bhráms) = \*bhránsÚ ava-sráms-an-e I 792; (bhráms) = bhransÚ ava-sráms-an-e I 792; (bhrajj) = bhrasjÀ pāk-é VI 4; bhráṇÁ sábd-a=artha-ḥ I 479; bhrámÚ án-ava-sthān-e IV 96; bhrámÚ cáł-an-e I 903; ṤU-bhráj-Ṛ dīp-t-au I 875; bhrájṚ dīp-t-au I 194; bhrĭ bhay-é IX 34; bhrūṇA āśā-y-ām X 151; bhréjṚ dīp-t-au I 193; bhrésṚ gá-t-au I 933; bhláksÁ ád-an-e I 941; ṤU-bhlás-Ṛ dīp-t-au I 877; bhlésṚ gá-t-au I 933.

## M

(mamh) = mahĭ vḡd-dh-au I 665; (mamh) = mahĭ bhāsā=artha-ḥ X 257; mákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 136; (mánk) = mákĭ máṇḍ-an-e I 89; (mánkh) = mákhĭ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 137; (máng) = mágĭ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 157; (mángh) = mágĭ káitav-e ca I 112; (mángh) = mágĭ ga-ti=ā-ksep-e I 111; (mángh) = mágĭ máṇḍ-an-e I 173; mácA kálk-an-e I 184; (majj) =

ṬU-masj-Ó súd-dh-au VI 122; (mañc) = mácl <sup>1</sup>dhār-āṇa=<sup>2</sup>uc-chrāyá-  
<sup>3</sup>pūj-ane-ṣu I 186; máthÁ <sup>1</sup>máda-<sup>2</sup>ni-vāsáy-oḥ I 355; mánÁ sábdā=artha-ḥ  
 I 457; (mánṭh) = máthI sók-e I 282; (mánḍ) = máḍÍ bhūṣā-y-ām I 344;  
 (maṇḍ) = maḍÍ bhūṣā-y-ām X 49; (mánḍ) = máḍI vi-bhāj-an-e I 291;  
 máthĒ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 901; madÁ tṛp-ti-yog-é X 165; máḍÍ <sup>1</sup>hārṣa-  
<sup>2</sup>glép-anay-oḥ I 853; máḍÍ hārṣ-e IV 99; manA jñān-e IV 67; manÁ  
 stambh-é X 169; mánU ava-bódh-an-e VIII 9; (mantr) = matrÍ  
 gup-ta-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 140; (mánṭh) = máthÍ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>klés-anay-oḥ I 47;  
 mánthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e I 43; manthÁ vi-lóḍ-an-e X 40; (mánḍ) = máḍI  
<sup>1</sup>stú-ti-<sup>2</sup>móda-<sup>3</sup>máda-<sup>4</sup>sváp-na-<sup>5</sup>gá-ti-ṣu I 13; mábhrÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 590;  
 máyA gá-t-au I 506; márbÁ gá-t-au I 446; márvÁ pūr-aṇ-e I 609; máLA  
 dhār-aṇ-e I 522; mállA dhār-aṇ-e I 523; mávÁ bándh-an-e I 630; mavyÁ  
 bándh-an-e I 541; másÁ sábd-e I 760; máṣÁ himsā=artha-ḥ I 723; másÍ  
 pari-māṇ-e IV 112; máskA gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 102; máhÁ pūjā-y-ām I 766;  
 maha pūjā-y-ām X 321; mā mán-e II 53; māÑ mán-e IV 34; māÑ mán-e  
 sábd-e ca III 6; (mánkṣ) = mákṣÍ kāñkṣā-y-ām I 700; mānA pūjā-y-ām I  
 1021; mānÁ pūjā-y-ām X 299; mārĠ an-v-ēṣ-aṇ-e X 302; mārĠÁ  
<sup>1</sup>sañ-s-kār-á-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ X 75; mārĠÁ sábdā=artha-ḥ X 107; mārĠ mán-e I  
 943; ḌU-mi-Ñ pra-kṣép-aṇ-e V 4; míchÁ ut-kles-é VI 16; (miñj) = mijÍ  
 bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 216; ÑI-míd-Ā snéh-an-e I 799; ÑI-míd-Ā sneh-an-e IV  
 133; míḍĠ <sup>1</sup>medhā-<sup>2</sup>hims-anay-oḥ I 920; (mind) = midÍ snéh-an-e X 8;  
 (mínv) = mívÍ séc-an-e I 620; mílÁ ślēs-aṇ-e VI 71; mílÁ sañ-gám-an-e  
 VI 135; mísÁ sábd-e I 759; mísra sam-park-é X 375; miṣÁ spardhā-y-ām  
 VI 60; miṣÚ séc-an-e I 730; mihÁ séc-an-e I 1041; mī gá-t-au X 281; mīÑ  
 himsā-y-ām IV 29; mīÑ himsā-y-ām IX 4; mímĠ gá-t-au I 496; mílÁ  
 ni-meṣ-aṇ-e I 550; (múnkh) = (múkhÍ gá-ty-arth-aḥ I 147); mucĠ  
 mókṣ-aṇ-e VI 136; mucÁ pra-móc-an-e mód-an-e ca X 203; mújÁ  
 sábdā=artha-ḥ I 269; (múñc) = múcl kálk-an-e I 185; (múñj) = mújÍ  
 sábdā=artha-ḥ I 270; múṭÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-kṣepá-<sup>2</sup>pra-márd-anay-oḥ VI 81; muṭÁ  
 sañ-cūrṇ-an-e X 73; múṇÁ prati-jñān-e VI 44; (múnṭh) = múṭhI pāl-an-e  
 I 284; (múnḍ) = múḍÍ khāṇḍ-an-e I 348; (múnḍ) = múḍI mārj-an-e I 294;  
 múḍA hārṣ-e I 16; mudÁ sañ-sarg-é X 200; múrÁ sañ-véṣṭ-an-e VI 53;  
 múrchĀ <sup>1</sup>móha-<sup>2</sup>sañ-uc-chrāyáy-oḥ I 227; múrvÍ bándh-an-e I 606;  
 múṣÁ sté-y-e IX 58; músÁ khāṇḍ-an-e IV 11; mustÁ sañ-ghāt-é X 88;  
 múhÁ vái-citty-e IV 89; mūtra pra-srāv-aṇ-e X 361; múlÁ  
 pra-tiṣṭhā-y-ām I 562; múlÁ róh-aṇ-e X 63; múṣÁ sté-y-e I 707; mṛÑ  
 pr-āṇa-tyāg-é VI 110; mṛkṣÁ sañ-ghāt-é I 694; mṛĠÁ an-v-ēṣ-aṇ-e IV 137;  
 mṛga an-v-ēṣ-aṇ-e X 352; mṛjĪ súd-dh-au II 57; mṛjĪ <sup>1</sup>saucá=

<sup>2</sup>alaṃ-kār-áy-oḥ X 304; mḥdÁ kṣód-e IX 44; mḥdÁ súkh-an-e VI 38; mḥṇÁ himsá-y-ām VI 41; (mḥṇḍ = mḥḍÍ chéd-an-e X 118); mḥṇÁ kṣód-e IX 43; mḥdhÙ únd-an-e I 923; mḥśÁ ā-mārṣ-aṇ-e VI 131; mḥśÀ titikṣā-y-ām X 305; mḥśÚ sēc-an-e sáh-an-e ca I 739; meÑ pra-ṇi-dān-é I 1010; (métṚ un-mād-é I 314); méđṚ <sup>1</sup>medhā-<sup>2</sup>hims-anay-oḥ I 920; méđhṚ <sup>1</sup>medhā-<sup>2</sup>hims-anay-oḥ I 920; mépṚ gá-t-au I 395; (mévṚ sév-an-e I 534); mokṣÁ ás-an-e X 191; mnā abhy-ās-é I 976; mrakṣÁ mlécch-an-e X 120; (mrákṣÁ saṃ-ghāt-é I 694); mrádA márd-an-e I 804; mrúcÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 210; mrúncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 208; mrédṚ un-mād-é I 313; mlúcÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 211; mlúncÚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 209; mléchÁ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 220; mlechÁ á-vy-ak-tā-y-ām vāc-í X 121; mlétṚ un-mād-é I 312; mlévṚ sév-an-e I 535; mlai harṣa-kṣay-é I 953.

## Y

yakṣÁ pūjā-y-ām X 153; yajÀ <sup>1</sup>deva-pūjā-<sup>2</sup>saṃ-ga-ti-kār-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>dān-é-ṣu I 1051; yatA <sup>1</sup>ni-kārā=<sup>2</sup>upa-s-kāráy-oḥ X 196; yátĪ pra-yat-n-é I 30; (yantr) = yatrÍ saṃ-kóc-an-e X 3; yabhA vi-par-ī-ta-maithun-é I 1029; yamÁ á-pari-veṣ-aṇ-e I 871; yamA pari-veṣ-aṇ-e X 82; yamÁ upa-ram-é I 1033; yásÚ pra-yat-n-é IV 101; yā pr-āp-aṇ-e II 40; ṬU-yāc-Ṛ yāc-ñā-y-ām I 916; yu jugupsā-y-ām X 170; yu mīr-aṇ-e II 23; yuÑ bāndh-an-e IX 9; (yúṅg) = yúgÍ várj-an-e I 167; yúchÁ pra-mād-é I 229; yujA saṃ-yām-an-e X 264; yujA sam-ā-dh-au IV 68; yujĪR yóg-e VII 7; yútṚ bhās-an-e I 31; yudhA sam-pra-hār-é IV 64; yúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 124; yúṣÁ himsá-y-ām I 711; yésṚ pra-yat-n-é I 646; yaútṚ bandh-é I 311.

## R

(rámh) = ráhÍ gá-t-au I 768; (raṃh = rahÍ bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 256); rakÁ ā-svād-an-e X 197; rákṣÁ pāl-an-e I 688; rákhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 140; rágĒ śaṅká-y-ām I 822; (ráñkh) = rákhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 141; (raṅg) = rágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 153; (ráñgh) = rághÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 107; (raṅgh = raghÍ bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 253); raca pra-yat-n-é X 318; (rañj) = ranjÀ rāg-é I 865,1048; IV 58; rátÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 319; (raṭa pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 373); ráthÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 357; ránÁ gá-t-au I 832; ránÁ sábdā=artha-ḥ I 855; (raṇv) = rávÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 627; rádÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 54; rádHÁ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>saṃ-rād-dhyo-ḥ IV 84; rápÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 428; ráphÁ gá-t-au I 440; rabhÁ rábhas-y-e I 1023; ramA krīḍā-y-ām I 906; (ramph)

= ráphlI gá-t-au I 441; (rámb) = rábÍ sábd-e I 401; (rámbh = rábhI sábd-e I 412); ráyA gá-t-au I 511; rásÁ sábd-e I 745; rasa <sup>1</sup>ā-svād-ana-<sup>2</sup>snéh-anay-oḥ X 385; ráhÁ tyāg-é I 767; rahÁ tyāg-é X 84; raha tyāg-é X 312; rā dan-e II 48; rákhṚ <sup>1</sup>sós-aṇa=<sup>2</sup>álam-arthay-oḥ I 126; rághṚ sám-arthy-e I 113; rájṚ díp-t-au I 874; rādhA vfd-dh-au IV 71; rādhÁ sam-síd-dh-au V 16; rāsṚ sábd-e I 657; ri gá-t-au VI 111; (ríkhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 151); (riṅ) = ríGÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 164; ricA <sup>1</sup>vi-yój-ana-<sup>2</sup>sam-párc-anay-oḥ X 273; ricṚ vi-réc-an-e VII 4; (rípv) = rívÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 626; ríphÁ <sup>1</sup>kátth-ana-<sup>2</sup>yuddhá-<sup>3</sup>nindā-<sup>4</sup>himsā-<sup>5</sup>ā-dāné-su VI 23; rísÁ himsā-y-ām VI 126; riśÁ himsā=artha-ḥ I 725; rī <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>reṣ-aṇay-oḥ IX 30; riṆ śráv-aṇ-e IV 30; ruṆ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>reṣ-aṇay-oḥ I 1008; rú sábd-e II 24; rúcA díp-t-au abhi-prí-t-au ca I 781; rujÁ himsā-y-ām X 262; rujÓ bhaṅg-é VI 123; rúṭA prati-ghāt-é I 783; rúṭhÁ apa-ghāt-é I 359; (rúṇṭ) = rúṭI sté-y-e I 349; (rúṇṭh) = rúṭhÍ gá-t-au I 368; rúdÍR asru-vi-móc-an-e II 58; áno(h) rudhA kām-é IV 65; rudhÍR ā-vár-aṇ-e VII 1; rúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 125; ruśÁ himsā-y-ām VI 126; ruśÁ rós-e IV 120; ruṣÁ rós-e X 132; ruhÁ bīja-ján-man-i I 912; rūkṣa páruṣy-e X 362; rūpa rūpa-kri-yā-y-ām X 387; (rūśÁ bhūśā-y-ām I 709); rékṚ śaṅkā-y-ām I 80; (réjṚ díp-t-au I 195); réṭṚ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 917; réṭṚ gá-t-au I 396; rébhṚ sábd-e I 410; révṚ plava-gá-t-au I 540; reṣṚ á-vy-ak-t-e sábd-e I 651; rai sábd-e I 958; ródṚ un-mād-é I 378; raúdṚ án-ā-dar-e I 377.

## L

lakṣÁ ā-lóc-an-e X 157; lakṣÁ <sup>1</sup>dárs-ana=<sup>2</sup>ā-kāṅksáy-oḥ X 5; lākhÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 142; lagA ā-svād-an-e X 197; lágÉ sāṅg-e I 823; (lāṅkh) = lākhÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 143; (lāṅg) = lágÍ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 154; (laṅgh) = laghI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 108; (laṅgh) = laghÍ bhāśā-artha-ḥ X 220 (254); (lāṅgh) = lāghÍ sós-aṇ-e I 172); láchÁ lākṣ-aṇ-e I 221; lājÁ bhārts-an-e I 257; (lajj) = O-lásj-Ī vrīd-é VI 10; (lāñj) = lājÍ bhārts-an-e I 258; (lañj = lājÍ bhāśā=artha-ḥ X 244); (lañj) = \*lājÍ <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>bāla=<sup>3</sup>ā-danā-<sup>4</sup>ni-két-ane-ṣu X 39; látÁ bāly-e I 320; laḍÁ upa-sevā-y-ām X 7; láḍÁ vi-lās-é I 381; laḍi jihvā=un-máth-an-e I 852; (laṇḍ) = O-lad-Ī ut-kṣép-aṇ-e X 9; (laṇḍ = laḍÍ bhāśā=artha-ḥ X 258); lapA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 429; ḌU-labh-A-Ṣ pr-āp-t-au I 1024; (lāmb) = lābI ava-sráms-an-e I 404; (lāmb) = lābI sábd-e I 402; lārbÁ gá-t-au I 444; lalÁ īp-s-ā-y-ām X 148; (lálÁ vi-lās-é I 382); lásÁ kán-t-au I 937; lasÁ śilpa-yog-é X 189; lásÁ <sup>1</sup>śléṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>krīd-anay-oḥ I 746; lā ā-dan-é II 49; lākhṚ <sup>1</sup>sós-aṇa=<sup>2</sup>álam-arthay-oḥ I



127; lāghṚ sām-arthy-e I 114; lājÁ bhárts-an-e I 259; (lāñch) = láchí lákṣ-aṇ-e I 222; (lāñj) = lājí bhárts-an-e I 260; lābha pr-ér-aṇ-e X 389; líkhÁ akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é VI 72; (líṅg) = lígí gá-ty-artha-h I 165; (liṅg) = ligí citrī-kár-aṇ-e X 199; lipÁ upa-deh-é VI 139; liśÁ alpī-bhāv-e IV 70; liśÁ gá-t-au VI 127; lihÀ ā-svād-an-e II 6; lī dravī-kár-aṇ-e X 269; lī ślēs-aṇ-e IX 31; hīÑ ślēs-aṇ-e IV 31; (lūñc) = lúncÁ apa-náy-an-e I 202; (luñj) = lují bhāśā=artha-h X 218; lútA prati-ghāt-é I 784; lútÁ vi-lód-an-e I 336; IV 113; lútÁ saṁ-ślēs-aṇ-e VI 87; luṭÁ bhāśā=artha-h X 214; lúthÁ upa-ghāt-é I 360; lúthA prati-ghāt-é I 785; (lúnṭ) = lútí sté-y-e I 350; (lúnṭÁ sté-y-e X 27); (lúnṭh) = lúthí ā-lasy-e prati-ghāt-é ca I 366; (lúnṭh) = lúthí gá-t-au I 369; lúnṭhA sté-y-e X 27; (lúnth) = lúthí <sup>1</sup>himsā-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-klēs-anay-oḥ I 46; lúpÁ vi-móh-an-e IV 126; lupḤ chéd-an-e IV 137; lúbhÁ gārdh-y-e IV 128; lúbhÁ vi-móh-an-e VI 22; (lúmb) = lúbí árd-an-e I 454; (lumb) = lubí á-dars-an-e X 144; lūÑ chéd-an-e IX 13; (lūsÁ bhūśā-y-ām I 708); lūsA himśā-y-ām X 70; lépṚ gá-t-au I 397; lókṚ dárs-an-e I 76; lokṚ bhāśā=artha-h X 236; lócṚ dárs-an-e I 177; locṚ bhāśā=artha-h X 237; lódṚ un-mād-é I 379; lóṣta saṁ-ghāt-é I 277.

## V

vákṣÁ rós-e I 693; vákhÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 134; (vánk) = vákí kaúṭily-e I 88; (vánk) = vákí gá-ty-artha-h I 95; (vánkh) = vákhí gá-ty artha-h I 135; (vánḡ) = vágí gá-ty-artha-h I 156; (vángh) = vághí ga-ti=ā-kṣep-é I 110; vacÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e II 54; vājÁ gá-t-au I 271; (vajÁ <sup>1</sup>mārga-saṁ-s-kārā-<sup>2</sup>ga-ty-oḥ X 75); vāncÚ gá-ty-artha-h I 204; vancÚ pra-lāmbh-an-e X 163; vātÁ vēṣt-an-e I 322; vātÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 816; vaṭa grānth-e X 311; vaṭa vi-bhāj-an-e X 372; vāthÁ sthāury-e I 354; vāṇÁ śābda=artha-h I 473; (vaṇṭ) = vaṭí vi-bhāj-an-e X 48; (vaṇṭ = vaṭí vi-bhāj-an-e I 351); (vaṇṭ = vaṭí vi-bhāj-an-e X 372); (vāṇṭh) = vāṭhí eka-caryā-y-ām I 281; (vāṇḍ) = vādí vi-bhāj-an-e I 290; (vaṇḍ) = vadí vi-bhāj-an-e X 48; vādÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í I 1058; vadÁ saṁ-deś-a-vāc-an-e X 297; vāṇÁ śābd-e I 490; vāṇÁ sam-bhák-t-au I 491; vānU yāc-an-e VIII 8; vānÚ ca ná=úpa-labh-ya-te I 841, 868; vanA <sup>1</sup>śrad-dhā=<sup>2</sup>upa-hán-anay-oḥ X 296; (vānd) = vādí <sup>1</sup>abhi-vād-ana-<sup>2</sup>stú-ty-oḥ I 11; ḍU-vap-À bīja-saṁ-tān-é I 1052; vābhrÁ gá-ty-artha-h I 589; ṭU-vam-Á ud-gír-aṇ-e I 868, 902; váyA gá-t-au I 504; vara īp-sā-y-ām X 308; vārcA dīp-t-au I 175; varṇÁ pr-ér-aṇ-e X 18; varṇa <sup>1</sup>varṇa-kri-yā-<sup>2</sup>vi-stārā-<sup>3</sup>guṇa-vāc-ane-ṣu X 391; vardhÁ <sup>1</sup>chéd-ana-

<sup>2</sup>pūr-anay-oḥ X 112; várṣA snéh-an-e I 644; várhA <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-  
<sup>2</sup>himsā=<sup>3</sup>ā-dāné-ṣu I 671; vála sam-vár-an-e I 520; (vali śábd-e I 857);  
valkÁ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 35; válgÁ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 152; válbhA bhó-j-an-e I  
418; vállA sam-vár-an-e I 521; válhA <sup>1</sup>pari-bhāṣ-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>himsā=<sup>3</sup>ā-dāné-ṣu I  
672; (válhA prā-dhāny-e I 670); vásÁ kán-t-au II 70; vásÁ himsā=artha-ḥ  
I 722; vásA ā-cchād-an-e II 13; vasÁ ni-vās-é I 1054; vasÁ <sup>1</sup>snehā=  
<sup>2</sup>chedā=apa=hár=aṇe=ṣu X 204; vásÚ stambh-é IV 105; vaskA  
gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 101; vahÀ pr-āp-aṇ-e I 1053; vā <sup>1</sup>ga-ti-<sup>2</sup>gāndh-anay-oḥ II  
41; (vāṅks) = vāksī kāṅksā-y-ām I 699; (vāñch) = vāchī icchā-y-ām I 223;  
vāta <sup>1</sup>sukhā-<sup>2</sup>séc-anay-oḥ X 336; vāsṚ śábd-e IV 54; vāsa upa-sevā-y-ām  
X 338; vicĪR pṛthg-bhāv-é VII 5; víchÁ gá-t-au VI 129; vichÁ  
bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 233; vijĪR pṛthag-bhāv-é III 12; O-vij-Ī <sup>1</sup>bhayá-  
<sup>2</sup>cál-anay-oḥ VI 9; O-vij-Ī <sup>1</sup>bhayá-<sup>2</sup>cál-anay-oḥ VII 23; víṭÁ śábd-e I 338;  
víthṚ yāc-an-e I 33; vidÁ <sup>1</sup>cet-ana=<sup>2</sup>ā-khyāna-<sup>3</sup>ni-vās-é-ṣu X 168; vídÁ  
jñān-e II 55; vidA vi-cār-aṇ-e VII 13; vidA sattā-y-ām IV 627; vidĪ lābh-é  
VI 138; vídhÁ vidhān-é VI 36; vilÁ kṣép-e X 65; vilÁ sam-vár-aṇ-e VI 66;  
viśÁ pra-vés-an-e VI 130; viṣÁ vi-pra-yog-é IX 54; viṣÚ séc-an-e I 729;  
viṣĪ vy-āp-t-au III 13; (viśÁ gá-t-au I 753); vī <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pra-janá-<sup>3</sup>kān-ti=  
<sup>4</sup>ās-ana-<sup>5</sup>khād-ane-ṣu II 39; (vījA gá-t-au I 197); vīra vi-kṛān-t-au X 355;  
(vúṅg) = vūgī várj-an-e I 169; vṛÑ sam-bhák-t-au IX 38; vṛÑ vár-aṇ-e V  
8; vṛÑ ā-vár-aṇ-e X 271; vṛkA ád-an-e I 92; vṛkṣA vár-aṇ-e I 635; vṛjĪ  
várj-an-e II 19; vṛjĪ várj-an-e VII 24; vṛjĪ várj-an-e X 270; vṛtÚ  
bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 241; vṛtU vár-aṇ-e IV 52; vṛtU vart-an-e I 795; vṛdhÚ  
bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 242; vṛdhU vṛd-dh-au I 796; vṛṣÁ vár-aṇ-e IV 116;  
vṛṣÁ śak-ti-bāndh-an-e X 164; vṛṣÚ séc-an-e I 738; vṛhĪ ud-yām-an-e VI  
57; vṛ vár-aṇ-e IX 20; vṛÑ vár-aṇ-e IX 16; veÑ tan-tu-sam-tān-é I 1055;  
(vekṣá dārs-an-e X 392); venṚ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>jñāna-<sup>3</sup>cintā-<sup>4</sup>ni-sām-ana-<sup>5</sup>vād-itra-  
<sup>6</sup>grāh-aṇe-ṣu I 926; véthṚ yāc-an-e I 34; ṬU-vép-Ṛ kámp-an-e I 391; vela  
kāla=upa-deś-é X 334; vélṚ cál-an-e I 568; vellÁ cál-an-e I 573; vevĪÑ  
vé-ti-nā túly-e (= <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>pra-janá-<sup>3</sup>kān-ti=<sup>4</sup>ās-ana-<sup>5</sup>khād-ane-ṣu) II 68;  
véṣṬA véṣṭ-an-e I 274; (vésÁ gá-t-au I 754); véhṚ pra-yat-n-é I 674; O-vai  
sós-aṇ-e I 969; vyácÁ vyāji-kār-aṇ-e VI 12; vyáthA <sup>1</sup>bhayá-  
<sup>2</sup>sam-cál-anay-oḥ I 801; vyadhÁ tād-an-e IV 72; (vyapÁ kṣay-é X 96);  
vyáyÀ gá-t-au I 930; vyaya <sup>1</sup>vittá-<sup>2</sup>sam-ut-sarg-áy-oḥ X 386; vyúṣÁ dāh-é  
IV 7; vyúṣA vi-bhāg-é IV 106; vyeÑ sam-vár-aṇ-e I 1056; vrájÁ gá-t-au I  
272; (vrájÁ gá-t-au I 234); vrajÁ <sup>1</sup>mārga-sam-s-kārā-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ X 75;  
(vránj = vrájĪ gá-t-au I 235); vrāṇÁ śábd-a=artha-ḥ I 478; vraṇa  
gātra-vi-cūrṇ-an-e X 390; O-vrás-Ī chéd-an-e VI 11; vrī vár-aṇ-e IX 33;

vrīṆ vṛ-ṇó-ti=arth-e IV 32; vrīḍÁ cód-an-e VI 18; vrūḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e VI 99; vrūṣA hiṁsā-y-ām X 122; vḥi vár-aṇ-e IX 32.

## Ś

(ā+saṁs) = āṆaḥ śásI icchā-y-ām I 660; (śáms) = śánsU stú-t-au I 764; śákÀ márs-an-e IV 78; śákĹ śák-t-au V 15; (śánk) = śákI śaṅká-y-ām I 86; śacA vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-i I 178; śátÁ <sup>1</sup>rujá-<sup>2</sup>vi-sár-aṇa-<sup>3</sup>gá-ti= <sup>4</sup>ava-sád-ane-su I 321; śathÁ <sup>1</sup>á-saṁ-s-kāra-<sup>2</sup>gá-tyo-ḥ X 28; śathÁ kaítav-e ca I 363; śathÁ ślāghā-y-ām X 152; śaṭha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 310; śánÁ dān-é I 834; (śāṇḍ) = śádI rujā-y-ām I 299; śadĹ śāt-an-e I 908; VI 134; śapÀ ā-kroś-é I 1049; śapÀ ā-kroś-é IV 59; śabdÁ śabda-kri-yā-y-ām X 174; śamA ā-lóc-an e X 156; śamÚ upa-sam-é IV 92; śamÁ dárs-an-e I 870; (śambÁ sam-bāndh-an-e X 21); śarbÁ gá-t-au I 450; śárvÁ hiṁsā-y-ām I 616; śálÁ gá-t-au I 896; śálA <sup>1</sup>cál-ana-<sup>2</sup>saṁ-vár-aṇay-oḥ I 519; śálbhA kátth-an-e I 417; śávÁ gá-t-au I 761; śásÁ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 721; śásÁ plu-ta-gá-t-au I 762; śásÚ himsa-y-ām I 763; śākhĹ vy-āp-t-au I 130; śādĹ ślaghā-y-ām I 309; śānÀ téj-an-e I 1044; śāsÚ anu-sís-ṭ-au II 66; āṆ-aḥ śásU icchā-y-ām II 12; śīṆ ni-sān-e V 3; śíkṣA vidyā=up-ā-dān-é I 636; (śínkh) = śíkhÍ ga-ti=artha-ḥ I 150; (śíngh) = śíghÍ ā-ghraṇ-é I 174; ( śínj) = śíjI á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e II 17; śítÁ án-ā-dar-e I 325; śílÁ uñch-é VI 70; śísÁ á-sarva=upa-yog-e X 274; śísÁ hiṁsā=artha-ḥ I 718; śisĹ vi-sés-aṇ-e VII 14; śiṆ sváp-n-e II 22; śíkÁ ā-márs-aṇ-e X 283; śíkĹ séc-an-e I 75; (śíkÁ bhāṣā=artha-ḥ X 249); śíbhĹ kátth-an-e I 408; śílÁ sam-ā-dh-aú I 556; śila upa-dhār-aṇ-e X 332; (śúkÁ gá-t-au I 123); súcÁ sók-e I 198; Ī-súc-ĪR pūti-bhāv-é IV 56; súcyÁ abhi-ṣav-é I 546; súṭhÁ á-lasy-e X 103; súṭhÁ ga-ti-prati-ghāt-é I 364; (súnṭh) = súṭhÍ sóṣ-aṇ-e I 367; (súnṭh) = súṭhÍ sóṣ-aṇ-e X 104; súnÁ gá-t-au VI 46; súdhÁ sauc-é IV 82; súndhÁ súd-dh-au I 74; sundhÁ sauca-kár-maṇ-i X 289; súbhÁ díp-t-au I 459; súbhÁ śobhā=arth-e VI 33; (śumbh) = súnbhÁ śobhā=arth-e VI 33; (śumbh) = sunbhA bhāṣ-aṇ-e I 460; sulkÁ ati-spárs-an-e X 76; sulbÁ mān-é X 71; suṣÁ soṣ-aṇ-e IV 74; sūra vi-krān-t-au X 354; sūrĪ <sup>1</sup>hiṁsā-<sup>2</sup>stāmbh-anay-oḥ IV 49; súlÁ rujā-y-ām I 559; súṣÁ pra-sav-é I 710; śṛdhÚ únd-an-e I 922; śṛdhU pra-sáh-an-e X 195; śṛdhÚ śabda-kutsā-y-ām I 797; śṛ hiṁsā-y-am IX 18; sélĹ gá-t-au I 576; (sévrĹ sév-an-e I 536); sai pāk-é I 906; só tanū-kár-aṇ-e IV 37; sónĹ <sup>1</sup>vārṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ I 483; saútĹ garv-é I 310; ścyútĪR kṣár-aṇ-e I 41; śmílÁ ni-més-aṇ-e I 551; śyaiṆ gá-t-au I 1012;

(śránK) = śrákI gá-ty-artha-h I 84; (śráṅg) = śrágI gá-ty-artha-h I 160; śránĀ dān-é I 835; śraṇĀ dān-é X 42; śrathĀ pra-yat-n-é X 13; śrathĀ mókṣ-aṇ-e X 280; śráthĀ himsā=artha-h I 836; śratha daúr-baly-e X 324; (śránth) = śráthI śaithily-e I 35; śránthĀ <sup>1</sup>vi-móc-ana-<sup>2</sup>prati-harṣáy-oḥ IX 39; śranthĀ sam-darbh-é X 294; śráṁŪ táp-as-i khed-é ca IV 95; (śrámbh) = śránbhU pra-mād-é I 420; śrā pāk-é I 848; II 44; śrīÑ sevā-y-ām I 945; śrīṣŪ dāh-e I 733; śrīÑ pāk-é IX 3; śru śráv-aṇ-e I 989; śrai pāk-é I 966, 967 (cf. śrā pak-e I 848); śróṇṚ sam-ghāt-e I 484; (ślāṅk) = ślākI gá-ty-artha-h I 85; (ślāṅg) = ślágI gá-ty-artha-h I 162; ślākhṚ vy-āp-t-au I 131; ślāghṚ kátth-an-e I 118; śliṣĀ ā-líṅg-an-e IV 77; śliṣA śléṣ-aṇ-e X 38; śliṣŪ dāh-é I 734; ślókṚ sam-ghāt-é I 77; ślónṚ sam-ghāt-é I 485; (śvánk) = śvákI gá-ty-artha-h I 96; (śváṅg = śvágI gá-ty-artha-h I 161); śvácA gá-t-au I 179; (śváṅc)=śváclI gá-t-au I 180; śvaṭhĀ <sup>1</sup>á-sam-s-kārā-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ X 29; śvaṭha samyag-ava-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 310; śválĀ āsu-gám-an-e I 582; (śvalkĀ pari-bhāṣ-aṇ-e X 34); svállĀ āsu-gám-an-e I 583; śvāsĀ pr-āṇ-an-e II 60; ṬU-O-śví <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>vṛd-dhy-oḥ I 1059; śvítĀ várṇ-e I 778; (śvínđ) = śvídI śvaity-e I 10; śveta=(aśva) X 394.

## Ś

śágĒ sam-vár-aṇ-e I 826; śaghĀ himsā-y-ām V 21; śacĀ sam-av-āy-é I 1046; śacA séc-an-e I 176; (śájji) = śásjĀ gá-t-au I 217; (sañj) = śanĵĀ sáṅg-e I 1036; śatĀ ava-yav-é I 335; śatĪĀ himsā-y-ām X 99; śadĪ <sup>1</sup>vi-sár-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti=<sup>3</sup>ava-sād-ane-ṣu I 907; śadĪ <sup>1</sup>vi-sár-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>gá-ti=<sup>3</sup>ava-sād-ane-ṣu VI 133; (āÑ-aḥ śad-aḥ padī=arth-e X 288); śaṇĀ sam-bhák-t-au I 492; śaṇŪ dān-e VIII 2; śápĀ sam-av-āy-ē I 427; śámĀ vai-klavy-e I 882; śambĀ sam-bándh-an-e X 21; śárĵĀ árĵ-an-e I 243; śárbĀ gá-t-au I 451; śárvĀ himsā-y-ām I 617; śálĀ gá-t-au I 580; śásĀ sváp-n-e II 69; śáhA mārṣ-aṇ-e I 905; śahĀ mārṣ-aṇ-e X 267; (śáhĀ cakī-arth-e IV 20); śādhĀ sam-síd-dh-au V 17; śāntvĀ sāma-pra-yog-é X 33; śiÑ bándh-an-e V 12; IX 5; śicĀ kṣar-aṇ-e VI 140; śítĀ án-ā-dar-e I 326; śídhĀ gá-ty-ām I 48; śídhŪ sam-rád-dh-au IV 83; śílĀ uñch-é VI 70; śívŪ tan-tu-sam-tān-é IV 2; ṣu <sup>1</sup>pra-savá=<sup>2</sup>aśvāyay-oḥ I 988; II 32; ṣuÑ abhi-ṣav-é V i; suṭĪĀ án-ā-dar-e X 26; śúrĀ <sup>1</sup>aśvārya-<sup>2</sup>dīp-ty-oḥ VI 50; śúhĀ cakī=arth-e IV 21; śū pr-ér-aṇ-e VI 115; śūÑ prāṇi-garbha-vi-móc-an-e II 21; śūÑ prāṇi-pra-sav-é IV 24; śūḍA kṣar-aṇ-e I 25; śūdĀ kṣár-aṇ-e X 177; śúrksyĀ īrṣyā=artha-h I 542; śévṚ sév-an-e I 530; śai kṣay-é I 963; ṣo anta-kár-maṇ-i IV 39; ṣtākĀ

prati-ghāt-é I 819; ṣṭánÁ vai-klavy-e I 883; ṣṭíghA ā-skánd-an-e V 19; ṣṭípṚ kṣár-ana=artha-h I 387; ṣṭímÁ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 17; ṣṭímÁ ārdri-bhāv-é IV 17; ṣṭuÑ stú-t-au II 34; ṣṭúca pra-sād=é I 188; ṣṭúbhU stambh-é I 421; ṣṭúpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é IV 127; ṣṭūpÁ sam-uc-chrāy-é X 134; ṣṭṛkṣÁ gá-t-au I 691; ṣṭṛhŪ himsā=artha-h VI 58; ṣṭṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e IX 14; ṣṭépṚ kṣár-ana=artha-h I 388; ṣṭai vēṣṭ-an-e I 970; ṣṭyai <sup>1</sup>śabda-<sup>2</sup>sañ-ghātáy-oḥ I 959; ṣṭhívÚ nir-ás-an-e I 592; ṣṭhívÚ nir-ás-an-e IV 4; ṣṇásÚ ád-an-e IV 5; ṣṇihÁ prī-t-au IV 91; ṣṇihÁ snéh-an-e X 36; ṣṇú pra-srāv-aṇ-e II 29; ṣṇúsU ad-an-e IV 5; ṣmiÑ ṭṣad-dhás-an-e I 996; ṣvādA ā-svād-an-e I 18; ṣvadÁ ā-svād-an-e X 263; Ñi-ṣvap-Á śay-é II 59; ṣvásKA gá-ty-artha-h I 100; Ñi-ṣvid-Ā gātra-pra-srāv-aṇ-e I 780; ṣvid-Ā gātra-pra- kṣár-aṇ-e IV 79.

## S

sañ-keta ā-mántr-aṇ-e X 345; sañ-grāma yud-dh-é X 376; sattrā sañ-tāna-krí-yā-y-ām X 358; sa-bhāja <sup>1</sup>prī-ti-<sup>2</sup>dárs-anay-oḥ X 341; sāma sāntva-pra-yog-é X 333; sukha tat-kri-yā-y-ām X 383; sūca paísuny-e X 327; sūtra vēṣṭ-an-e X 360; sūrksÁ ā-dar-é I 697; sūsÁ pra-sav-é I 710; sṛ gá-t-au I 982; III 17; sṛjÁ vi-sarg-é VI 121; sṛpḶ gá-t-au I 1032; sṛbhŪ himsā=artha-h I 457; (sṛmbh) = sṛnbhŪ himsā=artha-h I 458; sékṚ gá-ty-artha-h I 81; sélṚ gá-t-au I 576; skandÍR <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sós-anay-oḥ I 1028; (skámbh) = skábhÍ prati-bandh-é I 414; (skambh) = skanbhŪ ródh-an-e IX 8; skuÑ ā-práv-aṇ-e IX 6; (skúnd) = skúdl ā-práv-aṇ-e I 9; (skumbh = skunbhŪ ródh-an-e IX 8); skhádA skhád-an-e I 805; skhadīr <sup>1</sup>áva-<sup>2</sup>pári-bhyām ca I 872; skhálÁ sañ-cál-an-e I 577; skhālī śábd-e I 858; stana deva-śábd-é X 313; (stambh = stanbhŪ ródh-an-e IX 7); ṣṭṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e V 6; ṣṭṛÑ ā-cchād-an-e IX 14; stena caúry-e X 349; stoma ślāghā-y-ām X 377; sthálÁ sthān-é I 889; sthā ga-ti-ni-vṛt-t-au I 975; sthúdÁ sañ-vár-aṇ-e VI 94; sthūla pari-bṛm̐h-aṇ-e X 356; snā sauc-e I 868; II 43; spárdhA sañ-gharṣ-é I 3; spaśÁ <sup>1</sup>gráh-aṇa-<sup>2</sup>sañ-ślés-anay-oḥ X 141; spaśÁ <sup>1</sup>báñdh-ana-<sup>2</sup>spárs-anay-oḥ I 936; spr <sup>1</sup>prī-ti-<sup>2</sup>pāl-anay-oḥ V 13; sprśÁ sañ-spárs-an-e VI 128; sprha ṭp-sā-y-ām X 325; (sphátA vi-sar-aṇ-e I 352); spháy-Ī vṛd-dh-au I 516; sphīṭÁ himsā-y-ām X 91; sphuṭÁ bhéd-an-e X 182; sphuṭA vi-kás-an-e VI 80; sphuṭ-ĪR vi-sár-aṇ-e I 352; sphúdÁ sañ-vár-aṇ-e VI 97; (sphuṇḍ) = sphuḍÍ pari-hās-é X 4; (sphúṇḍ) = sphúdl vi-kás-an-e I 297; sphúrÁ sañ-cál-an-e VI 95; sphúrchĀ vi-ṣṭṛ-t-au I 228; ṬU-O-sphúrjÁ vajra-nir-ghoṣ-é I 254; sphúlÁ sañ-cál-an-e VI 96; smitÁ án-ā-dar-e X 37; smílÁ ni-mēs-aṇ-e I 552; smṛ

ā-dhyān-é I 845; smṛ cintā-y-ām I 980; syāndŪ pra-srāv-aṇ-e I 798; syamÁ vi-tark-é X 154; syámŪ śábd-e I 878; (sráms) = sránsU ava-sráms-an-e I 790; (sraṁs) = \*sránsU pra-mad-e I 420; (sraṅk) = srákI gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 83; (srambh) = sránbhU pra-mād-é I 420; srívŪ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>sós-aṇay-oḥ IV 3; sru gá-t-au I 987; srékṚ gá-ty-artha-ḥ I 82; srai pāk-é I 967; svánÁ śábd-e I 879; (svánÁ ava-táms-an-e I 861); svara ā-kṣep-é X 317; svādA ā-svād-an-e I 18; svādÁ ā-svād-an-e X 263.

## H

haṭÁ díp-t-au I 334; háthÁ <sup>1</sup>plú-ti-<sup>2</sup>ṣaṭha-tváy-oḥ I 358; hadA purīṣa=ut-sarg-é I 1027; hanÁ <sup>1</sup>himsá-<sup>2</sup>gá-ty-oḥ II 2; hámmÁ gá-t-au I 465; háyÁ gá-t-au I 545; háryÁ <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>kān-ty-oḥ I 547; hálÁ vi-lékh-an-e I 890; hásÉ hás-an-e I 757; O-hā-K tyāg-é III 8; O-hā-Ñ gá-t-au III 7; hi gá-t-au vṛd-dh-au ca V 11; (hims) = hísI himsá-y-ām VII 19; (hims) = hisI himsá-y-ām X 286; híkkÁ á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 914; (hínḍ) = híḍI <sup>1</sup>gá-ti-<sup>2</sup>án-ā-daray-oḥ I 287; (hínv) = hívI prīṇ-ana=artha-ḥ I 622; hílÁ bhāva-kār-aṇ-e VI 69; (hiskÁ himsá-y-ām X 146); hu <sup>1</sup>dānā-<sup>2</sup>ád-anay-oḥ III 1; húdṚ gá-t-au I 375; (húṇḍ) = húḍI vár-aṇ-e I 226; (húṇḍ) = húḍI saṁ-ghāt-é I 288; hurchÁ kauṭily-e I 226; húlÁ gá-t-au I 897; húdṚ gá-t-au I 375; hṛ pr-sah-ya-kār-aṇ-e III 15; hṛÑ hár-aṇ-e I 947; hṛśÁ tús-t-au IV 119; hṛṣU álk-e I 741; héthA vi-bādhá-y-ām I 285; (héthA vi-bādhá-y-ām I 343); hédÁ vēṣt-an-e I 815; hédṚ án-ā-dar-e I 304; (hédhÁ ca [bhū-ta-prādur-bhāv-é] IX 60); hēsṚ á-vy-vk-t-e śábd-e I 652; hódṚ án-ā-dar-e I 305; hódṚ gá-t-au I 376; hnuÑ apa-náy-an-e II 72; hmálÁ cál-an-e I 844,867; hrágÉ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 824; hrásÁ śábd-e I 743; hrádA á-vy-ak-t-e śábd-e I 26; hrī lajjá-y-ām III 3; hrīchÁ lajjá-y-ām I 225; hlágÉ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e I 825; hlapÁ vy-āk-tā-y-ām vāc-í X 116; hlásÁ śábd-e I 744; hlād-Ī sukh-é I 27; hválÁ cál-an-e I 843, 867; hvṛ kauṭily-e I 978; hveÑ spardhá-y-ām śábd-e ca I 1057.

# Verbal Stems According to Meanings

## A

akṣara-vi-ny-ās-é: líkhÁ VI 72

°-agni-sam-yog-áy-oḥ: dhṃā I 974

agra-gám-an-e: púrÁ VI 56

°aṅk-ánay-oḥ: lakṣÁ X 5

ati-sárj-an-e: diśÁ VI 3, śulkÁ X 76

ád-an-e: kúka I 91, gálÁ I 579, grásU I 661, ghásĹ I 747, cáṃÚ I 497,  
cárvÁ I 610, chámÚ I 498, jáṃÚ I 499, jímÚ I 500, tṣṇÚ VIII 6,  
bhákṣÀ I 941, bhakṣÁ X 22, vṛka I 92, snúsÚ IV 5

°-ád-anay-oḥ: hu III 1

á-darś-an-e: ṇásÁ IV 85, tubÍ X 115, snúsÚ IV 5

adhaḥ-pát-an-e: bhṛṇsÚ/bhṛśÚ IV 115

á-dhāṛst-y-e: klībṚ I 406

adhy-áy-an-e: (ádhi+)jñ II 37, carcA X 172

án-ava-sthān-e: bhrámÚ IV 96

án-ā-dar-e: aṭṭÁ X 25, raúdṚ I 377, sítÁ I 325, śítÁ I 326, ṣuṭṭÁ X 26,  
smitÁ X 37, hédṚ I 304, hódṚ I 305

°-án-ā-daray-oḥ: U-tṣḍ-ÌR VII 9, pustÁ/bustÁ X 52, híđÍ I 257

anu-sís-t-au: śāsÚ II 66

an-ṛ-ta-bhāṣ-aṇ-e: kudrí X 6

anv-icchā-yām: géṣṚ I 645

anv-éṣ-aṇ-e: mārḡÁ X 302, mṛga X 352

apa-náy-an-e: óṇṚ I 482, kúncÁ I 202, hnuñ II 72

apa-vār-aṇ-e: chadÁ X 290, jalÁ X 10

°-apa-hār-aṇ-ṣu: vasÁ X 204

á-pra-dān-e: kūṭA X 162

á-prī-t-au: dviṣÀ II 3

abhi-kāñkṣā-yām: (gardÁ X 125), gḍdhÚ IV 136

abhi-gām-an-e: dyu II 31

abbi-prī-t-au: rúcA I 781

abhi-bhav-é: ji I 983, jri I 984

abhi-yog-é: áddÁ I 371

abhi-vārdh-an-e: puṁsÁ X 95

abhi-vād-ana-°: vādI I 11

abhi-ṣav-é: súcyÁ I 546, ṣuÑ V 1

°-abhy-ava-hār-áy-oḥ: bhujÁ VII 17

abhy-ās-é: mnā I 976

árj-an-e: árjÁ I 242, ṣárjÁ I 243

°-árj-ana-°: fĵA I 189

árd-an-e: úh-ÍR I 775, gandlhA X 145, túbÍ I 455, túh-ÍR I 773, dúh-ÍR I 774, lúbÍ I 454, vastA X 14

°-álam-arthay-oḥ: ókhṚ I 125, drákhṚ I 128, dhrákhṚ I 129, rákhṚ I 126, lákhṚ I 127

alam-kār-é: (tásÍ I 713), tasÍ X 190, bhūsÁ I 712

°-alam-kāráy-oḥ: mĵjÁ X 304

á-lábh-e: bhíkṣA I 637

áḥk-e: hḡṣÚ I 741

alpī-bhāv-é: cuttÁ/puttÁ X 24, cúđÍ I 347, liśA IV 70

°alpī-bhāváy-oḥ: kúncÁ/krúncÁ I 200



ava-kálk-an-e: bhū X 207, kṛpī X 208

ava-kṣép-aṇ-e: kutsA X 158

ava-khāṇḍ-an-e: do IV 40

°-ava-gam-á-°: ávÁ I 631

ava-gam-áne: búdhÁ I 911, budhA IV 63

ava-gáh-an-e: pīḍÁ X 11

ava-dhvāms-an-e: dhṛÑ I 1009

ava-bódh-an-e: jñā IX 36, mánU VIII 9

ava-yav-é: piśÁ VI 143, ṣátÁ I 335

ava-tāms-an-e: svánÁ I 861

°-ava-sād-ane-ṣu: ṣátÁ I 321, ṣadĪ VI 133, ṣadĪ I 907

ava-syánd-an-e: naṭÁ X 12

ava-sráms-an-e: dhvānsU I 791, bhrānsU I 792, srānsU I 790

ava-sthān-e: dhṛÑ VI 119

°-av-ā-p-ti-°: ávÁ I 631

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°-ā-deśé-ṣu: díksA I 640

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vi-stār-a-vác-an-e: pacÍ X 109

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vi-stṭ-t-au: sphúrchA I 288

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vṛ-ṇó-ty-arth-e: vrīÑ IV 32

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°-vṛd-dhy-oḥ: ṬU-O-śví I 1059

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°-vy-ava-hār-á-°: dívŪ IV 1

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°-śās-anay-oḥ: kásI II 14, dakṣA I 807

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°-śúd-dhy-oḥ: dhāvŪ I 632

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°-saṁvár-aṇay-oḥ: húlÁ I 897

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°-sam-uc-chrāy-áy-oh: múrchÀ I 227

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°-sam-párc-anay-oh: ricÁ X 273

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sam-bhák-t-au: ámÁ I 493, vánÁ I 491, vġÑ IX 38, ṣánÁ I 492

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°-stambh-áy-oḥ: súrĲ IV 49

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°-stú-ty-oḥ: vādI I 11

°-stú-ti-°: dívÚ IV 1

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°-sthaír-yay-oḥ: dhrú VI 107

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°-snéh-anay-oḥ: rasa X 385

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°-spars-ānay-oḥ: spásA I 936

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°-hás-anay-oh: jáksÁ II 62

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°-híms-anay-oh: túrí IV 44, mídR I 920, médR I 921

híms-ā-yām: ardĀ X 285, árvÁ I 615, úrvĪ I 600, řnphÁ/řphÁ VI 30, kásÁ I 716, kṛÑ V 7, kṛ IX 26, kṛÑ IX 15, kṣaṇŪ VIII 3, kṣí V 30, kṣīṇŪ VII 4, kṣīṢ IX 35, khásÁ I 717, círí V 31, cubĪ X 92, chásA I 939, jáśÁ I 719, jaśŪ X 130, jírí V 32, jhásÁ I 720, ṇábha I 788, ṇábhÁ IV 130, IX 48, tárdA I 59, tújÁ I 263, túnphÁ/túpÁ VI 26, túnphÁ/túphÁ VI 27, túbha I 789, túbhÁ IV 130, IX 49, tṛghÁ VII 18, dásÁ V 33, drú V 34, drūÑ IX 11, púthÁ IV 12, barhÁ X 123, brūsÁ X 122, bhárvÁ I 611, máśÁ I 723, mīÑ IV 29, mīÑ IX 4, mṛṇÁ VI 41, mṛ IX 22, yūsÁ I 711, rí V 29, riśÁ I 725, rujÁ X 262, riśÁ/ruśÁ VI 126, rúśÁ I 724, lūsÁ X 70, vásÁ I 722, viśka X 146, śárvÁ I 616, śásŪ I 763, śásÁ I 721, śághÁ V 21, ṣaṭṭÁ X 90, śárvÁ I 617, ṣṛ IX 8, sphīṭṭÁ X 91, híśÍ VII 19, híśÍ X 286

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°-híms-ā-°: dáyA I 510, bhála I 524, bhálla I 525

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# Verbal Stems With Specific Markers Indicated in the Sūtras

## ĀT=IT (7.2.16-17)

ÑI-kṣvid-Ā I 780, 1027, IV 134; ÑI-tvár-Ā I 812, ÑI-phál-Ā I 549;  
ÑI-mid-Ā I 779, IV 133; śvit-Ā I 778, ÑI-ṣvid-Ā I 780, IV 79

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kládI I 811, klídI I 15, klídI I 73, kṣájI I 806, kṣajI X 79, kṣapI X  
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701, dhávI I 628, dhívI I 624, dhḡI I 237, dhrájI I 233, dhráksI I  
702, dhvájI I 239, dhváksI I 703, ṬU-nád-I I 67, nídI I 66, pácl I  
187, pacI X 109, páḍI I 301, paḍI X 74, pathI X 39, pasI X 74, píjI  
II 18, pijI X 31, 237, píḍI I 293, piḍI X 131, pívI I 619, pisI X 222,

puṭI X 251, púdĭ I 346, 348, púthĭ I 45, pĕcĭ II 20, báhi I 664, bídĭ I 65, bĕhĭ I 772, bhajI X 219, bhádĭ I 292, bhaḍI X 50, bhádĭ I 12, bhṛsĭ X 247, máki I 89, mákhĭ I 137, mágĭ I 157, mághĭ I 111, 112, máci I 186, máṭhĭ I 282, máđĭ I 344, máđĭ I 291, mađĭ X 49, matrĭ X 140, máthĭ I 47, máđĭ I 13, máhi I 665, mahI X 257, mākṣĭ I 700, mijI X 216, midĭ X 8, mívĭ I 620, múci I 185, mújĭ I 270, múṭhĭ I 284, múđĭ I 294, múđĭ I 348, mṛđĭ X 118, yatrĭ X 3, yúgĭ I 167, rákhĭ I 141, rágĭ I 153, rághĭ I 107, raghi X 253, ráphĭ I 441, rábi I 401, rábhĭ I 412, ráhĭ I 768, rahI X 256, rígl I 164, rívĭ I 626, rúṭĭ I 349, rúṭhĭ I 368, lákhĭ I 143, lágl I 154, lághĭ I 108, laghi X 172, lájĭ I 258, laḍĭ X 258, lábi I 402, 404; láchĭ I 222, lájĭ I 260, lígl I 165, ligI X 199, luji X 218, lúṭĭ I 350, lúṭhĭ I 366, 369; lúṭhĭ I 46, lúbĭ I 454, lubI X 144, váki I 88, 95; vákĭ I 135, vágĭ I 156, vágghĭ I 110, vátĭ I 351, vaṭĭ X 372, vāṭhĭ I 281, vādĭ I 290, vaḍĭ X 48, vādĭ I 11, vākṣĭ I 699, vāchĭ I 223, vúgl I 169, vrájĭ I 235, sáki I 86, sádĭ I 299, sásĭ I 660, síkhĭ I 150, síghĭ I 174, síjĭ II 17, súṭhĭ I 367, súṭhĭ X 104, srákĭ I 84, srágĭ I 160, sráthĭ I 35, slákĭ I 85, slágĭ I 162, svaki I 96, svagl I 161, svaci I 180, svidĭ I 10, skābhĭ I 414, skúdi I 9, ṣṭābhĭ I 413, spádĭ I 14, sphúṭĭ I 352, sphúḍĭ I 297, sphuḍĭ X 4, srákĭ I 83, svákĭ I 96, hídĭ I 287, hívĭ I 622, hísĭ VII 19, hisI X 286, húdi 288, 296.

## IT=IT (7.2.14)

ÑI-índh-Ī VII 11, úchĭ I 231, VI 14; úndĭ VII 20, úrvĭ I 600, ũyĭ I 512, řṣĭ VI 7, kátĭ I 342, kĕtĭ VI 141, VII 10, knūyĭ I 514, kṣmāyĭ I 515, gúrĭ VI 103, gurĭ X 155; gūrĭ IV 46, gúrvĭ I 605, ghūrĭ IV 47, cítĭ I 39, cūrĭ IV 50, cĕtĭ VI 35, chṛdĭ X 277, jánĭ I 862, jánĭ IV 41, júṣĭ VI 8, jūrĭ IV 48, túrvĭ I 601, tūrĭ IV 44, trásĭ IV 10, thúrvĭ I 602, dípĭ IV 42, dúrvĭ I 603, dĕbhĭ VI 34, dĕbhĭ X 278, dhúrvĭ I 604, dhūrĭ IV 45, nĕtĭ IV 9, pūyĭ I 513, pūrĭ IV 43, `pūrĭ X 261, pĕcĭ II 20, pĕcĭ VII 25, O-pyāy-Ī I 517, máđĭ I 853, IV 99; másĭ IV 112, múrvĭ I 606, yátĭ I 30, O-láj-Ī/O-lásj-Ī VI 10, O-víj-Ī VI 9, O-víj-Ī VII 23, Ī-súc-ĪR IV 56, sūrĭ IV 49, sphāyĭ I 516.

## **uT=IT (7.2.56)**

áncÚ I 203, áncU I 915, ancU X 198, ásÚ IV 100, fñÚ VII 5, fđhÚ IV 135, V 24; kámU I 470, 869; kújÚ I 214, knásÚ I 864, IV 6; krámÚ I 502, klámÚ IV 98, kşánÚ VIII 3, kşínÚ VIII 4, kşivÚ I 599, khánÚ I 927, grásU I 661, grúcÚ I 212, glúcÚ I 213, ghfñÚ VIII 7, ghfsÚ I 740, cáncÚ I 205, cámcÚ I 497, 869, V 28, chámÚ I 498, U-chfd-łkR VII 8, jámcÚ I 499, jáśÚ IV 102, jasU X 130, 178; jímÚ I 500, jiśÚ I 728, jhámÚ I 501, nişÚ I 731, tánÚ VIII 1, tanU X 296, táncÚ I 206, támÚ IV 93, tásÚ IV 103, tñÚ VIII 6, U-tfd-łR VII 9, tváncÚ I 207, dánbhÚ V 23, dámÚ IV 94, dásÚ IV 104, dívÚ IV 1, divU X 166, dhávÚ I 632, U-dhrás-Á IX 52, U-dhras-A X 202; pfsÚ I 737, prúsÚ I 735, plúsÚ I 736, bhñsU IV 115, bhránsU I 792, IV 115, bhrámÚ I 903, IV 96; mánU VIII 9, mísÚ I 730, mfdhÚ I 923, mfsÚ I 739, mrúcÚ I 210, mrúncÚ I 208, mlúcÚ I 211, mlúncÚ I 209; yásÚ IV 101; vánÚ I 841, 868; vánU VIII 8, váncÚ X 163, vásÚ IV 105, viśÚ I 729, vřtU I 794, IV 52, vřtU X 242, vřdhU I 796, vřdhU X 242, vřsÚ I 738, sánsÚ I 674, sásÚ I 763, aÑ+sásU II 66, sfđhÚ I 922, sfđhU I 797, sfđhU X 195, sfñbhÚ/sfbbhÚ I 457-8, sránbhU I 420, srísÚ I 733, slísÚ I 734; şánÚ VIII 2, şthivÚ I 592, IV 4; ştúbhU I 421; stunbhÚ IX 7, sránbhU I 420, 794; srivÚ IV 3, hfsÚ I 741.

## **ũT=IT (7.2.44)**

áksÚ I 684, ánĵÚ VII 21, ásŪ V 18; křpŪ I 799, klídŪ IV 132, klísŪ IX 50, kşámŪ IV 97, kşámŪ-Ş I 469, gáhŪ I 680, gúpŪ I 422, gúhŪ I 944, gřhŪ I 681; táksŪ I 585, táncŪ VII 22, tñnhŪ VI 58, třhŪ VI 58, trápŪ-Ş I 399, tváksŪ I 686; mřĵŪ II 57, mřĵŪ X 304; vřhŪ VI 57, O-vrásć-Ū VI 11; sídhŪ I 49, şřfhŪ VI 58, syándŪ I 798.

## **řT=IT (7.4.2)**

ějŘ I 192, éjŘ I 253, eşŘ I 649, ókhŘ I 125, onŘ I 482, kábŘ I 405, kāsŘ I 678, IV 53; kāsŘ I 654, kępŘ I 392, kélŘ I 570, kévŘ I 539, krídŘ I 373, klřbŘ I 406, křřbŘ I 407, křvéř I 527, khádŘ I 50, khélŘ I 571, khévŘ I 537, khórŘ/khólŘ I 584; gádhŘ I 4, gépŘ I 393, gévŘ I 531, gēsŘ I 645, glépŘ I 390, 396; glévŘ I 532; cákāsŘ II 65, cāyŘ I 929, cívŘ I 928, cělŘ I 569; jésŘ I 647, jéhŘ I 675;

nídṚ I 921, nédṚ I 921, nésṚ I 648, tīkṚ I 103, tīkṚ I 104, dhaúkṚ I 98, táyṚ I 518, tikṚ I 105, típṚ I 385, tīkṚ I 106, túḍṚ I 374, túḍṚ I 374, tepṚ I 389, tépṚ X 221, tévṚ I 528, dásṚ I 931, dásṚ I 942, dévṚ I 529, drákhṚ I 128, drághṚ I 117, drághṚ I 115, drádṚ I 307, dráhṚ I 677, drékṚ I 78; dhépṚ I 398, dhórṚ I 585, dhrákhṚ I 129, dhrághṚ I 116, 117; dhrádṚ I 308, dhrékṚ I 79; náthṚ I 7; nádḥṚ I 6; pélṚ I 574, pévṚ I 533, pésṚ I 752, paínṚ I 486, présṚ I 650, próthṚ I 919, plévṚ I 538; báḍṚ I 306, bádhṚ I 5, báhṚ I 676; bhásṚ I 655, bhésṚ I 932, ṬU-bhrāj-Ṛ I 875, bhrājṚ I 194, ṬU-bhrás-Ṛ I 876, bhréjṚ I 193, bhrésṚ I 933, TU-bhlás-Ṛ I 877, bhlésṚ I 933; máhṚ I 943, mídṚ I 920, mímṚ I 496, métṚ I 314, médṚ I 920, médhṚ I 920, (mépṚ) I 395, mévṚ I 534, mrédṚ I 313, mlétṚ I 312, mlévṚ I 535; ṬU-yác-Ṛ I 916, yútṚ I 31, yésṚ I 646, yaútṚ I 311; rákhṚ I 126, rághṚ I 113, rájṚ I 874, rásṚ I 657, rékṚ I 80, réjṚ I 195, rétṚ I 917, répṚ I 396, rébhṚ I 410, révṚ I 540, résṚ I 651, ródṚ I 378, raúdṚ I 377; lákhṚ I 127, lághṚ I 114, lókṚ I 76, lokṚ X 236, locṚ I 177, locṚ X 237, laúdṚ I 379; vásṚ IV 54, víthṚ I 33, vénṚ I 926, véthṚ I 34, ṬU-vép-Ṛ I 391, vélṚ I 568, véhṚ I 674; śákhṚ I 130, śádṚ I 309, śíkṚ I 75, śíbhṚ I 408, śélṚ I 576, sónṚ I 483, saútṚ I 310, srónṚ I 484, ślākhṚ I 131, ślāghṚ I 118, ślókṚ I 77, ślónṚ I 485; sévṚ I 530, śtípṚ I 387, śtépṚ I 388; sékṚ I 81, srékṚ I 82, húdṚ I 375, húdṚ I 376, héḍṚ I 304, hódṚ I 305, hódṚ I 376.

### ḷT-IT (3.1.55)

āpḷ V 14, āpḷ X 295, gamḷ I 1031, ghásḷ I 747, piṣḷ VII 15, mucḷ VI 136, lupḷ VI 137, vidḷ VI 138, viṣḷ III 13, śakḷ V 15, śadḷ I 908, VI 134, śiṣḷ VII 14, ṣadḷ I 907, ṣpḷ I 1032.

### eT=IT (7.2.5)

kákhÉ I 821, kágÉ I 828, kátÉ I 315, kváthÉ I 899, cáťÉ I 316, catÈ/cadÈ I 918, páthÉ I 900, máthÉ I 901, rágÉ I 822, lágÉ I 823, śágÉ I 826, śthágÉ I 827.

### oT=IT (8.2.45)

bhanjÓ VII 16, bhujÓ VI 124, ṬU-masj-Ó VI 122, rujÓ VI 123, O-vai I 969, ṬU-O-śví I 1059, ṬU-O-sphúrj-À I 254; đĩÑ IV 27, đĩÑ IV 26, đũÑ IV 25, dhiÑ IV 28, mĩÑ IV 29, rĩÑ IV 30, hĩÑ IV 31, vřĩÑ IV 32, řũÑ IV 24.

### ṬU=IT (3.3.89)

ṬU-kṣu II 27, ṬU-dù V 10, ṬU-nád-Í I 67, ṬU-masj-Ó VI 122, ṬU-yāc-Ř I 916, ṬU-vám-Á I 868, 902; ṬU-vép-Ř I 391, ṬU-O-śví I 1059, ṬU-O-sphúrj-À I 254.

### ḌU=IT (3.3.88)

ḌU-kṛ-Ñ VIII 10, ḌU-kṛ-Ñ IX 1, ḌU-dā-Ñ III 9, ḌU-dhā-Ñ III 10, ḌU-pac-ÀṢ I 1045, ḌU-bhṛ-Ñ III 5, ḌU-mi-Ñ V 4.

### Ṣ-IT (3.3.104)

kṣámŪ-Ṣ I 469, kṣīṢ IX 35, jṣṢ I 863, IV 22; jhṣṢ IV 23, DU-pac-À-Ṣ I 1045, tráp-Ū-Ṣ I 399.

### ÑI=IT (k3.2.187)

ÑI-indh-Ī VII 11, ÑI-kṣvíd-Ā I 780, ÑI-kṣvíd-À IV 134, ÑI-kṣvíd-À I 1027, ÑI-tṣṣ-Á IV 118, ÑI-tvár-Ā I 812, NI-dhṣ-À V 22, ÑI-phál-À I 549, ÑI-bhī III 2, ÑI-míd-Ā I 779, ÑI-ṣvap-Á II 59, ÑI-ṣvíd-Ā I 780, ÑI-ṣvíd-À IV 79.

### IR-IT (3.1.57)

úh-ÍR I 775, kṣud-ÌR VII 6, ghús-ÍR I 683, ghuṣ-IR X 187, cyút-ÍR I 40, jyút-ÍR I 42, nij-IR III 11, túh-ÍR I 773, U-tṣd-ÌR VII 9, dúh-ÍR I 774, dṛś-ÍR I 1037, búdh-ÌR I 924, U-búnd-ÌR I 925, bhid-ÌR VII 2, yuj-ÌR VII 7, ric-ÌR VII 4, rúd-ÍR II.58, rudh-ÌR VII 1, vic-ÌR VII 5, vij-IR III 12, Ī-súc-ÌR IV 56, ścyút-ÍR I 41, skand-ÍR I 1028, sphút-ÍR I 352.

# Gaṇa-pāṭha

## 1. aṁśu=āday-aḥ

[6.2.193 práter aṁśu=āday-aḥ tatpuruṣe (ánta udāttāḥ)]

1 aṁśu-, 2 jana-, 3 rājan-, 4 uṣṭra-, 5 khetaka-, 6 ajira-, 7 ādrā, 8 śravaṇa-, 9 kṛttikā, 10 ardha-, 11 pura-.

## 2. akṣa-dyūta=āday-aḥ

[4.4.19 nir-vṛt-t-e akṣa-dyūta=ādibhyaḥ (ṭhaK 1)]

1 akṣa-dyū-ta-, 2 jānu-pa-hṛ-ta-, 3 jaṅghā-pa-hṛ-ta-, 4 jaṅghā-pa-hata-\*, 5 pāda-sved-ana-, 6 ' kaṇṭa-ka-mard-ana-, 7 ga-ta=anu-ga-ta-\*, 8 ga-ta=ā-ga-ta-, 9 yā-ta=upa-yā-ta-, 10 anu-ga-ta-.

## 3. aṅguli=āday-aḥ

[5.3.108 aṅguli=ādi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK (ive 96)]

1 aṅguli-, 2 bharuja-, 3 babhru-, 4 valgu-, 5 maṇḍara-, 6 maṇḍala-, 7 śaṣkuḥ-, 8 hari-\*, 9 kapi-, 10 muni-\*, 11 ruha-\*, 12 khala-\*, 13 udaśvit-, 14 goṇī, 15 uras-, 16 kulīśa-, 17 śikhā.

## 4. aja=āday-aḥ

[4.1.4 aja=ādi=aT-aṣ ṬāP]

1 ajā, 2 eḍakā, 3 kokilā, 4 caṭakā, 5 aśvā, 6 mūṣikā, 7 bālā, 8 hoḍā, 9 pākā, 10 vatsā, 11 mandā, 12 vilātā, 13 pūrvāpahāṇā, 14 aparāpahāṇā, #<sup>1</sup> sam-<sup>2</sup> bhastra=<sup>3</sup> ajina-<sup>4</sup> śaṇa-<sup>5</sup> piṇḍe-bhyaḥ phal-āt: 15 sam-phalā, 16 bhastra-phalā, 17 ajina-phalā, 18 śaṇa-phalā, 19 piṇḍa-phalā#; 20 triphalā (dvig-au); #<sup>1</sup> sat-<sup>2</sup> prāk-<sup>3</sup> kāṇḍa-<sup>4</sup> prānta-<sup>5</sup> śata=éke-bhyaḥ puṣp-āt: 21 sat-puṣpā, 22 prāk-puṣpā, 23 kāṇḍa-puṣpā, 24 prānta-puṣpā, 25 śata-puṣpā, 26 eka-puṣpā#; 27 śūdrā ca a-mahat-pūrvā jāt-ḥ; 28 kruñcā; 29 uṣṇi-hā, 30 deva-viśā, 31 jyēṣṭhā, 32 kaniṣṭhā, 33 madhyamā puṁ-yog-e api; 34 #mūl-āt naÑ-aḥ: a-mūlā#; 35 daṁṣṭrā.

## 5. ajira=āday-aḥ

[6.3.119 matAU bahu=aC-aḥ an-ajira=ādī-n-ām (dīrghaḥ 111)]

1 ajira-, 2 khadira-, 3 pulina-, 4 haṁsa-, 5 kāraṇḍava-, 6 cakra-vāka-

## 6. adi=pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ

[2.4.72 adi=pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ ŚaP-aḥ (luK 58)]

= Dhṛ II 1-72.

## 7. anu=pra-vac-ana=āday-aḥ

[5.1.111 anu=pra-vac-ana=ādī-bhyaś chaḥ]

1 anu=pra-vác-ana-, 2 ut-thá-p-ana-, 3 upa-sthá-p-ana-, 4 saṁ-vés-ana-, 5 pra-vés-ana-, 6 anu=pra-vés-ana-, 7 anu-vás-ana-, 8 anu-vác-ana-, 9 anu-vác-ana-, 10 anu=ā-róh-aṇa-, 11 prā-rámbh-aṇa-, 12 ā-rámbh-aṇa-, 13 ā-róh-aṇa-.

## 8. anu-śatika=āday-aḥ

[7.3.20 anu-śat-ika=ādī-nām ca ]

1 anu-śat-ika-, 2 anu-hoḍa-, 3 anu-saṁ-var-aṇa- (anu-saṁ-car-aṇa-), 4 anu-saṁ-vat-sara-, 5 aṅgāra-veṇu-, 6 asi-hat-ya- (asya-hat-ya-), 7 asya-he-ti-, 8 vadh=yoga-, 9 puṣkara-sad-, 10 anu-har-at-, 11 kuru-kata-, 12 kuru-pañcāla-, 13 uda-ka-śud-dha-, 14 iha-loka-, 15 para-loka-, 16 sarva-loka-, 17 sarva-puruṣa-, 18 sarva-bhūmi-, 19 pra-yoga-, 20 para-strī, 21 rāja-puruṣ-ā-t ŚyaÑ-i; 22 sūtra-naḍa-; \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam\*.

## 9. apūpa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.4 vibhāṣā havir=apūpa=ādī-bhyaḥ (yaT 2)]

1 apūpa-, 2 taṇḍula-, 3 abhy-ūṣa-, 4 abhy-oṣa-, 5 avoṣa-, 6 abhy-eṣa-, 7 pṛthuka-, 8 odana-, 9 sūpa-, 10 pūpa-, 11 kiṇva-, 12 pra-dīpa-, 13 musala-, 14 kaṭaka-, 15 karṇa-veṣṭa-ka-, 16 (\*irgala-), 17 argala-; 18 #anna-vi-kāre-bhyaś ca#; 19 yūpa-, 20 sthūṇā, 21 dīpa-, 22 aśva-, 23 patra-.

## 10. ayas-maya-āday-aḥ

[1.4.20 ayas-maya-ādī-n-i chandas-i ]

\*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 11. arī-haṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 arī-haṇa-kṛśa=aśva- . . . vuÑ-chaÑ . . .]

1 arī-haṇa-, 2 dru-ghaṇa-, 3 \*dru-haṇa-, 4 bhagala-, 5 ulanda-, 6 kirāṇa-, 7 sām-par-āy-aṇa-, 8 \*auṣṭr-āyaṇa-, 9 trai-gart-āyana-, 10 maitr-āyaṇa-, 11 bhāstr-āyaṇa-, 13 vai-mat-āyana-, 14 gau-mat-āyana-, 15 sau-mat-āyana-, 16 saus-āyana-, 17 \*dhau-mat-āyana-, 18 \*saum-āyana-, 19 °aindr-āyaṇa-, 20 \*kaundr-āyaṇa-, 21 khāḍ-āyana-, 22 śāṇḍily-āyana-, 23 rāyas-poṣa-, 24 vi-patha-, 25 vipāśa-, 26 ud-daṇḍa-, 27 (ud-añc-ana-), 28 khāṇḍa-vīraṇa-, 29 vīraṇa-, 30 kāśa-kṛtsna-, 31 jām̐ba-vata-, 32 śīmśapā, 33 raivata- (re-vata-); 34 bilva-, 35 su-yajña-, 36 śīriṣa-, 37 badhira-, 38 jambu-, 39 khadira-, 40 su-śarman-, 41 dala-tr-\*, 42 \*bhalandana-, 43 \*khaṇḍu-, 44 kalana- (kanala-), 45 yajña-datta.

## 12. ardha-rc-āḥ

[2.4.31 ardha-rc-āḥ puṁs-i ca]

1 ardha-rc-a-, 2 go-maya-, 3 kaśāya-, 4 kārṣāpaṇa-, 5 ku-tapa-, 6 kusapa- (kuṇapa-), 7 kapāṭa-, 8 śaṅkha-, 9 gūtha-, 10 yūtha-, 11 dhvaja-, 12 kabandha-, 13 padma-, 14 gṛha-, 15 sar-aka-, 16 kaṁsa-, 17 divasa-, 18 yūṣa-, 19 andha-kāra-, 20 daṇḍa-, 21 kamaṇḍalu-, 22 maṇḍa-, 23 bhū-ta-, 24 dvī-pa-, 25 dyū-ta-, 26 cakra-, 27 dharma-, 28 kar-man-, 29 mod-aka-, 30 śata-māna-, 31 yāna-, 32 nakha-, 33 nakha-ra-, 34 car-aṇa-, 35 puccha-, 36 dāḍima-, 37 hima-, 38 rajata-, 39 saktu-, 40 pi-dhāna-, 41 sār-a-, 42 pātra-, 43 gṛ-ta-, 44 saindhav-a-, 45 auśadha-, 46 āḍhaka-, 47 caśaka-, 48 droṇa-, 49 khalīna-, 50 pātrīva-, 51 ṣaṣṭi-ka-, 52 vāra-bāṇa-, 53 protha-, 54 kapi-ttha-, 55 (śuṣ-ka-), 56 \*śāla-, 57 śīla-, 58 śulka- (śukla/śulba-), 59 sidhu-, 60 kavaca-, 61 reṇu-, 62 ṛṇa-, 63 kapāṭa-, 64 śī-kara-, 65 musala-, 66 su-varṇa-, 67 varṇa-, 68 pūrva-, 69 camasa-, 70 kṣīra-, 71 karṣa-, 72 ā-kāś-a-, 73 aṣṭā-pada-, 74 maṅgala-, 75 ni-dhana-, 76 nir-yās-a-, 77 jṛmbha-, 78 vṛt-ta-, 79 pusta-, 80 busta-, 81 kṣveḍ-i-ta-, 82 śṛṅga-, 83 ni-gaḍa-, 84 khala-, 85 madhu-, 86 mūla-, 87 mūla-ka-, 88 sthūla-, 89 śārāva-, 90 nāla-, 91 vapra-, 92 vi-māna-, 93



mukha-, 94 pra-grīva-, 95 sūla-, 96 vajra-, 97 kṛtaka-, 98 kaṇṭaka-, 99 (karpaṭa-), 100 śikhara-, 101 kalka- (valkala-), 102 nāṭa-, 103 mastaka-, 104 valaya-, 105 kusuma-, 106 tṛṇa-, 107 pañka-, 108 kuṇḍala-, 109 kirīṭa-, 110 kumuda-, 111 arbuda-, 112 aṅkuśa-, 113 timira-, 114 āśraya-, 115 bhūṣaṇa-, 116 iṣvāsa- (ikkasa-), 117 mukula-, 118 vasanta-, 119 taṭāka- (taḍāga-), 120 piṭaka-, 121 viṭaṅka-, 122 viḍaṅga-, 123 piṇyāka-, 124 māṣa-, 125 kośa-, 126 phalaka-, 127 dina-, 128 daivata-, 129 pināka-, 130 samara-, 131 sthāṇu-, 132 anīka-, 133 upa-vās-a-, 134 śāka-, 135 karpāsa-, 136 vi-śāla-, 137 caṣāla-, 138 khaṇḍa-, 139 dara-, 140 viṭapa-, 141 raṇa-, 142 bala-, 143 maka (mala-), 144 mṛṇāla-, 145 hasta-, 146 ārdra-, 147 hala-, 148 sū-tra-, 149 tāṇḍava-, 150 gāṇḍī-va-, 151 maṇḍa-pa-, 152 paṭaha-, 153 saudha-, 154 yodha-, 155 pārsva-, 156 śarīra-, 157 phala-, 158 chala-, 159 pura-, 160 rās-tra-, 161 bimba-, 162 ambara-, 163 kuṭṭima-, 164 kukkuṭa-, 165 kuḍapa-, 166 kakuda-, 167 khaṇḍala-, 168 tomara-, 169 toraṇa-, 170 mañcaka-, 171 pañca-ka-, 172 puñkha-, 173 madhya-, 174 (vala-), 175 chala-, 176 valmīka-, 177 varṣa-, 178 vas-tra-, 179 vasu-, 180 deha-, 181 ud-yāna-, 182 ud-yog-a-, 183 sneha-, 184 ste-na-, 185 stana-, 186 svar-a-, 187 saṁ-gam-a-, 188 niṣka-, 189 kṣe-ma-, 190 sūka-, 191 kṣattrā-, 192 pav-i-tra-, 193 yauvan-a-, 194 kala-ha-, 195 pāl-aka- (māl-aka-), 196 mūṣika-, 197 maṇḍala-, 198 valkala-, 199 kuñja-, 200 vi-hār-a-, 201 loh-i-ta-, 202 viṣāṇa-, 203 bhav-ana-, 204 araṇya-, 205 pul-ina-, 206 dṛ-dha-, 207 ās-ana-, 208 airā-vat-a-, 209 sūrpa-, 210 tīrtha-, 211 loma-śa-, 212 tamāla-, 213 loha-, 214 daṇḍaka-, 215 śap-atha-, 216 prati-sar-a-, 217 dāru-, 218 dhanus-, 219 māna-, 220 varc-as-ka-, 221 kūrca-, 222 taṇḍaka-, 223 maṭha-, 224 sahasra-, 225 odana-, 226 pra-vāl-a-, 227 śakata-, 228 apara=ahṇa-, 229 nīḍa-, 230 śakala-, 231 taṇḍula-.

### 13. arśas=āday-aḥ

[5.2.127 arśas=ādi-bhyaḥ=áC]

1 arśas-, 2 uras-, 3 tunda-, 4 catura-, 5 palita-, 6 jaṭā, 7 (ghaṭā), 8 \*ghāṭā, 9 abhra-, 10 agha-, 11 kardama-, 12 amla-, 13 lavaṇa-, 14 #sva=aṅg-āt=hi-n-āt#; 15 varṇ-ā-t.

#### 14. aśman=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ra]

1 aśman-, 2 yūtha-, 3 ūṣa-, 4 mīna-, 5 nada-, 6 dar-bha-, 7 vṛnda-, 8 guda-, 9 khaṇḍa-, 10 naga-, 11 śikhā-, 12 koṭa-, 13 pāma-, 14 kanda-, 15 kānda-, 16 kula-, 17 gah-va-, 18 guḍa-, 19 kuṇḍala-, 20 pīna-, 21 guha-.

#### 15. aśva=āday-aḥ

[4.1.110 aśva=ādibhyḥ phaṅ]

1 aśva-, 2 aśman, 3 śaṅkha-, 4 sūdraka-, 5 vida-, 6 puṭa-, 7 rohiṇa-, 8 kharjūra- (khajūra-), 9 (khañjāra-), 10 (vasta-), 11 pijūla- (pijūra-), 12 bhaḍila-, 13 bhaṇḍila-, 14 bhaḍita-, 15 bhaṇḍita-, 16 (pra-kṛ-ta-), 17 (rāmōda-), 18 kṣān-ta-, 19 (kāśa-), 20 (tīkṣṇa-), 21 (golāṅka-), 22 (arka-), 23 (svar-a-), 24 (sphuṭa-), 25 (cakra-), 26 (śraviṣṭha-), 27 pavinda-, 28 pav-itra-, 29 go-min-, 30 śyāma-, 31 dhūma-, 32 dhūm-ra-, 33 vāg-min-, 34 viśvā-nara-, 35 kuṭa-; 36 #śapa ātreya-e#; 37 jana-, 38 jaḍa-, 39 khaḍa-, 40 grīṣma-, 41 arha-, 42 kita-, 43 viśam-pa-, 44 viśāla-, 45 giri-, 46 capala-, 47 cupa-, 48 dāsa-ka-, 49 bailva- (bailya-), 50 prācya-, 51 (dharmya-), 52 ānaḍuh-ya-, 53 #puṁs-i jā-t-e#; 54 arjuna-, 55 (pra-hṛ-ta-), 56 su-manas-, 57 dur-manas-, 58 manas-, 59 (prānta-), 60 dhvana-, 61 #ātreyā bhārd-vāj-e#; 62 #bharad-vāja ātreya-e#; 63 utsa-, 64 ātava-, 65 kitava-, 66 (vada-), 67 (dhan-ya-), 68 (pada-), 69 śiva-, 70 khadira-.

#### 16. aśva=ādi-ḥ (yaT: 5.1.39)

[5.1.39 go-dvy-aca-ḥ a-saṁkhyā-parimāṇa-aśv=āder yaT]

1 aśva-, 2 aśman-, 3 gaṇa-, 4 ūrṇā, 5 umā, 6 bhaṅgā; (gaṅgā), 6 varṣā, 7 vasu-.

#### 17. aśva-pati=āday-aḥ

[4.1.84 aśva-pati=ādi-bhyaś ca (aṅ 83)]

1 aśva-pati-, 2 (jñā-na-pati-), 3 śata-pati-, 4 dhana-pati-, 5 gaṇa-pati-, 6 (sthāna-pati-), 7 (yajña-pati-), 8 rāṣṭra-pati-, 9 kula-pati-, 10 gr̥ha-pati-, 11 (paśu-pati-), 12 dhānya-pati-, 13 dhanva-pati-, 14 (bandhu-pati-), 15 (dharma-pati-), 16 sabhā-pati-, 17 prāṇa-pati-, 18 kṣetra-pati-.

## 18. ā-karṣa=āday-aḥ (ā-kaṣa=āday=aḥ)

[5.2.64 ā-karṣa=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN]

1 ā-karṣa-/(ā-kaṣa-), 2 tsaru-, 3 piśāca-, 4 picāṇḍa-, 5 aśani-, 6 aśman-, 7 ni-caya-, 8 cay-a- 9 (vi-jay-a-), 10 jay-a-, 11 ā-cay-a-, 12 nay-a-, 13 pada-, 14 dīpa-, 15 hrada-, 16 hrāda-, 17 (gadgada-), 18 śakuni-.

## 19. ā-ci-ta=āday-aḥ

[6.2.146 saṁ-jñā-y-ām an-ā-ci-ta=ādī-n-ām]

1 ā-ci-ta-, 2 pari=ā-ci-ta-, 3 ā-sthā-p-i-ta-, 4 pari-grh-ī-ta-, 5 nir-uk-ta-, 6 prati-pan-na-, 7 apa-śliṣ-ṭa-, 8 pra-śliṣ-ṭa-, 9 upa-hi-ta-, 10 upa-sthi-ta-, 11 #saṁ-hi-tā=a-gav-i#.

## 20. ā-hi-ta=agni=āday-aḥ

[2.2.37 vā ā-hi-ta=agni=ādi-ṣu]

1 ā-hi-ta=agni-, 2 jā-ta-put-ra-, 3 jāta-danta-, 4 jāta-śmaśru-, 5 taila-pīta-, 6 gṛta-pīta-, 7 (madya-pīta-), 8 ūḍha-bhārya-, 9 gata=artha-; \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 21. indra-janana=āday-aḥ

[4.3.88 śīśu-kranda-yama-sabha-dvandva=indra-janana=ādi-bhyaś chaḥ]

\*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 22. iṣ-ṭa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.88 iṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyaś ca (ini-ḥ 86)]

1 iṣ-ṭa-, 2 pūr-ta-, 3 upa=ā-sad-i-ta-, 4 ni-gad-i-ta-, 5 pari-gad-i-ta-, 6 pari-vad-i-ta-, 7 ni-kath-i-ta-, 8 ni-ṣād-i-ta-, 9 ni-paṭh-i-ta-, 10 saṁ-kal-i-ta-, 11 pari-kal-i-ta-, 12 saṁ-rakṣ-i-ta-, 13 pari-rakṣ-i-ta-, 14 arc-i-ta-, 15 gaṇ-i-ta-, 16 ava-kīr-ṇa-, 17 ā-yuk-ta-, 18 grh-ī-ta-, 19 ā-mnā-ta-, 20 śru-ta-, 21 adh-ī-ta-, 22 (ava-dhā-na-), 23 ā-sev-i-ta-, 24 ava-dhār-i-ta-, 25 ava-kalp-i-ta-, 26 nir-ā-kṛ-ta-, 27 upa-kṛ-ta-, 28 up-ā-kṛ-ta-, 29 anu-yuk-ta-, 30 anu-gaṇ-i-ta-, 31 anu-paṭh-i-ta-, 32 vy-ā-kul-i-ta-.

### 23. uktha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.60 kratu=uktha=ādi-sūtra=ant-aṭ ṭhaK]

1 uktha-, 2 lok-ā-yata-, 3 ny-āy-a-, 4 ny-ās-a-, 5 punar-uk-ta-, 6 nir-uk-ta-, 7 ni-mitta-, 8 dvi-pad-ā-, 9 jyot-iṣ-a-, 10 anu-pada-, 11 anu-kalpa-, 12 yaj-ña-, 13 dharma-, 14 carcā-, 15 kram-e-tara-, 16 ślakṣa-(ślakṣṇa-), 17 saṁ-hi-tā-, 18 pada-krama-, 19 saṁ-ghāt-a- (saṁ-ghaṭṭa-), 20 vṛt-ti-, 21 pari-ṣad-, 22 saṁ-grah-a-, 23 gaṇa-, 24 guṇa-, 25 āyur-veda-.

### 24. uñcha=āday-aḥ

[6.1.160 uñcha=ādi-n-ām ca (anta-ḥ udātta-ḥ 159)]

1 uñch-á-, 2 mlecch-á-, 3 jañj-á-, 4 jalp-á-, 5 jap-á-, 6 vadh-á-, 7 #yug-á kāla-vi-śeṣ-e ratha=ādi=upa-kar-aṇ-e ca#; 8 #gar-á-ḥ dūṣ-ye (dūṣ-ye)#; aP=anta-ḥ; 9 #<sup>1</sup>ved-á-<sup>2</sup>vegá-<sup>3</sup>veṣṭá-<sup>4</sup>bandh-āḥ kar-aṇ-e#; 10 #<sup>1</sup>stu-<sup>2</sup>yu-<sup>3</sup>druv-aś chand-as-i#; 11 #vart-aní-ḥ sto-tre#; 12 #śvabhre-dar-á-ḥ#; 13 #<sup>1</sup>sāmbá-<sup>2</sup>tāp-aú bhāva-garhā-y-ām#; 14 #<sup>1</sup>ut-tamá-<sup>2</sup>śasvat-tam-aú sarva-tra#; 15 #<sup>1</sup>bhaks-á-<sup>2</sup>manth-á-<sup>3</sup>bhog-á-<sup>4</sup>deh-āḥ#.

### 25. ut-kar-a=āday-aḥ

[4.2.90 ut-kar-a=ādi-bhyaś cha-ḥ]

1 ut-kar-a-, 2 sam-phal-a-, 3 śapha-ra-, 4 pippala-, 5 pippalī-mūla-, 6 aśman-, 7 su-varṇa-, 8 khal-ā-jina-, 9 tika-, 10 kitava-, 11 aṇaka-, 12 traivāṇa-, 13 picuka-, 14 aśvattha-, 15 kāśa-, 16 kṣud-ra-, 17 bhastrā-, 18 śāla-, 19 jan-yā-, 20 ajira-, 21 carman-, 22 ut-kroś-a-, 23 kṣān-ta-, 24 khadira-, 25 śūrpa-ṇāy-a-, 26 śyāva-nāy-a-, 27 nai-vākav-a-, 28 tṛṇa-, 29 vṛkṣa-, 30 śāka-, 31 palāśa-, 32 vi-ji-gī-śā-, 33 an-eka-, 34 ā-tap-a-, 35 phala-, 36 sam-para-, 37 arka-, 38 garta-, 39 agni-, 40 vairāṇaka-, 41 idā-, 42 aranya-, 43 ni-sān-ta-, 44 parṇa-, 45 nī-cāy-aka-, 46 saṁ-kar-a-, 47 ava-roh-i-ta-, 48 kṣā-ra-, 49 vi-śāla-, 50 vetra-, 51 arīhaṇa-, 52 khaṇḍa-, 53 vātā-gāra-, 54 mantr-aṇa=arha-, 55 indra-vṛkṣa-, 56 ni-tān-ta-vṛkṣa-, 57 ārdra-vṛkṣa-.

## 26. utsa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.86 utsa=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ]

1 utsa-, 2 uda-pā-na-, 3 vi-kar-a-, 4 vi-nad-a-, 5 mahā-nada-, 6 mahā-nasa-, 7 mahā-prā-ṇa-, 8 taruṇa-, 9 taluna-, 10 #baṣkaya ase#; 11 prthivī, 12 dhenu-, 13 pañk-ti-, 14 jag-at-ī, 15 tri-ṣṭubh-, 16 anu-ṣṭubh-, 17 jana-pada-, 18 bharata-, 19 uśī-nara-, 20 grīṣma-, 21 pīlu-kupa-, 22 #uda-sthāna deś-e#; 23 pṛṣad-amśa-, 24 bhallak-īya-, 25 ratham-tara-, 26 madhyam-dina-, 27 bṛh-at-, 28 mah-at-, 29 sat-t-vat-, 30 kuru-, 31 pañcāla-, 32 indr-āva-sā-na-, 33 uṣṇih-, 34 kakubh-, 35 su-varṇa-, 36 deva-, 37 #grīṣm-āt a=cchand-as-i ° #.

## 27. ut-saṅga=āday-aḥ

[4.4.15 har-a-ti=ut-saṅga=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaK 1)]

1 ut-saṅg-a-, 2 (uḍupa-), 3 ut-puta-, 4 ut-pan-na-, 5 ut-puta-, 6 piṭaka-, 7 piṭaka-.

## 28. ud-gāṭṛ=āday-aḥ

[5.1.129 <sup>1</sup>prāṇa-bhṛt=jāti-<sup>2</sup>vayo-vac-ana=<sup>3</sup>ud-gāṭṛ=ādibhyaḥ=aÑ]

1 ud-gā-ṭṛ-, 2 un-ne-ṭṛ-, 3 prati-har-ṭṛ-, 4 pra-śās-ṭṛ-, 5 ho-ṭṛ-, 6 po-ṭṛ-, 7 har-ṭṛ-, 8 ratha-gaṇ-aka-, 9 pat-ti-gaṇ-aka-, 10 su-ṣṭh-u-, 11 duṣṭhu-, 12 adhvar-yu-, 13 vadhū, 14 #su-bhaga mantre#.

## 29. upaka=āday-aḥ

[2.4.69 upaka=ādi=bhyaḥ=anya-tara-syām a-dvaṁdve (luK 58)]

1 upaka-, 2 lamaka-, 3 bhraṣṭaka-, 4 kapi-ṣṭhala-, 5 kṛṣṇ-ā-jina-, 6 kṛṣṇa-sundara-, 7 cūḍāraka-, 8 āḍāraka-, 9 gaḍu-ka-, 10 ud-aṅka-, 11 sudhāyuka-, 12 a-bandh-aka-, 13 piṅgalaka-, 14 piṣ-ṭa-ka-, 15 su-piṣ-ṭa-(supiṣṭha-), 16 mayūra-karṇa-, 17 khārī-jaṅgha-, 18 śalāṭhala-, 19 patañjala-, 20 padañjala-, 21 kaṭheraṇi-, 22 kuṣṭhaka-, 23 kāśa-kṛtsna-, 24 ni-dāgh-a-, 25 kalaśī-kaṇṭha-, 26 dāma-kaṇṭha-, 27 kṛṣṇa-piṅgala-, 28 karṇaka-, 29 parṇaka-, 30 jaṭilaka-, 31 badhiraka-, 32 jantuka-, 33 anu-loma-, 34 anu-pad-a-, 35 prati-loma-, 36 apa-jagha-, 37 pra-tāna-, 38 an-abhi-hi-ta-, 39 kamaka-, 40 varāṭka- (vaṭāraka\*), 41 lekhābhra-, 42 kamandaka-, 43 piñjūlaka-, 44 varṇaka-, 45 masūra-karṇa-, 46 madāgha-, 47 kavantaka-, 48 kamantaka-, 49 kadā-matta-, 50 dāma-kaṇṭha-.

### 30. uras=pra-bhr-tay-aḥ

[5.4.151 uras=kpra-bhr-ti-bhyaḥ kaP]

1 ur-as-, 2 sarp-is, 3 upā-nah-, 4 pumān, 5 anaḍvān, 6 payas-, 7 nau-, 8 lakṣmī, 9 dadhi-, 10 madhu-, 11 śāli-, 12 #arth-āt=nañ-aḥ#.

### 31. ūrī=āday-aḥ

[1.4.61 ūrī-ādi-Cvi-DāC-aś ca (kriyā-yoge 59 gatiś=ca 60)]

1 ūrī, 2 urarī, 3 tanthī, 4 tālī, 5 ā-tālī, 6 vetālī, 7 dhūlī, 8 dhūsī, 9 śakalā, 10 saṁ-śakalā, 11 dhvaṁsakalā, 12 bhraṁsakalā, 13 gulugudhā, 14 sajuṣ, 15 phala, 16 phaḥ, 17 vikḥ, 18 ākḥ, 19 ā-loṣṭhī, 20 kevālī, 21 kevāsī, 22 sevāsī, 23 paryālī, 24 śevālī, 25 varṣālī, 26 atyūmasā, 27 vaśmasā, 28 masmasā, 29 masamasā, 30 auṣaṭ, 31 vaṣaṭ, 32 vaṣaṭ, 33 svāhā, 34 svadhā, 35 bandhā, 36 prādus, 37 āt, 38 āvis.

### 32. ṛg-ay-ana=āday-aḥ

[4.3.73 aṆ ṛg-ay-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 ṛg-ay-ana-, 2 pada-vy-ā-khyāna-, 3 chando-māna-, 4 chando-bhāṣā, 5 chando-vi-ci-ti-, 6 ny-āy-a-, 7 punar-uk-ta-, 8 nir-uk-ta-, 9 vy-ā-kar-ana-, 10 ni-gam-a-, 11 vāstu-vidyā, 12 kṣatra-vidyā, 13 aṅga-vidyā, 14 vid-yā, 15 ut-pāt-a-, 16 ut-pād-a-, 17 ud-yāv-a-, 18 saṁ-vat-sara-, 19 muhūrta-, 20 upa-ni-ṣad-, 21 nimitta-, 22 śikṣā, 23 bhikṣā.

### 33. ṛśya=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ka]

1 ṛśya-, 2 nyag-rodha-, 3 śara-, 4 ni-ḥ-na-, 5 ni-vās-a-, 6 ni-vā-ta-, 7 ni-dhāna-, 8 ni-bandh-a- (ni-bandh-ana-), 9 vi-bad-dha-, 10 pari-gū-ḍha-, 11 upa-gū-ḍha-, 12 as-ani-, 13 si-ta-, 14 ma-ta-, 15 veś-man-, 16 uttara=aśman-, 17 aśman-, 18 sthū-la-, 19 bahu-, 20 khadira-, 21 śarkarā, 22 anaḍuh-, 23 araḍu-, 24 pari-vamśa-, 25 veṇu-, 26 vīraṇa-, 27 khaṇḍa-, 28 daṇḍa-, 29 pari-vṛt-ta-, 30 kardama-, 31 aṁśu-.

### 34. aiṣu-kār-i=āday-aḥ

[4.2.54 bhauriki=ādi=aiṣu-kari=ādi-bhyaḥ vidhaL-bhaktal-au]

1 aiṣu-kār-i-, 2 sārasy-āyana-, 3 cāndr-āyana-, 4 dvy-ākṣ-āyana-, 5 try-ākṣ-āyana-, 6 auḍ-āyana-, 7 jaul-āyana-, 8 khāḍ-āyana-, 9 dāsa-mitr-i-, 10 dāsa-mitr-āyana-, 11 śaudr-āyana-, 12 dākṣ-āyana-, 13 śāpaṇḍ-āyana- (śayaṇḍ-āyana-), 14 tārksy-āyana-, 15 śaubhr-āyana-, 16 sau-vīra-, 17 sau-vīr-āyana-, 18 śapaṇḍa- (śayaṇḍa-), 19 sauṇḍa-, 20 śayāṇḍa- (śayaṇḍi-), 21 vaiśva-mānava-, 22 vaiśva-dhenav-a-, 23 naḍa-, 24 tuṇḍa-deva-, 25 viśva-deva-, 26 sāpiṇḍ-i-.

### 35. kaccha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.133 kaccha=ādi-bhyaś=ca (aṆ 132)]

1 kaccha-, 2 sindhu-, 3 varṇu-, 4 gandhāra-, 5 madhu-mat-, 6 kamboja-, 7 kaśmīra-, 8 sālva-, 9 kuru-, 10 anu-ṣaṇḍa-, 11 dvīpa-, 12 anūpa-, 13 aja-vāh-a-, 14 vi-jāp-aka-, 15 kalū-tara-, 16 raṅku-.

### 36. kaḍār-āḥ

[2.2.38 kaḍār-āḥ karma-dhāray-e]

1 kaḍāra-, 2 gaḍula-, 3 khañja-, 4 khoḍa-, 5 kaṇa-, 6 kuṇṭha-, 7 khalati-, 8 gaura-, 9 vṛd-dha-, 10 bhikṣ-uka-, 11 piṅga-, 12 piṅgala- (piṅgula-), 13 taḍa-, 14 tanu-, 15 jaṭhara-, 16 badhira-, 17 maṭhara-, 18 kañja-, 19 barbara-.

### 37. kaṇḍū=āday-aḥ

[3.1.27 kaṇḍū=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaK]

1 kaṇḍūÑ-, 2 mantu-, 3 hṛ-ṇī-Ñ-, 4 valgu-, 5 asu-, 6 man-as-, 7 mahīÑ-, 8 lāt-, 9 leṭ-, 10 iras-, 11 iraj-, 12 iraÑ-, 13 duvas-, 14 uṣas-, 15 veṭ-, 16 medhā-, 17 kuṣubha-, 18 namas-, 19 magadha-, 20 tantas-, 21 pampas- (papas-), 22 sukha-, 23 duḥ-kha-, 24 (bhikṣa-), 25 (car-aṇa-), 26 (carama-), 27 (avara-), 28 sapara-, 29 arara- (arar-), 30 bhiṣaj-, 31 bhiṣṇuj- (bhiṣṇaj-), 32 (apara-), 33 (āra-), 34 iṣudha-, 35 var-aṇa-, 36 cur-aṇa-, 37 turaṇa-, 38 bhuraṇa-, 39 gadgada-, 40 elā-, 41 kelā-, 42 khelā-, 43 (velā-), 44 (śelā-), 45 liṭ-, 46 loṭ-, 47 lekhā-, 48 lekha-, 49 rekhā-, 50 dravas-, 51 tiras-, 52 agada-, 53 uras-, 54 tar-aṇa- (tariṇa-), 55 payas-, 56 sam-bhūyas-, 57 sambara-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ=ayam\*.

### 38. kaṇva=āday-aḥ

[4.2.111 kaṇva=ādi-bhyaḥ=gotr-e (aṆ 110)]

See under 71 garga=āday-aḥ.

### 39. kat-tri=āday-aḥ

[4.2.95 kat-tri-ādi-bhyaḥ ḍhakaṆ]

1 kat-tri-, 2 umbhi-, 3 puṣkara-. 4 puṣkala-, 5 mod-ana-, 6 kumbhī, 7 kuṇḍina-, 8 nagarī, 9 māhiṣ-mat-ī, 10 varmatī, 11 ukhyā, 12 grāma-, 13 #kudya-y-aḥ=ya-lopaś ca#.

### 40. kathā=āday-aḥ

[4.4.102 kathā=adi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK]

1 kathā, 2 vi-kathā-, 3 viśva-kathā, 4 saṁ-kathā, 5 vi-taṇḍā, 6 kuṣṭa-vid- (kuṣṭha-vid-), 7 jana-vād-a-, 8 jane-vād-a-, 9 jano-vād-a-, 10 vṛt-ti-, 11 saṁ-grah-a-, 12 gaṇa-, 13 gaṇa-, 14 āyur-veda-.

### 41. karkī=āday-aḥ

[6.2.87 prasth-e=a-vṛd-dham a-karkī=ādī-n-ām]

1 karkī, 2 maghnī, 3 makarī, 4 karkandhu-, 5 śamī, 6 karīra- (karīri-), 7 kanduka-, 8 kuvala- (kavala-), 9 badarī.

### 42. <sup>1</sup>karṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +phiṆ]

1 karṇa- 2 vas-iṣṭha-, 3 arka-, 4 arka-lūṣa-, 5 dru-pada-, 6 ānaḍuḥ-ya-, 7 pāñca-jan-ya-, 8 sphiga- (sphij-), 9 kumbhī, 10 kuntī, 11 ji-t-van-, 12 jiv-anta-, 13 kuliśa-, 14 āṇḍī-vat- (āṇḍī-vata-), 15 java-, 16 jaitra-, 17 ānaka- (ākana-).

### 43. <sup>2</sup>karṇa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.24 ta-sya <sup>1</sup>pāka-<sup>2</sup>mūle <sup>1</sup>pīlu=adi-<sup>2</sup>karṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>kuṇaP-<sup>2</sup>jāhaC-au]

1 karṇa-, 2 akṣi-, 3 nakha-, 4 mukha-, 5 keśa-, 6 pād-a, 7 gulpha-, 8 bhrū, 9 śṛṅga-, 10 danta-, 11 oṣṭha-, 12 pṛṣṭha-.



#### 44. kalyāṇī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.126 kalyāṇī=ādī-nām inaṅ ca (dhaK 120)]

kalyāṇī-, 2 su-bhag-ā, 3 dur-bhag-ā, 4 bandhak-ī, 5 anu-dṛṣ-ṭi-, 6 anu-sṛṣ-ṭi-, 7 jar-at-ī, 8 balīvard-ī, 9 jy-e-ṣṭh-ā, 10 kan-iṣṭh-ā, 11 madhya-m-ā, 12 para-strī.

#### 45. kaska=āday-aḥ

[8.3.48 kaska=ādī-ṣu ca]

1 kaska-ḥ, 2 kautaska-ḥ, 3 bhrātuṣ-putra-ḥ; 4 śun-as-karṇa-ḥ, 5 sadyas-kāla-ḥ, 6 sadyas-kṛī-ḥ, 7 sadyas-ka-ḥ, 8 kām-s-kān, 9 sarpiṣ-kuṇḍ-ik-ā, 10 dhanuṣ-kapāla-m, 11 bahiṣ-pala-m (barhiṣ-pala-m), 12 yajuṣ-pātra-m, 13 ayas-kānta-ḥ, 14 tamas-kāṇḍa-ḥ, 15 ayas-kāṇḍa-ḥ, 16 medas-piṇḍa-ḥ, 17 bhās-kara-ḥ, 18 ahas-kara-ḥ.

#### 46. kārta-kaujapa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.37 kārta-kaujapa=āday-aś ca]

1 kārta=kaujap-au, 2 sāvarṇi-māṇḍūk-ey-au, 3 avanti=aśmak=āḥ, 4 paila-śyāparṇ-ey-āḥ, 5 kapi-śyāparṇ-ey-āḥ, 6 śaitikākṣa-pāñcāl-ey-āḥ; 7 kaṭuka-vādhūl-ey-āḥ, 8 śākala-śunak-āḥ, 9 śākala-saṇak-āḥ, 10 śaṇaka-bābhrav-āḥ, 11 ārcābhi-maudgal-āḥ, 12 kunti-surāṣṭr-āḥ, 13 cinti-surāṣṭr-āḥ, 14 taṇḍa-vataṇḍ-āḥ, 15 a-vi-mat-ta-kāma-vid-dh-āḥ, 16 bābhrava-śālaṅk-āyan-āḥ, 17 bābhrava-dāna-cyu-t-āḥ, 18 kaṭha-kālāp-āḥ, 19 kaṭha-kauthum-āḥ, 20 kauthuma-laukāḥ-āḥ, 21 strī-kumāra-m, 22 maudga-paippl-ād-āḥ, 23 vatsa-jar-ant-aḥ, 24 sausruta-pārthav-āḥ, 25 jarā-mṛtyū, 26 yājya=anuvāk-y-e.

#### 47. kāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +īlaC]

1 kāśa-, 2 pāśa-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 palāśa-, 5 piyūkṣā, 6 car-aṇa-, 7 vās-a-, 8 naḍa-, 9 vana-, 10 kardama-, 11 kacchūla-, 12 kaṅkaṭa-, 13 guhā, 14 bisa-, 15 tṛṇa-, 16 karpūra-, 17 bar-bara-, 18 madhu-ra-, 19 graha-, 20 kapi-ttha-, 21 jatu-, 22 śīpāla-.

#### 48. kāsī=āday-aḥ

[4.2.116 kāsī=adi-bhyaṣ <sup>1</sup>ṭhañ=²ñiṭh-au]

1 kāsī, 2 cedi- (vedi-), 3 sām-yā-ti, 4 saṁ-vāh-a-, 5 a-cyu-ta-, 6 mod-a-māna-, 7 śakul-ād-a-, 8 hasti-karṣū, 9 ku-nāman-, 10 hiraṇya-, 11 kar-aṇa-, 12 go-vās-ana-, 13 bhāraṅg-ī, 14 ari-m-dama-, 15 ar-itra-, 16 deva-datta-, 17 daśa-grāma-, 18 śauc-āva-tā-n-a-, 19 yuva-rāja-, 20 upa-rāja-, 21 deva-rāja-, 22 mod-ana-, 23 sindhu-mitra-, 24 dāsa-mitra-, 25 sudhā-mitra-, 26 soma-mitra-, 27 chāga-mitra-, 28 sādha-mitra- (sadha-mitra-), 29 #ā-pad-ādi-pūrva-pad-āt kāla=ant-āt# (ā-pad-, ūrdhva-, tad-).

#### 49. kāṣṭha=āday-aḥ

[8.1.67 pūj-an-āt pūj-i-ta-m anudātta-m kāṣṭha=ādi=bhyaḥ]

1 kāṣṭha-, 2 dārūṇa-, 3 a-mātā-putra-, 4 veśa-, 5 an-ā-jñā-ta-, 6 anu-jñā-ta-, 7 a-putra-, 8 a-yu-ta-, 9 adbhuta-, 10 an-uk-ta-, 11 bhṛśa-, 12 ghora-, 13 sukha-, 14 para-ma-, 15 su-, 16 ati-.

#### 50. kiṁśulaka=(kiṁśuluka)=āday-ḥ

[6.3.117 <sup>1</sup>vana-²gir-yoḥ saṁjñā-yām <sup>1</sup>koṭara-²kiṁśuluka=ādī-nām (dīrghaḥ 111)]

1 kiṁśuluka- (kiṁśuluka-), 2 śālva-, 3 naḍa-, 4 añj-ana-, 5 bhañj-ana-, 6 loh-ita-, 7 kukkuṭa-.

#### 51. kir=aday-aḥ

[7.2.75 kir-aś ca pañca-bhyaḥ (saN-i 74 iṭ 35)]

Dhp VI 116 kī vi-kṣép-e; 117 gī ni-gár-aṇ-e; 118 dīñ ā-dar-é (án-ā-dar-e); 119 dhīñ ava-sthān-e (án-ava-sthān-e); 120 prachA jñāpsā-y-ām.

#### 52. kiśara=(kisara)=āday-aḥ

[4.4.53 kiśara=ādi-bhyas ṢṭhaN]

1 kiśara- (kisara-), 2 narada-, 3 nalada-, 4 sthāgala-, 5 tagara-, 6 guggulu-, 7 uśīra-, 8 hari-drā, 9 haridru-, 10 parṇī (pargī).

### 53. kuñja=āday-aḥ

[4.1.98 go-tr-e kuñja=ādi-bhyaś CphaÑ]

1 kuñja-, 2 bradhna-, 3 śaṅkha-, 4 bhas-man-, 5 gaṇa-, 6 lo-man-, 7 śaṭha-, 8 sāka-, 9 śuṇḍā, 10 śubha-, 11 vi-pāś-, 12 skanda-, 13 skambha-.

### 54. kuṭ=āday-aḥ

[1.2.1 <sup>1</sup>gāÑ<sup>2</sup>kútÁ=ādi-bhyaḥ a-Ñ-N-IT Ñ-IT]

Dhp VI 73 kútÁ kaútil-y-e; 74 pútÁ saṁ-sleş-aṇ-e; 75 kúcÁ saṁ-kóc-an-e; 76 gújÁ sábd-e; 77 gúdÁ rakṣā-y-ām; 78 dípÁ kṣép-e; 79 chúrÁ chéd-an-e; 80 sphútÁ vi-kás-an-e; 81 mútÁ <sup>1</sup>ā-kṣép-a-<sup>2</sup>pra-márd-anay-oḥ; 82 trútÁ chéd-an-e; 83 tútÁ kalaha-kár-maṇ-i; 84 cútÁ chútÁ chéd-an-e; 85 júḍÁ bāndh-an-e; 86 kádÁ mad-é; 87 lútÁ saṁ-sleş-aṇ-e; 88 kḥḍÁ ghana-tv-é; 89 kúḍÁ bály-e; 90 púḍÁ ut-sárg-e; 91 ghuṭÁ prati-ghāt-é; 92 túḍÁ tód-an-e; 93 thúḍÁ 94 sthúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; 95 sphúrÁ; 96 sphúlÁ saṁ-cál-ane; 97 sphúḍÁ; 98 cúḍÁ; 99 vrúḍÁ saṁ-vár-aṇ-e; (100 krúḍÁ 101 bhḥḍÁ ni-máj-j-an-e); (102 húḍÁ saṁ-ghāt-é); 103 gúrī ud-yam-an-e; 104 ṇú stáv-ane; 105 dhú vi-dhūn-an-e; 106 gu purīṣa=ut-sárg-e; 107 dhru <sup>1</sup>gāti-<sup>2</sup>sthaíryay-oḥ.

### 55. <sup>1</sup>kumuda=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ṭhaC]

1 kumuda-, 2 śarkarā, 3 nyag-rodh-a-, 4 ikkaṭa-, 5 saṁ-kaṭa-, 6 kaṅkaṭa-, 7 garta-, 8 bīja-, 9 pari-vāp-a-, 10 nir-yās-a-, 11 śakṭa-, 12 kaca-, 13 madhu, 14 śīrīṣa-, 15 aśva-, 16 aśvattha-, 17 balba-ja-, 18 yavāṣa-, 19 kūpa-, 20 vi-kaṅkata-, 21 daśa-grāma-.

### 56. <sup>2</sup>kumuda=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ṭhaK]

1 kumuda-, 2 go-maya-, 3 ratha-kār-a-, 4 daśa-grāma-, 5 aśvattha-, 6 śālmali-, 7 śīrīṣa-, 8 muni-sthala-, 9 kuṇḍala-, 10 kūṭa-, 11 madhu-karṇa-, 12 ghāsa-kunda-, 13 śuci-karṇa-.

## 57. kumbha-pady-aḥ

[5.4.139 kumbha-padī-ṣu ca (pāda-sya lopa-ḥ 138)]

1 kumbha-pad-ī, 2 eka-pad-ī, 3 jala-pad-ī, 4 (śūla-pad-ī), 5 muni-pad-ī, 6 guṇa-pad-ī, 7 śata-pad-ī, 8 sūtra-pad-ī, 9 godhā-pad-ī, 10 kalaśī-pad-ī, 11 vi-pad-ī 12 (tṛṇa-pad-ī), 13 dvi-pad-ī, 14 tri-pad-ī, 15 ṣaṭ-pad-ī, 16 dāśī-pad-ī, 17 śīti-pad-ī, 18 viṣṇu-pad-ī, 20 niṣ-pad-ī, 21 ārdra-pad-ī, 22 kuṇi-pad-ī, 23 kṛṣṇa-pad-ī, 24 śuci-pad-ī, 25 droṇī-pad-ī (droṇa-pad-ī), 26 dru-pad-ī, 27 sūkara-pad-ī, 28 śakṛt-pad-ī, 29 aṣṭā-pad-ī, 30 sthūṇā-pad-ī, 31 a-pad-ī, 32 sūcī-pad-ī.

## 58. kuru=āday-aḥ

[4.1.151 kuru=adi-bhyaḥ=Nya-ḥ]

1 kuru-, 2 gargara-, 3 maṅguṣa-, 4 aja-mār-a-, 5 ratha-kāra-, 6 vāvad-ūka-, 7 #sam-āj-a-ḥ kṣatriy-e#; 8 kavi-, 9 vi-ma-ti-, 10 kāpiṅjala=ādi-, 11 vāk, 12 vāma-ratha-, 13 pitṛ-mat-, 14 indra-jālī (indra-lāji), 15 ej-i, 16 vātaki-, 17 dāmoṣṇīṣi-, 18 gaṇa-kār-i-, 19 kaisor-i-, 20 kuṭa-, 21 śālākā (śālākā), 22 mura-, 23 pura-, 24 erakā, 25 śubh-ra-, 26 abhra-, 27 darbha-, 28 keś-in-ī; 29 #ven-āt=chand-as-i#; 30 sūrpa-ṇāy-a-, 31 śyāva-nāy-a-, 32 śyāva-ratha-, 33 śyāva-putra-, 34 satyaṁ-kār-a-, 35 vaḍabhī-kār-a-, 36 pathi-kār-a-, 37 mū-ḍha-, 38 śakandhu-, 39 śaṅku-, 40 śaka-, 41 śāl-in-, 42 śāl-īna-, 43 kar-tṛ-, 44 har-tṛ-, 45 ina-, 46 piṇḍ-ī, 47 takṣan-, 48 #vāma-ratha-sya kaṇva=ādi-vat svara-varjam#.

## 59. kulāla=āday-aḥ

[4.3.118 kulāl=ādi-bhyaḥ vuṅ]

1 kulāla-, 2 varuḍa-, 3 caṇḍāla-, 4 ni-ṣād-a-, 5 karmāra-, 6 senā, 7 sirindhra- (siridhra-), 8 sairindhra-, 9 deva-rāja-, 10 parṣad- (pari-ṣad-), 11 vadhū, 12 madhu-, 13 ruru-, 14 rud-ra-, 15 anaḍuh- (anaḍuha-), 16 brah-man-, 17 kumbha-kār-a-, 18 śva-pāk-a-.

## 60. kṛ-ta=āday-aḥ

[2.1.59 śreṇi=āday-aḥ kṛ-ta=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 kṛ-ta-, 2 mi-ta-, 3 ma-ta-, 4 bhū-ta-, 5 uk-ta-, 6 (yuk-ta-), 7 sam-ā-jñā-ta-, 8 sam-ā-mnā-ta-, 9 sam-ā-khyā-ta-, 10 sam-bhāv-i-ta-, 11

(saṁ-sev-i-ta-), 12 ava-dhār-i-ta-, 13 nir-ā-kṛ-ta-, 14 upa-kṛ-ta-, 19 (ud-ā-hṛ-ta-), 20 (vi-śru-ta-), 21 (ud-i-ta-). \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

### 61. kṛśa=aśva=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +chaN]

1 kṛśa=aśva-, 2 a-riṣ-ṭa-, 3 a-riśma-, 4 veś-man-, 5 vi-śāla-, 6 loma-śa-, 7 roma-śa-, 8 roma-ka-, 9 loma-ka-, 10 śabala-, 11 kūṭa-, 12 varcala-, 13 su-varcala-, 14 su-kar-a-, 15 sūkar-a-, 16 pratara-(prā-tara-), 17 sa-dṛś-a-, 18 pura-ga-, 19 purā-ga-, 20 su-kha-, 21 dhūma-, 22 ajina-, 23 vi-na-ta-, 24 ava-na-ta-, 25 kuvidyāsa-(vi-kuṭyāsa/kuṭyāsa-), 26 parā-śara-, 27 arus-, 28 ayas-, 29 maudgalyākara-(maudgalya-, yukara-).

### 62. koṭara=āday-aḥ

[6.3.117 vana-giry-oḥ saṁjñā-y-ām koṭara-kimsuluka-ādī-nam (dīrgha-ḥ 111)]

1 koṭara-, 2 misra-ka-, 3 sidhraka-, 4 pura-ga-, 5 śārika-(sārika-).

### 63. kratu=āday-aḥ

[6.2.118 kratu=āday-aś ca]

1 kratu-, 2 dṛśika-, 3 pratika-, 4 pra-tūr-ti-, 5 hav-ya-, 6 bhav-ya-, 7 bhaga-.

### 64. krama=āday-aḥ

[4.2.61 krama=ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN]

1 krama-, 2 pada-, 3 śikṣā-, 4 mīmāṃsā-, 5 sāman-.

### 65. krī=aday-ah

= Dhṛ IX 1-61.

## 66. kroḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.56 na kroḍa=ādi-bahv=aC-aḥ (ÑiṢ 40)]

1 kroḍa-, 2 ṇakha-, 3 khura-, 4 gokhā, 5 ukhā, 6 śikhā, 7 vāla-, 8 śapha-, 9 guda-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 67. krauḍi=āday-aḥ

[4.1.80 krauḍi=ādi-bhyaś ca (striyām 3 ŚyaÑ 78)]

1 krauḍ-i-, 2 lāḍ-i-, 3 vyāḍ-i-, 4 āpi-sāl-i-, 5 āpa-kṣit-i-, 6 caupayat-a-, 7 caitayat-a- (vaitayat-a-), 8 śaikayat-a-, 9 bailva-yat-a-, 10 saudhātāk-i-, 11 #sū-ta yuvaty-ām#; 12 #bhoja kṣatriy-e#; 13 yautak-i-, 14 kauṭ-i-, 15 bhaurik-i-, 16 bhaulik-i-, 17 śāl-mal-i-, 18 śālā-sthal-i-, 19 kapi-ṣṭhal-i-, 20 gau-kakṣ-ya-.

## 68. kṣubh-nā=āday-aḥ

[8.4.39 kṣubh-nā=ādi-ṣu ca (na 34 na-ḥ ṇa-ḥ 1)]

1 kṣubh-nā-, 2 nṛ-nam-ana-, 3 nand-in-, 4 nand-ana-, 5 nagara-: etā-n-i uttara-padā-n-i samjñā-y-ām pra-yoj-ay-anti; 6 hari-nand-ī, 7 hari-nand-ana-, 8 giri-nagara-m, 9 #nṛt-i-r yaÑ-i pra-yoj-ay-anti#; 10 nart-ana-, 11 gahana-, 12 nand-ana-, 13 ni-veś-a-, 14 ni-vās-a-, 15 ag-ni-, 16 anūpa- : #etā-n-i uttara-pāda-n-i pra-yoj-ay-anti#, 17 pari-nart-ana-m, 18 pari-gah-ana-m, 19 pari-nand-ana-m, 20 śara-ni-veśa-ḥ, 21 śara-ni-vāsa-ḥ, 22 śar-ā-gni-ḥ, 23 darbh-ā-nūpa-ḥ, 24 #ā-cār-y-āt a-ṇa-tva-m ca: ā-cār-ya-bhog-īna-ḥ#. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 69. khaṇḍika=āday-aḥ

[4.2.45 khaṇḍika=ādi-bhyaś ca (aÑ 44)]

1 khaṇḍika- (khaṇḍikā), 2 vaḍavā, 3 #kṣudraka-mālav-āt senā samjñā-y-ām#; 4 bhikṣ-u-ka-, 5 śuka-, 6 ulūka-, 7 śvan-, 8 ahan-, 9 yuga-varatrā (yuga-varatra-), 10 hala-bandha (hala-bandhā).

## 70. gam-i(n)=āday-aḥ

[3.3.3 bhav-i-ṣyat-i gam-i(n)=āday-aḥ]

1 gam-ī, 2 ā-gam-ī, 3 bhāv-ī, 4 pra-sthā-y-ī, 5 prati-rodh-ī, 6 prati-bodh-ī, 7 prati-yā-y-ī, 8 prati-yog-ī.

## 71. garga=āday-aḥ

[4.1.105 garga=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaÑ]

1 garga-, 2 vatsa-, 3 #vāja-a-se#; 4 saṁ-kṛ-ti-, 5 aja-, 6 vyāghra-pād-, 7 vida-bhṛ-t-, 9 prāc-īna-yog-a-, 9 agasti-, 10 pulasti-, 11 camasa-, 12 rebha-, 13 agni-veśa-, 14 śaṅkha-, 15 śaṭa-, 16 śaka-, 17 eka-, 18 dhūma-, 19 avata-, 20 manas-, 21 dhanam-jay-a-, 22 vṛkṣa-, 23 viśvā-vasu-, 24 jara-m-āṇa-;

loh-ita=āday-aḥ (q.v. 202 below)

25 loh-ita-, 26 saṁś-i-ta-, 27 babhru-, 28 valgu-, 29 maṇḍu-, 30 gaṇḍu-, 31 śaṅku-, 32 ligu-, 33 guhalu-, 34 mantu-, 35 maṅkṣu-, 36 aligu-, 37 jigīṣ-u-, 38 manu-, 39 tantu-, 40 manāyī, 41 sūnu-, 42 kath-aka-, 43 kanthaka-, 44 ṛkṣa-, 45 ṛkṣa- (vṛkṣa-), 46 (tanu-), 47 tarukṣa-, 48 talukṣa-, 49 taṇḍa-, 50 vataṇḍa-, 51 kapi-, 52 kata- (kapi-kata-), 53 kuru-kata-, 54 anaḍuh-;

kaṇva=āday-aḥ (cf. 38 above)

55 kaṇva-, 56 śakala-, 56 go-kakṣa-, 57 agastya-, 58 kuṇḍ-in-i-, 59 yajña-valka-, 60 parṇa-valka-, 61 a-bhaya-jā-ta-, 62 vi-roh-i-ta-, 63 vṛṣa-gaṇa-, 64 rahū-gaṇa-, 65 śaṇḍila-, 66 varṇaka- (caṇaka), 67 culuka-, 68 mudgala-, 69 musala-, 70 jam-ad-ag-ni-, 71 parāśara-, 72 jatū-karṇa- (jātū-karṇa-), 73 mah-i-ta-, 74 mantr-i-ta-, 75 āsma-ratha-, 76 śarkar-ā-kṣa-, 77 pū-ti-māṣa-, 78 sthū-rā-, 79 a-dar-aka- (araraka-), 80 elāka-, 81 piṅgala-, 82 kṛṣ-ṇa-, 83 golanda-, 84 ulūka-, 85 titikṣa-, 86 bhiṣaj- (bhi-ṣaja), 87 (bhiṣṇaja-), 88 bhaḍ-i-ta-, 89 bhaṇḍ-i-ta-, 90 dalbha-, 91 cekit-a-, 92 cikit-s-i-ta-, 93 deva-hū, 94 indra-hū, 95 eka-lū, 96 pippalū, 97 bṛh-ad-ag-ni-, 98 (su-loh-in-), 99 su-lābh-in-, 100 uktha-, 101 kuṭīgu.

## 72. gav=āday-aḥ

[5.1.2 u-gav=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaT]

1 go-, 2 hav-is-, 3 akṣara-, 4 viṣa-, 5 barhis-, 6 aṣṭakā, 7 skhadā (svada), 8 yuga-, 9 medhā, 10 sruc-, 11 #nābhi nabha-m ca#; 12 #śun-aḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m vā ca dīrgha-tvam tat-sam-ni-yog-ena ca=anta=udātta-tvam#; 13 #ūdhas-aḥ=anaÑ ca#; 14 kūpa-, 15 khada-, 16 dara- (udara-), 17 khara-, 18 asura-, 19 adhvan-, (adhvan-a-), 20 kṣara-, 21 ved-a-, 22 bīja-, 23 dīp-ta- (dīsa-).

### 73. gava=aśva-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[2.3.11 gava=aśva-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca (eka-vac-ana-m 1)]

1 gava=aśva-m, 2 gava=avika-m, 3 gava=eḍaka-m, 4 aja=avika-m, 5 aja=eḍaka-m, 6 kubja-vāmana-m, 7 kubja-kirāta-m, 8 putra-pautra-m, 9 śva-caṇḍāla-m, 10 strī-kumāra-m, 11 dāsī-māṇavaka-m, 12 śātī-paṭīra-m, 13 śātī-pracchada-m, 14 śātī-paṭṭika-m, 15 uṣṭra-khara-m, 16 uṣṭra-śāśa-m, 17 mūtra-śakṛt, 18 mūtra-purīṣa-m, 19 yakṛt=medaḥ, 20 māmśa-śoṇita-m, 21 darbha-śara-m, 22 darbha-pūṭika-m, 23 arjuna-śīrīṣa-m, 24 arjuna-puruṣa-m, 25 tṛṇ=ulapa-m (tṛṇa=upala-m), 26 dāsī-dāsa-m, 27 kuṭī-kuṭa-m, 28 bhāgavatī-bhāgavata-m.

### 74. gaha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.138 gaha=ādi-bhyaś ca (cha-ḥ 137)]

1 gaha-, 2 anta-stha-, 3 sama-, 4 vi-śama-, 5 #madhya madhya-ma-m ca aN car-aṇ-e#; 6 uttama-, 7 aṅga-, 8 vaṅga-, 9 magadha-, 10 pūrva-pakṣa-, 11 apara-pakṣa-, 12 adhama-śākha-, 13 uttama-śākha-, 14 eka-śākha-, 15 samāna-śākha-, 16 samāna-grāma-, 17 eka-grāma-, 18 eka-vṛkṣa-, 19 eka-palāśa-, 20 iṣu=agra-, 21 iṣu=anīka-, 22 ava-syandana-, 23 kāma-pra-stha-, 24 khāḍ-āyana- (śāḍikāḍ-āyani-/khāḍ-āyani-), 25 kāṭheraṇi-, 26 lāve-raṇi-, 27 saumitri-, 28 śaiśīri-, 29 ā-su-t-, 30 daiva-śarm-i-, 31 śraut-i-, 32 ā-hiṃs-i-, 33 ā-mitr-i- 34 vyāḍ-i-, 35 baij-i-, 36 ādhyaśv-i-, 37 ā-ṇṣ-śāms-i-, 38 śauṅg-i-, 39 āgni-śarm-i-, 40 bhauj-i-, 41 vārāṭak-i-, 42 vākmīk-i-, 43 kṣaima-vṛd-dh-i-, 44 āśvatth-i-, 45 aud-gāha-mān-i-, 46 aik-a-, 47 bindav-i-, 48 danta=agra-, 49 haṃsa-, 50 tantu=agra-, 51 uttara-, 52 an-antara-, 53 #mukha-pārśva-tas-or lopa-ḥ#; 54 #jana-paray-or kuK ca#; 55 #deva-sya ca#; 56 #veṇuka=ādi-bhyaś chaN#. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

### 75. guḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.4.103 guḍa=ādi-bhyaś thaÑ]

1 guḍa-, 2 kulmāṣa-, 3 sak-tu-, 4 apūpa-, 5 māmśa=odana-, 6 iḥṣu-, 7 veṇu-, 8 saṃ-grāma-, 9 saṃ-ghāt-a-, 10 (saṃ-kṛām-a-), 11 (saṃ-vāh-a-), 12 pra-vās-a-, 13 ni-vās-a-, 14 upa-vās-a-.



## 76. guṇa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.176 na guṇa=āday-aḥ=ava-yav-āḥ]

1 guṇa-, 2 akṣara-, 3 adhy-āy-a-, 4 sūkta-, 5 chando-māna-  
\*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 77. gr̥ṣṭi=āday-aḥ

[4.1.136 gr̥ṣṭi=ādi-bhyaś ca (ḍhaÑ 135)]

1 gr̥ṣṭi-, 2 hr̥ṣ-ṭi-, 3 bali-, 4 hali-, 5 aja-vasti-, 6 mitra-yu.

## 78. go-tra=ādī-n-i

[8.1.27 tiÑ-aḥ go-tra=ādī-n-i kuts-ana=ābhīkṣṇyay-oḥ]

1 go-tra-, 2 bruva-, 3 pra-vac-ana-, 4 pra-has-ana-, 5 pra-kath-ana-, 6  
praty-ay-ana-, 7 pra-pañca-, 8 pr-ā-ya-, 9 ny-āy-a-, 10 pra-cakṣ-aṇa-, 11  
vi-cakṣ-aṇa-, 12 ava-cakṣ-aṇa-, 13 sv-ā-dhy-āy-a-, 14 bhū-y-iṣṭha-, 15  
#vā nāma#. [Cf. 8.1.69].

## 79. go-pav-ana=āday-aḥ

[2.4.67 na go-pav-ana=ādi-bhyaḥ luK 58]

1 go-pav-ana-, 2 śigru-, 3 bindu-, 4 bhāj-ana-, 5 aśva=ava-tān-a-  
(aśva-, ava-tān-a-), 6 śyāmāka-, 7 śyāmaka-, 8 śyā-parṇa-.

## 80. go-ṣad-āday-aḥ

[5.2.62 go-ṣad-ādi-bhyaḥ=vuN]

1 go-ṣad-, 2 iṣ-e tvā, 3 mātari-śvan-, 4 deva-sya tvā, 5 devī-r āp-aḥ, 6  
kṛṣṇo'-sya=ākhare-ṣṭha-ḥ, 7 devī-m dhiya (daivī-m dhiya), 8 rakṣo-ḥaṇ-a-,  
9 yuñj-āna-, 10 añj-ana-, 11 pra-bhū-ta-, 12 pra-tūr-ta-, 13 kṛṣānu-.

## 81. <sup>1</sup>gaura=āday-aḥ

[4.1.41 Ṣ-it=gaura=ādi-bhyaś ca (ÑṢ 40)]

1 gaur-a-, 2 matsya-, 3 manuṣya-, 4 śṛṅga-, 5 piṅga-la-, 6 haya-, 7  
gavaya-, 8 mukaya-, 9 ṛśya-, 10 (puṭa), 11 (tūṇa-), 12 dru-ṇa-, 13 droṇa-,  
14 hariṇa-, 15 kokaṇa- (kākaṇa-), 16 paṭara-, 17 uṇaka-, 18 āmalaka-  
(āmala-), 19 kuvala-, 20 bimba-, 21 badara-, 22 pharkaraka-

(karkaraka-), 23 tarkāra-, 24 śarkāra-, 25 puṣkara-, 26 śikhaṇḍa-, 27 salada-, 28 śaṣkaṇḍa-, 29 sananda-, 30 su-śama-, 31 su-ṣav-a-, 32 alinda-, 33 gaḍula-, 34 śaṇḍaśa-, 35 ādhaka-, 36 ā-nand-a-, 37 āsvattha-, 38 sṛpāṭa-, 39 ākhaka- (āpaccika-), 40 śaṣ-kula-, 41 sūrya- (sūrma-), 42 sūrpa-, 43 sūca-, 44 yūṣa- (pūṣa-), 45 yūtha-, 46 sūpa-, 47 metha-, 48 vallaka-, 49 dhātaka- (ghāt-aka-), 50 sallaka-, 51 mālaka-, 52 mālata-, 53 sālva-ka-, 54 vetasa-, 55 vṛkṣa- (vṛsa-), 56 atasa-, 57 ubhaya-, 58 bhṛṅga-, 59 maha-, 60 maṭha-, 61 ched-a-, 62 peś-a-, 63 med-a-, 64 śvan-, 65 takṣan-, 66 anaḍuhī, 67 anaḍvāhī, 68 #eṣ-aṇa-ḥ kar-aṇ-e-#; 69 deha-, 70 deha-la-, 71 kāk-ā-d-ana-, 72 gava=ad-ana-, 73 tej-ana-, 74 raj-ana-, 75 lav-aṇa-, 76 aud-gāh-a-mān-i-, 77 gautama- (go-tama-), 78 (pāraka-), 79 ayaḥ-sthūṇa- (āyasthūṇa-), 80 bhaurik-i-, 81 bhaulik-i-, 82 bhau-liṅg-i-, 83 yāna- (pāna-), 84 medh-a-, 85 ā-lamb-i-, 86 ā-laj-i-, 87 ā-lab-dh-i-, 88 ā-lakṣ-i-, 89 kevāla-, 90 āpaka-, 91 ā-raṭ-a-, 92 naṭa-, 93 ṭoṭa-, 94 noṭa-, 95 mūlāṭa-, 96 śāt-ana-, 97 (pot-ana-), 98 pāt-ana-, 99 pāṭ-ana- (pānaṭa-), 100 ā-star-aṇa-, 101 adhi-kar-aṇa-, 102 adhi-kār-a-, 103 āgra-hāy-aṇ-ī, 104 prati=ava-roh-iṇ-ī, 105 (sec-ana-), 106 #su-maṅgal-āt samjñā-y-ām-#; 107 aṇḍara-, 108 sundara-, 109 maṇḍala-, 110 manthara-, 111 maṅgala-, 112 paṭa-, 113 piṇḍa-, 114 (ṣaṇḍa-), 115 ūrda-, 116 gurda-, 117 śama-, 118 sūda-, 119 auḍa- (ārdra-), 120 hṛda- (hṛd-), 121 pāṇḍa-, 122 bhāṇḍa- (bhāṇḍala-), 123 (loha=aṇḍa-), 124 kadara-, 125 kandara-, 126 kadala-, 127 taruṇa-, 128 taluna-, 129 kalmāṣa-, 130 bṛh-at-, 131 mah-at-, 132 (soma-), 133 sau-dharma-, 134 #roh-iṇ-ī nakṣatr-e-#; 135 #re-vat-ī nakṣatr-e-#; 136 vi-kala-, 137 niṣ-kala-, 138 puṣ-kala-, 139 #kaṭ-āt=śroṇi-vac-an-e-#; 140 #pippalī=āday-aś ca-#: pippal-ī, 141 harītak-ī, 142 kośātak-ī, 143 Śam=ī, 144 var-ī, 145 śar-ī, 146 pṛthiv-ī, 147 kroṣ-ṭu-, 148 mātāmaha-, 149 pitāmaha-.

## 82. <sup>2</sup>gaura=āday-aḥ

[6.2.194 up-āt <sup>1</sup>dvy=aC=<sup>2</sup>ajinam a-gaura=āday-aḥ (anta-ḥ 143 udātta-h 64)]

1 gaur-a-, 2 taiṣ-a-, 3 tail-a-, 4 leṭa-, 5 loṭa-, 6 jihvā, 7 kṛṣ-ṇā, 8 kanyā, 9 gudh-a-, 10 kalpa-, 11 pād-a-.

### 83. graha=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134 <sup>1</sup>nand-i=<sup>2</sup>grah-i-<sup>3</sup>paca=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>Lyu-<sup>2</sup>Nini=<sup>3</sup>aC-aḥ]

1 grāh-ī, 2 ut-sāh-ī, 3 ud-dās-ī, 4 ud-bhās-ī, 5 sthā-y-ī, 6 mantr-ī, 7 sam-mard-ī, 8 #rakṣa-śru-vapa-ś-ām n-au#: nī-rakṣ-ī, 9 nī-śrāv-ī, 10 nī-vāp-ī, 11 nī-śa-y-ī; 12 #<sup>1</sup>yācṛ-<sup>2</sup>vy-ā-hṛ-<sup>3</sup>saṁ-vy-ā-hṛ-<sup>4</sup>vraja-<sup>5</sup>vada-<sup>6</sup>vas-ām prati-ṣid-dhā-n-ām#; 13 a-yāc-ī, 14 a-vy-ā-hār-ī, 15 a-saṁ-vy-ā-hār-ī, 16 a-vrāj-ī, 17 a-vād-ī, 18 a-vās-ī; #aC-ām a-cit-ta-kar-tṛ-kā-n-ām (prati-ṣid-dhā-n-ām)#: 19 a-kār-ī, 20 a-hār-ī, 21 a-vi-nā-y-ī; 22 vi-śā-y-ī (\*a-vi-śā-y-ī), 23 vi-śā-y-ī (\*a-vi-śā-y-ī): #vi-śay-ī vi-śa-y-ī deś-e#: 24 vi-śa-y-ī, 25 vi-śa-y-ī; 26 abhi-bhāv-ī bhū-t-e; 27 apa-rādh-ī, 28 upa-rodh-ī, 29 pari-bhāv-ī, 30 pari-bhāv-ī.

### 84. ghoṣa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.85 ghoṣa=ādi-ṣu ca (pūrva-padam 1 ādi=udātta-m 64)]

1 ghoṣ-a-, 2 ghaṭ-a- (kaṭa-), 3 vallabha-, 4 hrada-, 5 badarī, 6 piṅgala-, 7 piśaṅga-, 8 mālā, 9 rakṣā, 10 śālā, 11 kūṭa-, 12 sālmaḥ, 13 aśvattha-, 14 ṭṇa-, 15 (silp-ī), 15 muni-, 16 prekṣākū (prekṣā).

### 85. ca=āday-aḥ

[1.4.57 ca=āday-aḥ a-sat-tv-e (nipāt-aḥ 56)]

1 ca, 2 vā, 3 ha, 4 aha, 5 eva, 6 evam, 7 nūnam, 8 śaśvat, 9 yugapat, 10 (bhūyas), 11 sūpat, 12 kūpat, 13 kuvit, 14 net, 15 cet, 16 caÑ, 17 kac-cit, 18 ya-tra, 19 ta-tra, 20 naha, 21 hanta, 22 mākim, 23 mākīm, 24 mākīr, 25 nakim, 26 nakīm, 27 nakir, 28 (ākīm), 29 māÑ, 31 tā-vat, 32 yā-vat, 33 tvā, 34 tve 35 tvai, 36 (dvai), 37 rai, 38 re, 39 śrauṣaṭ, 40 vaṣaṭ, 41 vaṣaṭ, 42 svāhā, 43 svadhā, 44 om, 45 tathāhi, 46 khalu, 47 kila, 48 atha, 49 su, 50 suṣṭhu, 51 sma, 52 a, 53 i, 54 u, 55 ṛ, 56 ḷ, 57 e, 58 ai, 59 o, 60 au, 61 adaha (daha), 62 uÑ, 63 ukaÑ, 64 velā-y-ām, 65 mātṛā-y-ām, 66 ya-thā, 67 yat, 68 tat, 69 kim, 70 purā, 71 vadhā (vadhvā), 72 dhik, 73 hāhā, 74 hehai (hahe), 75 pāt, 76 pyāt, 77 āho, 78 utāho, 79 ho, 80 aho, 81 no (nau), 82 atho, 83 nanu, 84 man-y-e, 85 mithyā, 86 a-si, 87 brū-hi, 88 tu, 89 nu, 90 iti, 91 iva, 92 vat, 93 vāt, 94 cana, 95 bata, 96 sam, 97 vaśam, 98 śīkam, 99 dikam (hikam), 100 sanukam, 101 chambat (chamvat, chamvata), 102 śāṅk-e, 103 śukam, 104 kham, 105 sanāt, 106 sanutar, 107 nahikam, 108 satyam, 109 ṛtam, 110 iddhā, 111 addhā, 112 nocet, 113 nacet, 114 nahi, 115 jātu, 116 ka-

tham, 117 ku-taḥ, 118 ku-tra, 119 ava, 120 anu, 121 ha, 122 he, 123 (hai), 124 āhosvit, 125 śam, 126 kam, 127 kham, 128 diṣ-ṭy-ā, 129 paśu, 130 vaṭ, 131 saha, 132 (anu-ṣaṭ), 133 ānu-ṣak, 134 aṅga, 135 phaṭ, 136 tā-jaka (bhājak), 137 -aye, 138 are, 139 vāt (cāṭu), 140 kum, 141 khum, 142 ghum, 143 am, 144 īm, 145 sīm, 146 sim, 147 si, 148 vai; 149 #<sup>1</sup>upa-sarga-<sup>2</sup>vi-bhak-ti-<sup>3</sup>svara-prati-rūpak-ās ca nipāt-āḥ#.

## 86. cāru=āday-aḥ

[6.2.160 <sup>1</sup>kṛtya=<sup>2</sup>uka=<sup>3</sup>iṣṇuC-<sup>4</sup>cāru=āday-aś ca]

1 cāru-, 2 sādhu-, 3 yaudhaki (yaudhika-), 4 an-aṅga-m-ej-aya-, 5 vadānya-, 6 a-ka-smāt, 7 #<sup>1</sup>varta-māna-<sup>2</sup>vardha-māna-<sup>3</sup>tvar-a-māṇa-<sup>4</sup>dhri-ya-māṇa-<sup>5</sup>krī-ya-māṇa-<sup>6</sup>roc-a-māna-<sup>7</sup>śobh-a-mān-āḥ samjñā-y-ām#; 8 #<sup>1</sup>vi-kār-a-<sup>2</sup>sa-dṛś-e vy-as-t-e sam-as-t-e#; 9 gr̥ha-pati-, 10 gr̥ha-pati-ka-; 11 #<sup>1</sup>rāja(n)=<sup>2</sup>ahn-oś chand-as-i#.

## 87. cihāṇa=āday-aḥ

[6.2.125 ādi-ś cihāṇa=ādī-nām]

1 cihāṇa-, 2 madura- (maḍara-), 3 madrumara- (madgura-/madu-ra-), 4 vaitula-, 5 paṭatka-, 6 baidāl-i-karṇaka-, 7 baidāli-karṇ-i-, 8 kukkuṭa-, 9 cikkaṇa-, 10 citkaṇa-.

## 88. curA=āday-aḥ

[3.1.25 <sup>1</sup>satyāpa-<sup>2</sup>pāśa- . . . <sup>13</sup>curA=ādi-bhyah NaC]

See under Dhṛ X 1-395.

## 89. cūrṇa=ādī-n-i

[6.2.134 cūrṇa=ādī-n-i=a-prāṇi-ṣaṣṭhy-āḥ]

1 cūrṇa-, 2 kariva-, 3 karipa-, 4 śākina-, 5 śākaṭa-, 6 drākṣā, 7 tūsta-, 8 kunduma-, 9 dalapa-, 10 camas-ī, 11 cakkana-, 12 caul-a.

## 90. chat-tra=ādī-n-i

[4.4.62 chat-tra=ādi-bhyah Na-ḥ]

1 chat-tra-, 2 śikṣā, 3 pra-roh-a-, 4 sthā, 5 bubhuḥṣ-ā, 6 cur-ā, 7 titikṣ-ā, 8 upa-sthāna-, 9 kṣṣ-i-, 10 kar-man-, 11 viśva-dhā, 12 tap-as-, 13

satya-, 14 an-r-ta-, 15 vi-sīkhā-, 16 bhakṣ-ā-, 17 uda-sthāna-, 19 puroḍā-, 20 vikṣā-, 21 cukṣā-, 22 mandra-.

### 91. chāttri=āday-aḥ

[6.2.86 chāttri=āday-aḥ śālā-y-ām]

1 chāttri-, 2 peli-, 3 bhāṇḍ-i-, 4 vyāḍ-i-, 5 ā-khaṇḍ-i-, 6 āṭ-i-, 7 gom-i.

### 92. ched-a=āday-aḥ

[5.1.64 ched-a=ādi-bhyaḥ=ni-t-yam]

1 ched-a-, 2 bhed-a-, 3 droh-a-, 4 doh-a-, 5 nart-i (nart-a), 6 karṣa-, 7 (tīrtha-), 8 sam-pra-yog-a-, 9 vi-pra-yog-a-, 10 pra-yog-a-, 11 (vi-pra-karṣ-a-), 12 pr-eṣ-aṇa-, 13 sam-praś-na-, 14 vi-praś-na-, 15 vi-karṣ-a-, 16 pra-karṣ-a-, 17 #vi-rāg-a vi-raṅga-m ca#.

### 93. jakṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ

[6.1.6 jakṣ-i-ti=āday-aḥ ṣaṭ (abhy-as-ta-m 5)]

Dhp II 62 jákṣÁ <sup>1</sup>bhakṣa-<sup>2</sup>hás-anay-oḥ; 63 jáḡr nidrā-kṣay-é; 64 dáridrā dur-gá-t-au; 65 cákāsĪ dīp-t-au; 66 śásÚ anu-sīs-ṭ-au; 67 dídhiN <sup>1</sup>dīp-ti-<sup>2</sup>dév-anay-oḥ; 68 vévīN vé-ti-nā túl-y-e.

### 94. ju-hó-ti=āday-aḥ

[2.4.75 ju-hó-ti=ādi-bhyaḥ Ślu-ḥ]

See Dhp III 1-25

### 95. jvālÁ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.140 jvāl-iti-kás=ante-bhyaḥ Na-ḥ]

See Dhp I 884-913.

### 96. Datara=āday-aḥ

[7.1.25 adD Datara=ādi-bhyaḥ pañca-bhyaḥ]

See under 241 below: 5 Datara-, 6 Datama-, 7 itara-, 8 anya-, 9 anyatara-.

## 97. takṣa-sīlā=āday-aḥ

[4.3.93 sindhu-takṣa-sīlā=ādi-bhya=<sup>1</sup>aN=<sup>2</sup>aÑ-au]

1 takṣa-sīlā, 2 vatsa=ud-dhar-aṇa-, 3 kair-med-ura-, 4 grāma-ñī-, 5 chagala-, 6 kroṣṭu-karṇa-, 7 sīmha-karṇa-, 8 saṁ-kuc-i-ta-, 9 kiṁ-nara-, 10 kāṇḍa-dhār-a-, 11 parvata-, 12 ava-sāna-, 13 barbara-, 14 kaṁsa-.

## 98. tan=āday-aḥ

[3.1.79 tan=ādi-kṛÑ=bhyaḥ u-ḥ]

See under Dhp VIII 1-9. Cf. 2.4.79.

## 99. tan-ō-ti=āday-aḥ

[6.4.37 anudātta=upadeśa-van-a-ti-tan-o-ti=ādi-n-ām . . .]

See under Dhp VIII 1-9, with the exception of 2 śanŪ dān-e. Cf. 6.4.42,43.

## 100. tasiL-āday-aḥ

[6.3.35 tasiL-ādi-ṣu a-kṛtvasuC-aḥ]

Listed under 6.3.35 above.

## 101. tārakā=āday-aḥ

[5.2.36 tad a-sya saṁ-jā-ta-m tārakā=ādi-bhyaḥ itaC]

1 tārakā, 2 puṣ-pa-, 3 karṇa-ka-, 4 mañjarī, 5 ṛjīsa-, 6 (kṣaṇa-), 7 (sūca-), 8 mūtra-, 9 niṣ-kram-aṇa-, 10 purīṣa-, 11 uc-cār-a-, 12 pra-cār-a-, 13 vi-cār-a-, 14 kuḍmala-, 15 kaṇṭh-aka-, 16 musala-, 17 mukula-, 18 kusuma-, 19 kutūhala-, 20 stabaka-, 21 kisalaya-, 22 pallava-, 23 (khaṇḍa-), 24 vega-, 25 nidrā, 26 mudrā, 27 bubhuks-ā, 28 dhenuṣyā, 29 pipāsā, 30 śraddhā, 31 abhra-, 32 pulaka-, 33 aṅgāraka-, 34 varṇaka-, 35 droh-a-, 36 doh-a-, 37 su-kha-, 38 duḥ-kha-, 39 ut-kaṇṭh-ā, 40 bhar-a-, 41 vy-ā-dh-i-, 42 var-man-, 43 vraṇa-, 44 gaurav-a-, 45 śās-tra-, 46 taram-ga-, 47 tilaka-, 48 candra-ka-, 49 andha-kār-a-, 50 garva-, 51 kumura- (mukura-), 52 harṣ-a-, 53 ut-karṣ-a-, 54 (raṇa-), 55 kuvalaya-, 56 gardha-, 57 kṣudh-, 58 sīmanta-, 59 jvar-a-, 60 gar-a-, 61 rog-a-, 62 romāñca-, 63 paṇḍā, 64 kaj-jal-a-, 65 tṛṣ-, 66 koraka-, 67 kal-lol-a-, 68 stha-put-a-, 69 phala-, 70 kañcuka-, 71 śṛṅgāra-, 72 aṅkura-, 73 śeṣala-,

74 bakula-, 75 śvabhra-, 76 ārāla-, 77 kalaṅka-, 78 kardama-, 79 kandalā-, 80 mūrchā-, 81 aṅgāra-, 82 hasta-ka-, 83 prati-bimba-, 84 vighna-tantra-, 85 praty-ay-a-, 86 dīkṣā-, 87 garj-a-, 88 #garbh-āt a-prāṇ-in-i#. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam\*.

## 102. tāla=āday-aḥ

[4.3.152 tāla=ādi-bhyaḥ=aN]

1 #tāl-āt=dhanuṣ-i#; 2 bārhiṇ-a-, 3 indrālīśa-, 4 indrā-dṛś-a-, 5 indr-ā-yudh-a, 6 cay-a-, 7 śyāmāka-, 8 pīyūkṣa-.

## 103. tika=āday-aḥ

[4.1.154 tika=ādi-bhyaḥ phiN]

1 tika-, 2 kitava-, 3 saṁ-jñ-ā, 4 bālā, 5 śikhā, 6 uras- (uraśa-), 7 sāth-ya-, 8 saindhav-a-, 9 yamunda-, 10 rūpya-, 11 grām-ya-, 12 nīla-, 13 a-mi-tra-, 14 gau-kakṣ-ya-, 15 kuru-, 16 deva-ratha-, 17 taittala-, 18 aurasā- (auraśa-), 19 kaurav-ya-, 20 bhaurik-i-, 21 chaulik-i-, 22 caupayat-a-, 23 caitayat-a-, 24 śīkayat-a- (śaikayat-a-), 25 kṣaitayat-a-, 26 vājavat-a-, 27 candra-mas-, 28 śubha-, 29 gaṅgā, 30 var-ṇya-, 31 su-pāman-, 32 ā-raṭav-a (ā-rab-dha-), 33 vahyakā, 34 khalyā (khalyakā), 35 vṛṣ-a-, 36 lomaka-, 37 udanya-, 38 yaj-ña-.

## 104. tika-kitava=āday-aḥ

[2.4.68 tika-kitava=ādi-bhyaḥ dvaṁdv-e]

1 tika-kitav-āḥ, 2 vaṅkhara-bhaṇḍī-rath-āḥ, 3 upaka-lamak-āḥ, 4 paphaka-narak-āḥ, 5 baka-nakha-guda-pari-ṇad-dh-āḥ, 6 ubja-kakubh-āḥ, 7 laṅka-śān-ta-mukh-āḥ, 8 uttara-śālāṅkaṭ-āḥ, 9 kṛṣṇa=ajina=kṛṣṇa-sundar-āḥ, 10 bhraṣṭa-ka-kapi-ṣṭhal-āḥ, 11 agni-veśa-daśeruk-āḥ.

## 105. tiṣṭh-ad-gu-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[2.4.17 tiṣṭh-ad-gu-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca]

1 tiṣṭh-ad-gu, 2 vah-ad-gu, 3 ā-yat-tī-gav-am, 4 khale-yav-am, 5 khale-bus-am, 6 lū-na-yav-am, 7 lū-ya-māna-yav-am, 8 pū-ta-yav-am, 9 pū-ya-māna-yav-am, 10 saṁ-hṛ-ta-yav-am, 11 saṁ-hri-ya-māna-yav-am, 12 saṁ-hṛ-ta-bus-am, 13 saṁ-hri-ya-māna-bus-am, 14 sama-bhūmi, 15 sama-padāti, 16 su-ṣam-am, 17 vi-ṣam-am, 18 duḥ-ṣam-am, 19

niḥ-ṣam-am, 20 apa-sam-am, 21 āyatī-sam-am, 22 (proḍh-am), 23 pāpa-sam-am, 24 puṇya-sam-am, 25 prāhṇ-am, 26 pra-rath-am, 27 pra-mṛg-am, 28 pra-dakṣiṇ-am, 29 (apara-dakṣiṇ-am), 30 sam-prati, 31 a-sam-prati; 32 #iC-praty-aya-ḥ samāsa=anta-ḥ#.

### 106. tuj-āday-aḥ

[6.1.7 tuj-ādī-naṁ dīrgha-ḥ abhy-āsa-sya]

No list given. Examples cited in Kāśīka from Vedic: tū-tuj-āna-, mā-mah-ānna-, dā-dhār-a, mī-māy-a.

### 107. tudĀ=āday-ah

[3.1.77 tudĀ=ādi-bhya-ḥ Śa-ḥ]

See Dhp VI 1-143.

### 108. tunda=āday-aḥ

[5.2.117 tunda=ādi-bhyaḥ=ilaC ca]

1 tunda-, 2 udara-, 3 picanda-, 4 yav-a, 5 vr̥thi-, 6 #sva=aṅg-āt vi-vṛd-dh-au#.

### 109. tṛṇa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Śa-]

1 tṛṇa-, 2 naḍa-, 3 mūla-, 4 vana-, 5 parṇa-, 6 varṇa-, 7 varāṇa-, 8 bila-, 9 pula-, 10 phala-, 11 arjuna-, 12 arṇa-, 13 su-varṇa-, 14 bala-, 15 car-aṇa-, 16 busa-.

### 110. taulvali=āday-aḥ

[2.4.61 na taulvali-bhyaḥ]

1 taulval-i-, 2 dhāraṇ-i-, 3 pāraṇ-i-, 4 rāvaṇ-i-, 5 dai-līp-i-, 6 kaivat-i-, 7 vārkal-i-, 8 naivat-i- (naivak-i-), 9 daiva-mitr-i- (daiva-mat-i-), 10 daiva-yaj-ñ-i-, 11 cāphaṭṭak-i-, 12 bailvak-i-, 13 vaik-i- (vaink-i-) 14 ānu-hārat-i- (ānu-rāhat-i-), 15 paṣkara-sād-i-, 16 ānu-roh-a-t-i-, 17 ānut-i-, 18 prā-doh-an-i-, 19 naimiś-i-, 20 prāḍāhat-i-, 21 dāndhak-i-, 22 vaiśīt-i-, 23 āsinās-i-, 24 ā-hims-i-, 25 āsur-i-, 26 naimiṣ-i-, 27 āsi-bandh-ak-i-, 28 pauṣp-i-, 29 kāreṇu-pāl-i-, 30 vaikarṇ-i-, 31 vairak-i-, 32 vaihat-i-.



### 111. tyad=āday-aḥ

See under 241: 1.1.74; 2.72; 3.2.80; 7.2.102.

### 112. daṇḍa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.66 daṇḍa=ādi-bhyah (yaT 65)]

1 daṇḍa-, 2 musala-, 3 madhu-park-a-, 4 kaśā, 5 argha-, 6 megha-, 7 medhā, 8 su-varṇa-, 9 udaka-, 10 vadha-, 11 yuga-, 12 guhā, 13 bhāg-a-, 14 ibha-, 15 bhaṅg-a-.

### 113. dadhi-paya=ādī-n-i

[2.4.14 na dadhi-paya-ādī-n-i (eka-vac-anā-ni 1)]

1 dadhi-payas-ī, 2 sarpir-madhu-n-ī, 3 madhu-sarpiṣ-ī, 4 brahma-praja-pat-ī, 5 śiva-vaiśravaṇ-au 6 skanda-vi-śākh-au, 7 pari-vrāj-aka-kausīk-au (parivrāj-kausīk-au), 8 pra-varg-ya=upa-sad-au, 9 śukla-kṛṣṇ-au, 10 idhma-barhiṣ-ī, 11 dīkṣā-tapas-ī, 12 śraddhā-tapas-ī, 13 medhā-tapas-ī, 14 adhy-ay-ana-tapas-ī, 15 ulūkhala-musal-e, 16 ādi=av-sān-e, 17 śraddhā-medh-e, 18 ṛk-sām-e, 19 vān-manas-e.

### 114. dāmani=āday-aḥ

[5.3.116 dāmani=ādi-tri-garta-ṣaṣṭh-āt=cha-h]

1. dāman-i, 2 aulap-i-, 3 baija-vāp-i-, 4 audak-i-, 5 audaṅk-i, 6 ā-cyutant-i- (acyutant-i), 7 ā-cyu-ta-dant-i- (a-cyu-ta-dant-i), 8 śākuntak-i-, 9 ākidant-i- (āktidant-i), 10 auḍav-i-, 11 kāka-dant-i-, 12 śātruṁ-tap-i-, 13 sārva-sen-i-, 14 bindu-, 15 baindav-i-, 16 tulabha-, 17 mauñj-āyana-, 18 kākandi-, 19 sāvitrī-putra-.

### 115. dāsī-bhār-āḥ

[6.2.42 <sup>1</sup>kuru-gārh-pata-<sup>2</sup>rik-ta-guru- . . . <sup>7</sup>dāsī-bhārā-ṇam ca]

1 dāsī-bhāra-ḥ, 2 deva-hū-ti-ḥ, 3 deva-bhī-ti-ḥ, 4 deva-lā-ti-ḥ, 5 vasu-nī-ti-ḥ, 6 auṣadhi-ḥ, 7 candra-māḥ.

## 116. diś=āday-aḥ (= dig-āday-aḥ)

[4.3.54 diś=ādi-bhyaḥ=yaT]

1 diś-

vārgya=āday-aḥ (cf. 208 below and 6.2.131)

2 varga-, 3 pūga-, 4 gaṇa-, 5 pakṣa-, 6 dhāyya-, 7 mi-tra-, 8 medhā, 9 antara-, 10 pathin-, 11 rahas-, 12 alīka-, 13 ukhā, 14 sākṣin-, 15 deś-a-, 16 ādi-, 17 anta-, 18 mukha-, 19 jaghana-, 20 megha-, 21 yūtha-, 22 #udak-āt samjñā-y-ām#; 23 ny-āy-a-, 24 vaṁśa-, 25 veśa-, 26 kāla-, 27 ā-kāś-a-.

## 117. div=āday-aḥ

[3.1.69 div-ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN]

See Dhp IV 1-137.

## 118. dṛ-ḍha=āday-aḥ

[5.1.123 <sup>1</sup>varṇa-<sup>2</sup>dṛ-ḍha=ādibhyaḥ ŚyaN=ca]

1 dṛ-ḍha-, 2 vṛ-ḍha-, 3 pari-vṛ-ḍha-, 4 bhṛśa-, 5 kṛś-a-, 6 (vakra-), 7 śukra-, 8 cukra-, 9 āmra-, 10 kṛṣ-ṭa-, 11 lav-aṇa-, 12 tāmra-, 13 śī-ta-, 14 uṣ-ṇa-, 15 jaḍa-, 16 badhira-, 17 paṇḍ-ita-, 18 madhu-ra-, 19 mūrkhā-, 20 mūka-, 21 #ve-r <sup>1</sup>yā-ta-<sup>2</sup>lā-ta-<sup>3</sup>ma-ti-<sup>4</sup>manas=<sup>5</sup>śāradā-nām#; 22 #sam-aḥ <sup>1</sup>ma-ti-<sup>2</sup>manas-oḥ#; 23 jav-ana-.

## 119. deva-patha=āday-aḥ

[5.3.100 deva-patha=ādi-bhyaś ca (kaN-aḥ 95 luP 98)]

1 deva-path-a-, 2 haṁsa-path-a-, 3 vāri-path-a-, 4 ratha-path-a-, 5 sthala-path-a-, 6 kari-path-a-, 7 aja-path-a-, 8 rāja-path-a-, 9 śata-path-a-, 10 śaṅku-path-a-, 11 sindhu-path-a-, 12 sid-dha-ga-ti-, 13 uṣṭra-griva-, 14 vāma-rajju-, 15 hasta-, 16 indra-, 17 daṇḍa-, 18 puṣpa-, 19 matsya-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 120. dyútA=āday-aḥ

See under Dhp I 777-799. Cf. 1.3.91; 3.1.55.

## 121. dvāra=āday-aḥ

[7.3.4 dvāra=ādī-nām ca]

1 dvāra-, 2 svar-a-, 3 sva-grāma- (sva=adhy-āy-a-), 4 vyalka-śa-, 5 sv-as-ti, 6 svar-, 7 sphyā-kṛ-t- (sphyākṛ-ta-), 8 svādu-mṛdu-, 9 śvas-, 10 śva-.

## 122. dvi-daṇḍ-i=āday-aḥ

[5.4.128 dvi-daṇḍ-i=ādi-bhiś ca (iC 127)]

1 dvi-daṇḍ-i, 2 dvi-musal-i, 3 uhba=añjal-i, 4 ubha-ya=añjal-i, 5 ubha-dant-i, 6 ubha-ya-dant-i, 7 ubha-hast-i, 8 ubha-ya-hast-i, 9 ubha-karṇ-i, 10 ubha-ya-karṇ-i, 11 ubha-pāṇi, 12 ubha-ya-pāṇi, 13 ubha-bāhu, 14 ubha-ya-bāhu, 15 eka-pad-i, 16 proṣṭha-pad-i, 17 ādhyā-pad-i (ācya-pad-i), 18 sa-pad-i, 19 ni-kuc-ya-karṇ-i, 20 saṁ-ha-ta-pucch-i, 21 ante-vās-i.

## 123. dvi=āday-aḥ

[5.3.2 <sup>1</sup>kim-<sup>2</sup>sarva-nāma-<sup>3</sup>bahu-bhyaḥ a-dvi=ādi-bhyaḥ]

See under 241: 25 dvi-, 26 yuṣmad-, 27 asmad-, 28 bhavatU, 29 kim-.

## 124. dhūma=āday-aḥ

[4.2.127 dhūma=adi-bhyaś ca (vuÑ 121)]

1 dhūma-, 2 ṣaḍ-aṇḍa-, 3 śaśa=ad-ana-, 4 arjunāva-, 5 māhaka-sthaḥ, 6 ānaka-sthaḥ, 7 māhiṣa-sthaḥ, 8 māna-sthaḥ, 9 aṭṭa-sthaḥ, 10 madruka-sthaḥ, 11 samudra-sthaḥ, 12 dāṇḍ-āyana-sthaḥ, 13 rāja-sthaḥ, 14 vi-deh-a-, 15 rāja-grha-, 16 sātrā-sāha-, 17 śaspa-, 18 mitra-varadhra- (mitra-varadha-), 19 bhakṣāḥ, 20 mad-ra-kūla-, 21 ājī-kūla-, 22 dvi=ā-hāv-a-, 23 tri=ā=hāv-a-, 24 saṁ-sphī-ya-, 25 barbara-, 26 varj-ya-, 27 garta-, 28 ā-nart-a, 29 māṭhara-, 30 pāth-eya-, 31 ghoṣ-a-, 32 palī, 33 ā-rājñ-ī, 34 dhārta-rājñ-ī, 35 ā-vay-a-, 36 tīrtha-, 37 #kul-āt sauṁire-ṣu#; 38 #samudr-āt nāv-i manuṣy-e ca#; 39 kuṣi-, 40 antar-īpa-, 41 dvī-pa-, 42 aruṇa-, 43 uj-jay-an-ī, 44 paṭṭāra-, 45 dakṣiṇa=ay-ana-, 46 sāketa-.

## 125. <sup>1</sup>naḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.1.99 naḍa=ādi-bhyaḥ phaK]

1 naḍa-, 2 cara-, 3 baka-, 4 muñja-, 5 itika-, 6 itīsa-, 7 upaka-, 8 eka-, 9 lamaka-, 10 #śalaṅku śalaṅka-m ca#; 11 sapta-la-, 12 vājapya-, 13 tika-, 14 #agni-sārman-vṛṣa-gaṇ-e#; 15 pr-ā-ṇa-, 16 nara-, 17 sāyaka-, 18 dāsa-, 19 mi-tra-, 20 dvīpa-, 21 piṅgara-, 22 piṅgala-, 23 kiṁ-kar-a-, 24 kiṁ-kal-a-, 25 kātara-, 26 kātala-, 27 kāśyapa-, 28 kāśya-, 29 kālya- (kāvyā-), 30 aja-, 31 amu-śya-, 32 #kṛṣ-ṇa-raṇ-au brāhmaṇa-vāsīsth-e#; 33 a-mi-tra-, 34 ligu-, 35 citra-, 36 kumāra-, 37 #kroṣṭu kroṣṭa-m ca#; 38 loha-, 39 durga-, 40 stam-bha-, 41 śīmśapā-, 42 agra-, 43 tṛṇa-, 44 śakaṭa-, 45 su-man-as-, 46 su-ma-ta-, 47 mimata-, 48 ṛc-, 49 jalaṁ-dhar-a-, 50 adhvara-, 51 yugaṁ-dhara-, 52 haṁsaka-, 53 daṇḍ-in-, 54 hast-in-, 55 piṇḍa-, 56 pañcāla-, 57 camas-in-, 58 su-kṛt-ya-, 59 sthiraka-, 60 brāhmaṇa-, 61 caṭaka-, 62 badara-, 63 aśvala-, 64 kharapa-, 65 laṅka-, 66 indha-, 67 astra-, 68 kāmuka-, 69 brahma-dat-ta-, 70 udumbara-, 71 śoṇa-, 72 a-loha-, 73 daṇḍapa-.

## 126. <sup>2</sup>naḍa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.91 naḍa=ādī-nām kuK ca (cha-ḥ ca90)]

1 naḍa-, 2 plakṣa-.

bilva-ka=āday-aḥ (cf. 165 below and 6.4.153)

3 bilva-, 4 veṇu-, 5 vetra-, 6 vetasa-, 7 ikṣu-, 8 kāṣṭha-, 9 kapota-, 10 tṛṇa-, 11 #kruñcā hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 12 #takṣan na-lopa-s ca#.

## 127. nadī=āday-aḥ

[4.2.97 nadī=ādi-bhyaḥ dhaK]

1 nad-ī-, 2 mah-ī-, 3 vārāṇas-ī-, 4 śrāvast-ī-, 5 kauśāmb-ī-, 6 vana-kauśāmb-ī-, 7 kāśapar-ī-, 8 kāśaphar-ī-, 9 khādir-ī-, 10 pūrva-nagar-ī-, 11 pāthā-, 12 māyā-, 13 śālvā-, 14 dārvā-, 15 setak-ī-, 16 #vaḍavā-y-āḥ vṛṣ-e#.

## 128. nand-ī=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134. <sup>1</sup>nand-ī-<sup>2</sup>grah-ī-<sup>3</sup>pac=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>Lyu-<sup>2</sup>Ṇini=<sup>3</sup>aC-aḥ]

#<sup>1</sup>nand-ī-<sup>2</sup>vās-ī-<sup>3</sup>mad-ī-<sup>4</sup>dūṣ-ī-<sup>5</sup>sādh-ī-<sup>6</sup>vardh-ī-<sup>7</sup>śobh-ī-<sup>8</sup>roc-ī-bhyaḥ=Ṇi=ante-bhyaḥ samjñā-y-ām#: 1 nánd-ana-ḥ, 2 vās-ana-h, 3

mád-ana-ḥ, 4 dūs-aṇa-ḥ, 5 sādḥ-ana-ḥ, 6 vārdḥ-ana-ḥ, 7 sóbh-ana-ḥ, 8 róc-ana-ḥ; #<sup>1</sup>sah-i-<sup>2</sup>tap-i-<sup>3</sup>dam-aḥ saṁjñā-y-ām#: 9 sáh-ana-ḥ, 10 táp-ana-ḥ, 11 dám-ana-ḥ, 12 jálp-ana-ḥ, 13 rám-aṇa-ḥ, 14 dárp-aṇa-ḥ, 15 saṁ-kránd-ana-ḥ, 16 saṁ-kárṣ-aṇa-ḥ, 17 saṁ-harṣ-aṇa-ḥ, 18 jana=árd-ana-ḥ, 19 yáv-ana-ḥ, 20 madhu-súd-ana-ḥ, 21 vi-bhīṣ-aṇa-ḥ, 22 lāv-aṇa-ḥ, 23 cit-ta-vi-nās-ana-ḥ, 24 kula-dám-ana-ḥ, 25 (śatru-dám-ana-ḥ).

### 129. nir-udaka=ādī-n-i

[6.2.184 nir-udaka=ādī-n-i ca (anta=79=udāttā-n-i 1)]

1 nir-udaká-, 2 nir-upalá- (nir-ulapá-), 3 nir-makṣiká-, 4 nir-maśaká-, 5 niṣ-kāl-aká-, 6 niṣ-kāl-iká-, 7 niṣ-peśá-, 8 dus-tar-īpá-, 9 nis-tar-īpá-, 10 nis-tarīká-, 11 nir-ajiná-, 12 ud-ajiná-, 13 upa=ajiná-, 14 #pare-r <sup>1</sup>hasta-<sup>2</sup>pāda-<sup>3</sup>keśa-<sup>4</sup>karṣ-āḥ-#.

### 130. niṣka=āday-aḥ

[5.1.20 a-sam-ās-e niṣka=ādī-bhyaḥ (ṭhaK 19)]

1 niṣka-, 2 paṇa-, 3 pāda-, 4 māśa-, 5 vāha-, 6 droṇa-, 7 ṣaṣṭi-.

### 131. nyaṅku=āday-aḥ

[7.3.53 nyaṅku=ādī-nām ca (ca-j-oḥ kU-ḥ 52)]

1 nyaṅku-, 2 madgu-, 3 bhṛgu-, 4 dūre-pāk-a-, 5 phale-pāk-a-, 6 kṣaṇe-pāk-a-, 7 dūre-pāk-ā-, 8 phale-pāk-ā-, 9 dūre-pāk-u-, 10 phale-pāk-u-, 11 takra-, 12 vakra- (cakra-), 13 vy-ati-śaṅg-a-, 14 anu-śaṅg-a-, 15 ava-sarg-a-, 16 upa-sarg-a-, 17 śva-pāk-a-, 18 māmśa-pāk-a-, 19 mūla-pāk-a-, 20 kapota-pāk-a-, 21 ulūka-pāk-a-, 22 #saṁjñā-y-ām <sup>1</sup>megha-<sup>2</sup>ni-dāgha=<sup>3</sup>ava-dāgha=<sup>4</sup>argh-āḥ-#; 23 nyag-rodha-.

### 132. pakṣa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +phaK]

1 pakṣa-, 2 tuṣa-, 3 tuṣa-, 4 kuṇḍa-, 5 aṇḍa-, 6 kamba-likā, 7 valika-, 8 citra-, 9 as-ti-, 10 #path-in pantha ca#: 11 kumbha-, 12 śīraka-, 13 sar-aka-, 14 sakala-, 15 sarasa-, 16 samala-, 17 ati-śvan-, 18 roman-, 19 loman-, 20 hastin-, 21 makara-, 22 lomaka-, 23 śīrṣa-, 24

ni-vā-ta-, 25 pāk-a-, 26 sīmha-ka- (sahaka-), 27 añkuśa-, 28 su-varṇa-ka-, 29 haṁsaka-, 30 hims-aka-, 31 kutsa-, 32 bila-, 33 khila-, 34 yamala-, 35 hasta-, 36 kalā-, 37 sa-karṇa-ka-.

### 133. pac-á=āday-aḥ

[3.1.134 <sup>1</sup>nand-i-<sup>2</sup>grah-i-<sup>3</sup>pacá=ādibhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>Lyu-<sup>2</sup>Ṇini=<sup>3</sup>áC-aḥ]

1 pac-á-, 2 vac-á-, 3 vap-á-, 4 vad-á-, 5 cal-á-, 6 pat-á-, 7 nad-áṬ, 8 bhaṣ-áṬ, 9 plav-áṬ, 10 car-áṬ, 11 gar-áṬ, 12 tar-áṬ, 13 car-áṬ, 14 gāh-áṬ, 15 sūr-áṬ, 16 dev-áṬ, 17 doṣ-áṬ, 18 raj-á- (jar-á-), 19 mar-á-, 20 kṣam-á- (kṣap-á-), 21 sev-á-, 22 meṣ-á-, 23 kop-á- (kośá-/krodh-á-), 24 medh-á-, 25 nart-á-, 26 vraṇ-á-, 27 darś-á-, 28 sarp-á-, 29 dambh-á-, 30 darp-á-, 31 jār-a-bhar-á-, 32 śva-pac-á-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

### 134. pad=āday-aḥ

[6.1.63, 161]

1 pad-, 2 dat-, 3 nas-, 4 mās-, 5 hṛd-, 6 niś-, 7 asan-, 8 yūṣan-, 9 doṣan-, 10 yakan-, 11 śakan-, 12 udan-, 13 āsan-.

### 135. parpa=āday-aḥ

[4.4.10 parpa=ādi-bhyaḥ=ṢṭhaN]

1 parpa-, 2 aśva-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 ratha-, 5 jāla-, 6 ny-ās-a-, 7 vy-āl-a-, 8 pād-a-.

### 136. parśu-āday-aḥ

[5.3.117 <sup>1</sup>parśu=ādi-<sup>2</sup>yaudheya=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>aṆ=<sup>2</sup>aṆ-au]

1 parśu-, 2 asura-, 3 rakṣ-as-, 4 bāhṛika-, 5 vasyas-, 6 vasu-, 7 marut-, 8 satvat-, 9 daśārha-, 10 piśāca-, 11 aśani-, 12 kārṣāpaṇa-.

### 136a. paladi=āday-aḥ

[4.2.110 pra-stha=uttara-pada-paladī=ādi-k-opadhāt aṆ]

1 paladī, 2 pari-ṣad-, 3 romaka- 4 vāhṛika-, 5 kala-kīṭa-, 6 bahu-kīṭa-, 7 jala-kīṭa-, 8 kamala-kīṭa-, 9 kamala-kīkara-, 10 kamala-bhid-ā, 11 gauṣṭhī, 12 naikatī, 13 pari-khā-, 14 śūra-sena-, 15 go-mat-ī, 16 paṭac-cara-, 17 uda-pāna-, 18 yakṛt=loma-.

### 137. palāśa-āday-aḥ

[4.1.141 palāśa=ādi-bhyaḥ vā (aṇ 139)]

1 palāśa-, 2 khadira-, 3 śīmśapā, 4 spand-ana- (syand-ana-), 5 pūlāka-, 6 karīra-, 8 śīrīṣa-, 9 yavāsa-, 10 vi-kaṅkata-.

### 138. pātre-samita=āday-aḥ

[2.1.48 pātre-samita=ādayaś=ca (tatpuruṣāḥ 22)]

1 pātre-samit-āḥ (pātre-sam-mit-āḥ), 2 pātre-bahul-āḥ, 3 údumbara-maśaka-ḥ (údumbara-maśak-āḥ), 4 údumbara-kṛmi-ḥ, 5 kūpa-kacchapa-ḥ, 6 ávaṭa-kacchapa-ḥ, 7 kūpa-maṇḍūka-ḥ, 8 kúmbha-maṇḍūka-ḥ, 9 úda-pāna-maṇḍūka-ḥ, 10 nágara-kāka-ḥ, 11 nágara-vāyasa-ḥ, 12 mātari-puruṣa-ḥ, 13 piṇḍī-sūra-ḥ (pijī-sūra-ḥ), 14 pitar-i-sūra-ḥ, 15 gehe-sūra-ḥ, 16 géhe-nardī, 17 géhe-kṣveḍī, 18 géhe-vi-jitī, 19 géhe-vy-āḍa-ḥ, 20 géhe-mehī, 21 géhe-dāhī, 22 géhe-dṛp-ta-ḥ, 23 géhe-dhṛṣ-ṭa-ḥ, 24 gárbhe-tṛp-ta-ḥ, 25 ā-khanika-baka-ḥ, 26 góṣṭhe-sūra-ḥ, 27 góṣṭhe-vi-jī-tī, 28 góṣṭhe-kṣveḍī, 29 góṣṭhe-paṭu-ḥ, 30 góṣṭhe-paṇḍ-ita-ḥ, 31 góṣṭhe-pra-galbha-ḥ, 32 kárṇe-tiritirā, 33 kárṇe-curucurā. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*. Cf. 187 yúkt-ā-rohī=āday-aḥ.

### 139. pāma (n)=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 <sup>1</sup>lom=ādi-<sup>2</sup>pām=ādi-<sup>3</sup>piccha=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>śa-<sup>2</sup>na=<sup>3</sup>ilaC-aḥ]

1 pāman-, 2 vāman-, 3 veman-, 4 heman-, 5 śleṣman-, 6 kadrū- (kadru-), 7 bali-, 8 sāman-, 9 ūṣman-, 10 kṛmi-, 11 #aṅg-āt kalyāṇ-e #; 12 #śāktī-palālī-dadrū-ṇām hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 13 #visv-ag iti=uttara-pada-lopa-ś ca=a-kṛ-ta-saṁdhe-ḥ#; 14 #lakṣmy-āḥ=aT=ca#.

### 140. pāras-kara-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i

[6.1.157 pāra-s-kar-a-pra-bhṛ-bhṛ-tī-ni ca samjñā-y-ām]

1 pāra-s-kara-ḥ deśa-ḥ; 2 kāra-s-kara-ḥ vṛkṣa-ḥ; 3 rath-s-pā nadī; 4 kiṣku-ḥ pra-māṇa-m, 5 kiṣkindhā nagarī, 6 #<sup>1</sup>tad-<sup>2</sup>bṛh-at-oḥ <sup>1</sup>kara-<sup>2</sup>paty-oḥ <sup>1</sup>cora-<sup>2</sup>deva-tay-oḥ suT ta-lopa-ś ca# (ta-s-kara-ḥ cora-ḥ, bṛh-as-pati-ḥ deva-tā); 7 #pr-āt tump-a-t-au gav-i kar-tar-i# (pra-stump-a-ti-ḥ gau-ḥ).

### 141. pāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.49 pāśa=ādi-bhyaḥ ya-ḥ]

1 pāśa-, 2 tṛṇa-, 3 dhūma-, 4 vā-ta-, 5 aṅgāra-, 6 (pā-ṭala-), 7 pota-, 8 gala-, 9 piṭaka-, 10 śakaṭa-, 11 hala-, 12 (naṭa-), 13 vana-.

### 142. piccha=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 <sup>1</sup>loma=ādi=<sup>2</sup>pāma=ādi=<sup>3</sup>piccha=ādibhyaḥ śa-na=ilaC-aḥ]

1 picchā- (piccha-), 2 uras-, 3 dhuvaka-, 4 dhruvaka-, 5 #jaṭā-ghaṭa-kāl-aḥ kṣep-e#; 6 varṇa-, 7 udaka-, 8 paṅka-, 9 prajñā.

### 143. pīlu=āday-aḥ

[5.2.24 ta-sya <sup>1</sup>pāka=<sup>2</sup>mūl-e <sup>1</sup>pīlu=ādi=<sup>2</sup>karna=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>kuṇaP-<sup>2</sup>jāhaC-au]

1 pīlu-, 2 karkandhu- (karkandhū-), 3 śamī, 4 karīra-, 5 kuvala-, 6 badara-, 7 aśvattha-, 8 khadira-.

### 144. puro-hita=āday-aḥ

[5.1.128 <sup>1</sup>pati=anta=<sup>2</sup>puro-hita=ādi-bhyaḥ yaK]

1 puro-hita-, 2 #rāja=a-se#; 3 grām-ika-, 4 piṇḍ-ika-, 5 su-hi-ta-, 6 bāla-, 7 manda- (bāla-manda-), 8 khaṇḍ-ika-, 9 daṇḍ-ika-, 10 varm-ika-, 11 karm-ika-, 12 dharm-ika-, 13 sit-ika (sīlika-), 14 sūt-ika-, 15 mūl-ika-, 16 tilaka-, 17 añjal-ika-, 18(antal-ika-, añjanika-), 19 rūp-ika- (ṛṣika-), 20 putr-ika-, 21 avika-, 22 chattra-ika-, 23 parṣ-ika-, 24 pathi-ka-, 25 carm-ika-, 26 pratīka-, 27 sārathi-, 28 āstika-, 29 sūc-ika-, 30 sam-rakṣa-, 31 sūc-aka- (sam-rakṣa-sūc-aka-), 32 nāsti-ka-, 33 a-jān-ika-, 34 śākvara-, 35 nagara-, 36 cūḍ-ika-.

### 145. puṣĀ=āday-aḥ

[3.1.55 puṣĀ=ādi-dyútA=ādi-ḷT=IT-aḥ parasmai-padeṣu (Cle-ḥ 44 aÑ 52)]

See Dhp IV 73-137.



## 146. puṣkara=āday-aḥ

[5.2.135 puṣkara=ādi-bhyaḥ deś-e (ini-ḥ 128)]

1 puṣkara-, 2 padma-, 3 ut-pala-, 4 tamāla-, 5 kumuda-, 6 naḍa-, 7 kapittha-, 8 bisa-, 9 mṛṇāla-, 10 kardama-, 11 śālūka-, 12 vi-garha-, 13 karīṣa-, 14 śī-rīṣa-, 15 yavāsa-, 16 (pra-vāsa-/pra-vāha-), 17 hiraṇya-, 18 kairava-, 19 kallola-, 20 taṭa-, 21 taram-ga-, 22 paṅka-ja-, 23 saro-ja-, 24 rājīva-, 25 nālīka-, 26 saro-ruh-a-, 27 puṭaka-, 28 aravinda-, 29 ambho-ja-, 30 ab-ja-, 31 kamala- (kallola-), 32 payas-.

## 147. pr̥thu=āday-aḥ

[5.1.122 pr̥thu=ādi-bhyaḥ imāniC vā]

1 pr̥th-u-, 2 mṛd-u-, 3 mah-at-, 4 paṭ-u-, 5 tan-u-, 6 lagh-u-, 7 bah-u-, 8 sādḥ-u-, 9 āś-u-, 10 ur-u-, 11 gur-u-, 12 bah-u-la-, 13 khaṇḍ-a-, 14 daṇḍ-a-, 15 caṇḍ-a-, 16 a-kiṁ-cana-, 17 bāl-a-, 18 hoḍ-a-, 19 pāk-a-, 20 vat-sa-, 21 mand-a-, 22 svād-u-, 23 hras-va-, 24 dīrgh-a-, 25 priy-a-, 26 vṛṣ-a-, 27 ṛj-u-, 28 kṣip-ra-, 29 kṣud-ra-, 30 aṇ-u-.

## 148. pr̥ṣodara=ādī-n-i

[6.3.109 pr̥ṣodara=ādī-n-i yath-o-pa-diṣ-ṭa-m]

1 pr̥ṣodara-, 3 pr̥ṣ-ot-thāna-, 3 balāhaka-, 4 jīmūta-, 5 śmasāna-, 6 ulūkhala-, 7 piśāca-, 8 bṛṣī, 9 mayūra-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-haṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 149. paila=āday-aḥ

[2.5.59 paila=ādi-bhyaś ca (yūn-i luK 58)]

1 pail-a-, 2 śālaṅk-i-, 3 sātyak-i-, 4 sātyam-kām-i- (sātya-kām-i-), 5 rāhav-i-, 6 rāvaṇ-i-, 7 audaṅc-i-, 8 auda-vraj-i-, 9 auda-megh-i-, 10 auda-majj-i- (auda-vyajr-i-), 11 auda-bhṛjj-i-, 12 daiva-sthān-i-, 13 paiṅgal-aud-āyani- (paiṅgal-āyani-), 14 rāha-kṣati- (rāha-, kṣati-), 15 bhaulīṅg-i-, 16 rāṇ-i-, 17 audany-i-, 18 aud-gāha-mān-i-, 19 auj-jih-ān-i-, 20 auda-śud-dh-i- (auda-buddh-i-), 21 #tad-rāj-āt=ca aṇ-aḥ#. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 150. pragadi(n)=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Ñya]

1 pra-gad-in-, 2 magad-in-, 3 madad-in-, 4 kavila- (kaliva-), 5 dhaṇḍ-i-ta-, 6 gad-i-ta-, 7 cūḍāra-, 8 maḍāra-, 9 mandara-, 10 kovidāra-.

## 151. pra-jña=āday-aḥ

[5.4.38 pra-jña=ādi-bhyaś ca (áÑ 36)]

1 pra-jña-, 2 vañij-, 3 uṣīj-, 4 uṣñij- (for uṣñih-), 5 praty-akṣ-a, 6 (vid-vas-), 7 vid-an, 8 ṣoḍ-an-, 9 vid-yā, 10 man-as-, 11 #śro-trañ śarīr-e#; 12 juh-v-at-, 13 #kṛṣṇa mṛg-e#; 14 ci-kīr-ṣ-at-, 15 cor-a-, 16 śatru-, 17 yodh-a-, 18 cakṣ-us-, 19 vas-u-, 20 (en-as-), 21 marut-, 22 kruñc-a-, 23 sat-vant-U-, 24 daśārha-, 25 vay-as-, 26 vy-ā-kṛ-ta-, 27 asura-, 28 rakṣ-as 29 piśāca-, 30 aśani-, 31 kārṣāpaṇa-, 32 deva-tā, 33 bandh-u-.

## 152. prati-jana=āday-aḥ

[4.4.99 prati-jana=ādi-bhyaḥ khaÑ]

1 prati-jana-, 2 idaṁ-yuga-, 3 saṁ-yuga-, 4 sama-yuga-, 5 para-yuga-, 6 para-kula-, 7 para-sya-kula-, 8 amu-ṣya-kula-, 9 sarva-jana-, 10 viśva-jana-, 11 mahā-jana-, 12 pañca-jana-.

## 153. pra-vṛd-dha=āday-aḥ

[6.2.147 pra=vṛd-dha=ādi-nām ca (anta-ḥ 143 udātta-ḥ 64)]

1 pra-vṛ-d-dhá-m yāna-m; 2 pra-vṛd-dhá-ḥ vṛṣala-ḥ; 3 pra-yutā(ḥ) su-uṣṇav-aḥ (pra-yuk-t-āḥ saktav-aḥ); 4 #ā-karṣ-e ava-hi-tá-ḥ#; 5 #ava-hi-tá-ḥ bhog-e-ṣu#; 6 khaṭvā=ā-rū-ḍhá-ḥ; 7 kavi-śas-tá-ḥ.

## 154. pra=āday-aḥ

[1.4.58 pra=āday-aḥ (a-sat-tve 57 nipāt-āḥ 56)]

1 prá-, 2 párā-, 3 ápa-, 4 sám-, 5 ánu-, 6 áva-, 7 nís-, 8 nír-, 9 dúś-, 10 dūr-, 11 vī-, 12 áñ-, 13 ní-, 14 ádhi-, 15 ápi-, 16 áti-, 17 sú-, 18 úd-, 19 abhí-, 20 práti-, 21 pári-, 22 úpa-.

### 155. pri-yā=āday-aḥ

[6.3.34 striy-āḥ puṁ-vat . . . a-pūraṇī-priya=ādi-ṣu]

1 priyā, 2 manoḥṇā, 3 kalyāṇī, 4 su-bhagā, 5 dur-bhagā, 6 bhak-ti-ḥ, 7 sacivā, 8 (svā), 9 kān-tā, 10 (kṣān-tā), 11 samā, 12 capalā, 13 duhitā, 14 vāmanā, 15 (tanayā).

### 156. pr-e-kṣā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ini]

1 pr-e-kṣā, 2 phalakā (halakā), 3 bandhu-kā, 4 dhruva-kā, 5 kṣip-akā, 6 nyag-rodha-, 7 ikkaṭa-, 8 kaṅkaṭa-, 9 sam-kaṭa-, 10 kaṭa-, 11 kūpa-, 12 buka-, 13 puka-, 14 puṭa-, 15 maha-, 16 pari-vāp-a-, 17 yavāṣa- (yavāsa-), 18 dhruva-kā, 19 garta-, 20 kūpa-ka-, 21 hiraṇya-.

### 157. plakṣa=āday-aḥ

[4.3.164 plakṣa=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṇ]

1 plakṣa-, 2 nyag-rodh-a-, 3 aśvattha-, 4 iṅgud-ī, 5 śigru-, 6 (ruru-), 7 kakṣatu-, 8 bṛh-at-ī.

### 158. pū=āday-aḥ

[7.3.80 pū=ādī-nām hrasva-ḥ]

See under Dhp IX 12-32.

### 159. phaṇA=āday-aḥ

[6.4.125 phaṇ-ām ca saptā-nām]

See under Dhp I 873-79.

### 160. <sup>1</sup>bala=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +ya-]

1 bala-, 2 cula-, 3 nala-, 4 dala-, 5 vaṭa-, 6 lakula-, 7 urala-, 8 pula- (pukha-), 9 mūla-, 10 ula-, 11 ḍula- (ula-ḍula-), 12 vana-, 13 kula-.

## 161. <sup>2</sup>bala=āday-aḥ

[5.2.136 bala=ādi-bhyaḥ matUP anya-tara-syām]

1 bala-, 2 ut-sāh-a-, 3 ud-bhās-a- (ud-bhāv-a-), 4 (ud-vās-a-), 5 ud-dās-a-, 6 śikhā-, 7 kula-, 8 cūḍā-, 9 sula-, 10 kūla-, 11 ā-yām-a-, 12 vy-ā-yām-a-, 13 upa-yām-a-, 14 ā-roh-a-, 15 ava-roh-a-, 16 pari-ṇāh-a-, 17 (yud-dha-).

## 162. bahu=āday-aḥ

[4.1.45 bahu=ādi-bhyaś ca (striy-ām 3 ŃfṢ 40)]

1 bah-u-, 2 pad-dha-ti-, 3 añc-ati-, 4 aṅk-ati-, 5 amhati-, 6 śakaṭi-, 7 #śak-ti-ḥ śas-tr-e#; 8 śāri-, 9 vāri-, 10 rā-ti-, 11 rā-dhi-, 12 sā-dhi-, 13 ah-i-, 14 kap-i-, 15 yaṣ-ṭi-, 16 mun-i-, 17 #iT-aḥ prāṇi=aṅg-āt#; 18 #kṛt=i-kār-āt a-KtiN-aḥ#; 19 #sarva-taḥ a-KtiNn arth-āt ity anye#; 20 caṇḍa-, 21 arāla-, 22 kṛpaṇa-, 23 kamala-, 24 vi-kaṭā-, 25 vi-śālā-, 26 vi-śaṅkaṭā-, 27 bharuja-, 28 dhvaja-, 29 #candra-bhāgā nady-ām#; 30 kalyāṇa-, 31 udāra-, 32 purāṇa-, 33 ahan-, 34 kroḍa-, 35 nakha-, 36 khura-, 37 śikhā-, 38 vāla-, 39 śapha-, 40 gu-da-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 163. bāhu=āday-aḥ

[4.1.96 bāhu=ādi-bhyaś ca (iÑ 95)]

1 bāh-u-, 2 upa-bāh-u-, 3 upa-vāk-u-, 4 ni-vāk-u-, 5 śivāku-, 6 vaṭāku-, 7 upa-nind-u- (upa-vind-u-), 8 vṛṣaḥ, 9 vṛkalā-, 10 cūḍā-, 11 balākā-, 12 mūṣikā-, 13 kuśalā-, 14 chagalā-, 15 dhruvakā-, 16 dhuvakā-, 17 su-mitrā-, 18 dur-mitrā-, 19 puṣkara-sad-, 20 anu-har-at-, 21 deva-śar-man-, 22 agni-śar-man-, 23 bhadra-śar-man-, 24 su-śar-man-, 25 ku-nām-an-, 26 su-nām-an-, 27 pañcan-, 28 saptan-, 29 aṣṭan-, 30 #a-mita=ojas-aḥ sa-lop-a-s ca#; 31 sudhā-vat-, 32 ud-añc-u-, 33 śiras-, 34 māṣa-, 35 śārā-vin-, 36 marīcī-, 37 kṣema-vṛd-dh-in-, 38 śṛṅkhala-tod-in-, 39 khara-nād-in-, 40 nagara-mard-in-, 41 prā-kāra-mard-in-, 42 loman-, 43 ajī-garta-, 44 kṛṣṇa-, 45 yudhi-ṣṭhira-, 46 arjuna-, 47 sām̐ba-, 48 gada-, 49 pra-dyumna-, 50 rām-a-, 51 (ud-aṅka-), 52 #udaka-ḥ saṁ-jñā-y-ām#; 53 #<sup>1</sup>saṁ-bhū-yas=<sup>2</sup>ambh-as-oḥ sa-lop-a-s ca#. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 164. bida=āday-aḥ

[4.1.104 an=ṛsi=ān-antar-ye bida=ādi-bhya=aÑ]

1 bida-, 2 urva-, 3 kaśyapa-, 4 kuśika-, 5 bharad-vāja-, 6 upa-man-yu-, 7 kilāta-, 8 kandarpa- (kim-darbha-), 9 viśvā-nara-, 10 ṛṣṭi-seṇa- (ṛṣi-seṇa-), 11 ṛta-bhāga-, 12 hary-aśva-, 13 pri-ya-ka-, 14 āpastamba-, 15 kūrca-vāra-, 16 śarad-vat-, 17 śunaka-, 18 dhe-nu-, 19 go-pav-ana-, 20 śigru-, 21 bind-u- (vind-u-), 22 (bhog-aka-), 23 bhaj-ana-, 24 (śam-ika-), 25 aśva=ava-tāna-, 26 śyāmāka-, 27 śyāmaka-, 28 (śyāvali-), 29 śyā-parṇa-;

harita=āday-aḥ (4.1.100); cf. 259 below

30 harita-, 31 kim-dāsa-, 32 bahyāśka-, 33 arka-jūṣa- (arka-juṣa-) (arka-lūṣa-), 34 badhyoga- (vadhyoga-), 35 viṣṇu-, 36 vṛd-dha- (viṣṇu-vṛd-dha-), 37 prati-bodh-a-, 38 rathī-tara-, 39 ratham-tara-, 40 gavi-ṣṭhira-, 41 ni-ṣād-a-, 42 (śabara-), 43 (a-las-a-), 44 maṭhara-, 45 (mṛdāku-), 46 (sṛpāku-), 47 mṛd-u-, 48 punar-bhū-, 49 pu-tra-, 50 duh-i-tṛ-, 51 nanāndṛ-, 52 #para-strī para-śum ca#.

## 165. bilva-ka=āday-aḥ

[6.4.153 bilva-ka=ādi-bhyaś cha-sya luK]

See under 126: naḍa=āday-aḥ 3.12.

## 166. bilva=āday-aḥ

[4.3.136 bilva=ādi-bhyaḥ=aÑ]

1 bilva-, 2 vr̥hi-, 3 kāṇḍa-, 4 mudga-, 5 masūra-, 6 go-dhūma-, 7 ikṣu-, 8 veṇu-, 9 gavedhuka-, 10 karpāsī, 11 pāṭalī, 12 karkandhū, 13 kuṭīra-.

## 167. brāhmaṇa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.124 guṇa-vac-ana-brāhmaṇa=ādi-bhyaḥ kar-maṇ-i ca (bhāve 119 ŚyaÑ 123)]

1 brāhmaṇa-, 2 vādava-, 3 māṇava-, 4 #arh-at-aḥ nuM ca#; 5 cor-a-, 6 dhūrta-, 7 ā-rādh-ay-a-, 8 vi-rādhay-a-, 9 apa-rādh-ay-a-, 10 upa-rādh-ay-a-, 11 eka-bhāv-a-, 12 dvi-bhāv-a-, 13 tri-bhāv-a-, 14 anya-bhāv-a-, 15 a-kṣe-tra-jña-, 16 saṁ-vād-in-, 17 saṁ-veś-in-, 18 sam-bhāṣ-in-, 19 bahu-bhāṣ-in-, 20 śīrṣa-ghāt-in-, 21 vi-ghāt-in-, 22

sama-stha-, 23 vi-ṣama-stha-, 24 parama-stha-, 25 madhya-ma-stha-, 26 an-īś-vara-, 27 kuśa-la-, 28 capala-, 29 nipuṇa-, 30 piśuna-, 31 kutūhala-, 32 kṣe-tra-jña-, 33 niśna-, 34 bālīśa-, 35 a-las-a-, 36 duṣ-puruṣa-, 37 kā-puru-ṣa-, 38 rāj-an-, 39 gaṇa-pati-, 40 adhi-pati-, 41 gaḍula-, 42 dāyāda-, 43 vi-śas-ti-, 44 vi-ṣama-, 45 vi-pāt-a-, 46 ni-pāt-a-, 47 #sarva-veda=ādi-bhyaḥ sva=arth-e#; 48 #catur-veda-sya=ubha-ya-pada-vṛd-dhi-ś ca#; 49 śauṭīra-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

### 168. bharga=āday-aḥ

[4.1.178 na prāc-ya-bharga=ādi-yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ca]

1 bharg-a-, 2 karuśa-, 3 kekaya-, 4 kaśmīra-, 5 sālva-, 6 su-sthāla-, 7 uras- (urasa-), 8 kaurav-ya-.

### 169. bhastrā=āday-aḥ

[4.4.16 bhastrā=ādi-bhyaś ṢṭhaN]

1 bhastrā, 2 bharata-, 3 bhar-aṇa-, 4 śīrṣa-bhār-a-, 5 śīrṣe-bhār-a-, 6 aṁsa-bhār-a-, 7 aṁse-bhār-a-.

### 170. bhikṣ-ā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.38 bhikṣ-ā=ādi-bhyaḥ áN]

1 bhikṣ-ā, 2 garbh-iṇ-ī, 3 kṣe-tra-, 4 karīṣa-, 5 aṅgāra-, 6 car-man- (carm-in-), 7 sahasra-, 8 yuva-ti-, 9 padāti-, 10 pad-dha-ti-, 11 atharvan-, 12 dakṣiṇā, 13 bhū-ta-, 14 vi-ṣay-a-, 15 śro-tra-.

### 171. bhidā=āday-aḥ

[3.3.104 <sup>1</sup>Ṣ=it=<sup>2</sup>bhidā=ādi-bhyaḥ áN]

1 bhid-ā vi-dār-aṇ-e; 2 chid-ā dvaidhī-kar-aṇ-e; 3 vid-ā, 4 kṣip-ā, 5 #guh-ā <sup>1</sup>giri=<sup>2</sup>ośadhy-oḥ#; 6 srad-dh-ā, 7 medh-ā, 8 go-dh-ā, 9 #ār-ā śastry-ām#; 10 hār-ā, 11 #kār-ā bandh-an-e#; 12 kṣiy-ā, 13 #tār-ā jyot-iṣ-i#; 14 #dhār-ā pra-pat-an-e#; 15 rekh-ā, 16 cūḍ-ā, 17 pīḍ-ā, 18 vap-ā, 19 vas-ā, 20 vajj-ā, 21 #krapeḥ sam-pra-sār-aṇa-m ca# : kṛp-ā.

## 172. bhī-ma=āday-aḥ

[3.4.74 bhī-ma=āday-aḥ=ap-ā-dān-e]

1 bhī-ma-, 2 bhīṣ-ma-, 3 bhayānaka-, 4 vaha-, 5 caru- (vaha-caru-), 6 pra-skand-ana-, 7 pra-pat-ana- (pra-tap-ana-), 8 sam-ud-ra-, 9 sruva-, 10 sruk (sruc-), 11 (sṛṣ-ṭi-), 12 rakṣ-as-, 13 (śaṅku-), 14 (suka-/śaṅku-suka-), 15 mūrkhā-, 16 khalati-.

## 173. bhū-v=āday-aḥ

[1.3.1 bhū-v=āday-aḥ dhātav-aḥ]

See Dhṛp I 1-1059.

## 174. bhṛśa=āday-aḥ

[3.1.12 bhṛśa=ādi-bhyaḥ bhuv-i a-Cve-r lopa-ś ca haL-aḥ]

1 bhṛśa-, 2 śīghra-, 3 capala-, 4 manda-, 5 paṇḍ-ita-, 6 ut-suka-, 7 su-man-as-, 8 dur-man-as-, 9 abhi-man-as-, 10 un-man-as-, 11 rah-as-, 12 roh-at-, 13 reh-at-, 14 saṁ-ścat-, 15 tṛp-at-, 16 śāsvat-, 17 bhram-at-, 18 veh-at-, 19 śuc-is-, 20 śuci-varc-as-, 21 aṇḍa-ra-, 22 varc-as- (aṇḍa-ra-varc-as-), 23 oj-as-, 24 su-raj-as-, 25 a-raj-as-.

## 175. bhaurik-i=āday-aḥ

[4.2.54 <sup>1</sup>bhaurik-i=ādi=<sup>2</sup>yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>vidhaL-<sup>2</sup>bhaktal-au]

1 bhaurik-i-, 2 bhaulik-i-, 3 caupayata-, 4 caitayata- (cautayata-), 5 kāṇ-eya-, 6 vāṇijaka-, 7 vāṇikājya- (vālikājya-), 8 saikayata-, 9 vaikayata-.

## 176. madhu=āday-aḥ

[4.2.86 madhu=ādi-bhyaś ca (matUP 85)]

1 madhu-, 2 bisa-, 3 sthāṇu-, 4 veṇu-, 5 karkandhu-, 6 śamī, 7 karīra-, 8 hima-, 9 kiśārā, 10 śaryāṇa-, 11 marut-, 12 vārdālī, 13 śara-, 14 iṣṭakā, 15 ā-su-ti-, 16 śak-ti-, 17 āsandī, 18 śakala-, 19 śālākā, 20 āmiṣī, 21 ikṣu-, 22 roman-, 23 ruṣ-ṭi-, 24 ruṣ-ya-, 25 takṣa-sīlā, 26 khaḍa-, 27 vaṭa-, 28 veṭa-.

## 177. mano-jña=āday-aḥ

[5.1.133 dvaṁdva-mano-jña=ādi-bhyaś ca (vuñ 132)]

1 mano-jña-, 2 pri-ya-rūpa-, 3 abhi-rūpa-, 4 kalyāṇa-, 5 medhā-vin-, 6 ādhya-, 7 kula-putra-, 8 chānda-a-, 9 chāttra-, 10 śrotr-īya-, 11 cor-a-, 12 dhūrta-, 13 viśva-deva-, 14 yuvan-, 15 ku-putra-, 16 grāma-putra-, 17 grāma-kulāla-, 18 grāma-śaṇḍa-, 19 grāma-kumāra-, 20 su-kumāra-, 21 bahu-la-, 22 (avaśya-putra-), 23 amu-śya-putra-, 24 amu-śya-kula-, 25 sāra-putra-, 26 śata-putra-.

## 178. mayūra-vy-aṁsaka=āday-aḥ

[2.1.72 mayūra-vy-aṁsaka=ādayaś ca (tat-puruṣ-āḥ 22 sam-as-āḥ 3)]

1 mayūra-vy-aṁsaka-, 2 chāttra-vy-aṁsaka-, 3 kamboja-muṇḍa-, 4 yavana-muṇḍa-, 5 #chand-as-i haste-grh-ya- (hasta-grh-ya-)#; 6 pāde-grh-ya- (pāda-grh-ya-), 7 lāṅgula-grh-ya- (lāṅgule-grh-ya-), 8 punar-dā-ya-, 9 #ehi=īda=āday-aḥ anya-pad-ā-rth-e#, 10 ehi=īda-m vart-a-te, 11 ehi-yava-m vart-a-te; 12 ehi-vāṇijā kri-yā, 13 apa=ihi-vāṇijā, 14 pra=ihi-vāṇijā, 15 ehi-svāgatā, 16 apa=ihi-svāgatā, 17 ehi-dvi-tīyā, 18 apehi-dvi-tīyā, 19 prehi-dvi-tīyā, 20 ehi-kaṭā, 21 apehi-kaṭā, 22 prehi-kaṭā; 23 ā-hara-kaṭā, 24 prehi-kardamā, 25 proha-kardamā, 26 vi-dhama-cūḍā, 27 ud-dhama-cūḍā (ud-dhara-cūḍā), 28 ā-hara-celā, 29 ā-hara-vasanā, 30 (ā-hara-senā), 31 ā-hara-van-itā (ā-hara-vi-na-tā), 32 kṛn-ta-vi-cakṣ-aṇā, 33 ud-dhara=ut-sṛjā, 34 ud-dhara=ava-sṛjā, 35 ud-dhama-vi-dhamā, 36 ut-paca-ni-pacā, 37 ut-pata-ni-patā, 38 uccā-vaca-m, 39 ucca-nīca-m, 40 āca=upaca-m, 41 āca-parāca-m, 42 nakha-praca-m, 43 niśca-praca-m, 44 a-kiṁ-cana-, 45 snā-tvā-kālaka-, 46 pī-tvā-sthiraka-, 47 bhuk-tvā-su-hi-ta-, 48 proṣ-ya-pap-īyān, 49 ut-pat-ya-pākalā, 50 ni-pat-ya-roh-iṇī, 51 ni-ṣaṇ-ṇa-syāmā, 52 apehi-pra-ghasā, 53 ehi-vighasā, 54 iha-paṅca-m-ī, 55 iha-dvi-tīyā, 56 #ja-hi kar-man-ā bahu-lam ābhīkṣṇ-ye kar-tār-am ca abhi-da-dhā-ti#; 57 jahi-joda-ḥ (°-joda-m), 58 jahi-stambam (°-stamba-ḥ), 59 uj-jahi-stamba-m, 60 #ā-khyā-ta-m ā-khyā-tena kri-yā-sātata-y-e#; 61 aś-nī-ta-pib-a-tā, 62 pac-a-ta-bhṛjj-a-tā; 63 khād-a-ta-mod-a-tā, 64 khād-a-ta-vam-a-tā (°-cam-a-tā), 65 ā-hara-ni-vap-ā, 66 ā-vap-a-niṣ-kir-ā (ā-hara-niṣ-kir-ā), 67 ut-pac-a-ni-pac-ā, 68 bhin-dhi-lavaṇā, 69 kṛn-dhi-vi-cakṣ-aṇā, 70 pac-a-lav-aṇā, 71 pa-ca-pra-kūṭ-ā. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.



## 179. mahiṣī=āday-aḥ

[4.4.48 áN mahiṣī=ādi-bhyah]

1 mahiṣ-ī, 2 prajā-pati, 3 prajā-vat-ī, 4 pra-lep-ik-ā, 5 vi-lep-ik-ā, 6 anu-lep-ik-ā, 7 puro-hita-, 8 maṇi-pāl-ā, 9 anu-cār-aka- (anu-vār-akak-), 10 ho-tr-, 11 yaj-a-māna-.

## 180. mālā=āday-aḥ

[6.2.88 mālā=ādi-nām ca (ādir udātta-ḥ 64)]

1 mālā, 2 śālā, 3 śoṇā (śoṇa-), 4 drākṣā, 5 srākṣā, 6 kṣāmā, 7 kāñcī, 8 eka-, 9 kāma-.

## 181. muc=āday-aḥ

[7.1.59 Śe muc=ādi-nām (nuM 58)]

See under Dhp VI 136-143.

## 182. yajA=āday-aḥ

[6.1.15 <sup>1</sup>vacī-<sup>2</sup>svapī-<sup>3</sup>yajA=ādi-nām K-IT-i (sam-pra-sār-aṇam 13)]

See under Dhp I 1051-1059.

## 183. yava=āday-aḥ

[8.2.9 <sup>1</sup>m-<sup>2</sup>a=āt upa-dhāyās ca matOr va-ḥ=a-yava=ādi-bhyah]

1 yav-a-, 2 dalmi-, 3 ūrmi-, 4 bhūmi-, 5 kṛmi-, 6 kruñcā, 7 vaśā, 8 drākṣā-, 9 dhrākṣā, 10 dhraji-, 11 dhvaji, 12 niji-, 13 siji-, 14 sañji-, 15 harit-, 16 kakud-, 17 marut-, 18 garut-, 19 ikṣu-, 20 dru-, 21 madhu.  
\*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 184. yaska=āday-aḥ

[2.3.63 yaska=ādi-bhyah go-tr-e (luK 58)]

1 yaska-, 2 lah-ya- (labh-ya-), 3 druh-ya-, 4 (ayah-sthūṇa-), 5 tṛṇa-karṇa-, 6 sadā-matta-, 7 kambala-hāra- (°-bhāra-), 8 bahir-yog-a-, 9 karṇāḍhaka- (karṇāṭaka-), 13 vi-śrī-, 14 ku-dri-, 15 aja-basti-, 16 mitra-yu-, 17 rakṣo-mukha-, 18 jaṅghā-ratha-, 19 ut-kās-a-, 20 kaṭuka-, 21 manthaka- (math-aka-kaṭuka-manth-aka-), 22 puṣkara-sad-, 23

viṣa-puta-, 24 upari-mekhalā-, 25 kroṣṭu-māna-, 26 kroṣṭu-pāda-, 27 kroṣṭu-māya-, 28 śirṣa-māya-, 29 kharapa-, 30 padaka-, 31 varṣuka-, 32 bhalandana-, 33 bhaḍila-, 34 bhaṇḍila-, 35 bhaḍita-, 36 bhaṇḍita-.

### 185. yāj-aka=āday-aḥ

[2.2.9 yāj-aka=ādi-bhiś ca (ṣaṣṭhī 8)]

1 yāj-aka-, 2 pūj-aka-, 3 pari-cār-aka-, 4 pari-veṣ-aka- (pari-ṣec-aka-), 5 snā-p-aka-, 6 adhy-ā-p-aka-, 7 ut-sāh-aka-, 8 ud-vart-aka-. 9 ho-tṛ-, 10 bhar-tṛ-, 11 ratha-gaṇ-aka-, 12 patti-gaṇ-aka-.

### 186. yāva=āday-aḥ

[5.4.29 yāva=ādi-bhyaḥ kaN]

1 yāva-, 2 maṇi-, 3 asthi-, 4 (tālu-), 5 jānu-, 6 sāndra-, 7 pī-ta-, 8 stamba-, 9 #ṛt-au <sup>1</sup>uṣ-na-<sup>2</sup>śi-te#; 10 #paś-au <sup>1</sup>lū-na-<sup>2</sup>vi-pā-t-e#; 11 #aṇu ni-puṇ-e#; 12 #putra kṛ-trim-e#; 13 #snā-ta veda-sam-āp-t-au#; 14 #śūnya rik-te#; 15 #dāna kuts-it-e#; 16 #tanu sūtr-e#; 17 #īyas-aś ca#; 18 jñā-ta-, 19 a-jñā-ta-, 20 #kumārī-kṛīḍ-anā-ni ca (°-kṛīḍ-anakā-ni ca)#.

### 187. yuk-ta=ā-roh-i(n)=āday-aḥ

[6.2.81 (adi=udatt-āḥ 64)]

1 yúk-ta=ā=roh-ī, 2 ā-ga-ta-roh-ī, 3 ā-ga-ta-yodh-ī, 4 ā-ga-ta-vañc-ī, 5 ā-ga-ta-nand-ī (°-nard-ī), 6 ā-g-ta-pra-hār-ī, 7 ā-ga-ta-matsya-ḥ 8 kṣīra-ho-tā, 9 bhāginī-bhar-tā, 10 grāma-go-dhuk, 11 áśva-tri-rātra-ḥ, 12 gārga-tri-rātra-ḥ, 13 vy-ás-ṭi-tri-rātra-ḥ, 14 gāṇa-pāda-ḥ, 15 éka-sīti-pād, 16 #pātre-samita=āday-aś ca#.

### 188. yuva(n)-āday-aḥ

[5.1.130 hā-y-ana=anta=yuva(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 yuvan-, 2 sthav-ira-, 3 ho-tṛ-, 4 yaj-a-māna-, 5 #puruṣa a-se#, 6 bhrā-tṛ, 7 kutuka-, 8 śram-aṇa- (śraṇama-), 9 kaṭuka-, 10 kamaṇḍalu-, 11 ku-strī, 12 su-strī, 13 duḥ-strī, 14 su-hṛd-aya-, 15 dur-hṛd-aya-, 16 su-hṛd-, 17 dur-hṛd-, 18 su-bhrā-tṛ-, 19 dur-bhrā-tṛ-, 20 vṛṣala-, 21 pari-vrāj-aka-, 22 sa-brahma-cār-in-, 23 a-nṛ-śaṃsa-, 24 #hṛd-aya a-se#; 25 kuśala-, 26 capala-, 27 nipuṇa-, 28 piśuna-, 29 kutūhala-, 30 kṣetr-jña-, 31 #kṣetr-ya-sya ya-lopa-ś ca#.

### 189. <sup>1</sup>yaudh-eya-āday-aḥ

[4.1.178 na <sup>1</sup>prāc-ya-<sup>2</sup>bharga=ādi-<sup>3</sup>yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyaś ca (luK 175)]

1 yaudh-eya-, 2 śaukr-eya-, 3 śaubhr-eya-, 4 jyā-bāṇ-eya-, 5 dhārt-eya- (dhaurt-eya-), 6 tri-garta-, 7 bharata-, 8 uśī-nara-.

### 190. <sup>2</sup>yaudh-eya=āday-aḥ

[5.3.117 <sup>1</sup>parśu=ādi-<sup>2</sup>yaudh-eya=ādi-bhyām <sup>1</sup>aṅ=<sup>2</sup>aṅ-au]

1 yaudh-eya-, 2 kauś-eya-, 3 śaukr-eya-, 4 śaubhr-eya-, 5 dhārt-eya-, 6 ghārt-eya-, 7 jyā-bāṇ-eya-, 8 tri-garta-, 9 bhar-a-ta, 10 uśī-nara-.

### 191. rajata=āday-aḥ

[4.3.154 prāṇi(n)=rajata=ādi-bhyaḥ=aṅ]

1 rajata-, 2 sīsa-, 3 loha-, 4 udumbara-, 5 nīpa-, 6 dāru-, 7 rohitaka-, 8 vibhītaka-, 9 pīta-dāru-, 10 tīvra-dāru-, 11 tri-kaṇṭaka-, 12 kaṇṭakāra-.

### 192. radhÁ=āday-aḥ

[7.2.45 radhÁ=ādi-bhyaś ca (ārdha-dhatuka-sya iṭ=vaL-āde-ḥ 35 vā 44)]

See under Dhp IV 84-91.

### 193. rasa=āday-aḥ

[5.2.95 rasa=ādi-bhyaś ca (matUP 94)]

1 rasa-, 2 rūpa-, 3 varṇa-, 4 gandha-, 5 sparsā-, 6 śabda-, 7 sneh-a-, 8 bhāv-a-, 9 #guṇ-āt#, 10 #eka=aC-aḥ#.

### 194. rāja-danta=āday-aḥ

[2.2.31 rāja-danta=ādi-ṣu para-m]

1 rāja-dantá-ḥ, 2 agre-vaṇá-m, 3 lip-ta=ava-si-tá-m, 4 nag-na-muṣ-i-tá-m, 5 sik-ta-sam-mṛṣ-ṭá-m, 6 mṛṣ-ṭa-luñc-i-tá-m, 7 ava-klin-na-pakvá-m, 8 arp-i-ta=up-tá-m, 9 up-ta-gā-ḍhá-m, 10 ulūkhala-musalá-m, 11 taṇḍula-kiṇvá-m, 12 dṛṣad-upalá-m, 13 ārag-vāy-ana-bandhakí (āraḍ-vāy-aní-), 14 citra-ratha-bālhiká-m, 15 avanti=aśma-ká-m, 16 sūdra=āryá-m, 17 snā-ta-ka-rājān-aú, 18

viṣvak-sena=arjun-aú, 19 akṣi-bhruvā-m, 20 dāra-gavā-m, 21 śabda=arth-aú, 22 dharma=arth-aú, 23 kāma=arth-aú, 24 artha-śabd-aú, 25 artha-kām-aú, 26 vaikāri-ma-tā-m, 27 gaja-vājā-m, 28 go-pāla-dhānī-pūlāsā-m (go-pāli-dhāna-pūlāsā-m), 29 pūlāsaka-kuraṇḍā-m (pūlāsa-kāraṇḍā-m), 30 sthūla-pūlāsā-m (sthūlāsā-m), 31 uśīra-bījā-m, 32 (jijñāsthī-), 3 siñja=aśvatthā-m (siñjāsthā-m), 34 citrā-svāt-ī, 35 bhār-yā-pat-ī, 36 dam-pat-ī, 37 jam-pat-ī, 38 jāyā-pat-ī, 39 putra-pat-ī, 40 putra-paśū, 41 keśa-śmaśrū, 42 śīro-bījā-m ( ° bījū-), 43 śīro-jānū-, 44 sarpir-madhu-n-ī, 45 madhu-sarpiṣ-ī, 46 ādy=ant-aú, 47 anta=ad-ī, 48 guṇa-vṛd-dh-ī, 49 vṛd-dhi-guṇ-aú.

### 195. rājan-ya=āday-aḥ

[4.2.53 rājan-ya=ādi-bhyaḥ vuÑ]

1 rājan-ya-, 2 an-ṛta-, 3 bābhra-v-ya-, 4 śālaṅk-āyana-, 5 daiva-yā-ta- (daiva-yātava-), 6 (a-vrīḍa-), 7 (varatrā), 8 jā-lam-dhar-āyana-, 9 (rājāyana-), 10 telu-, 11 ātma-kām-eya-, 12 ambarīṣa-putra-, 13 vasāti-, 14 bailva-vana-, 15 śailūṣa-, 16 udumbara-, 17 tīvra-, 18 bailva-ja-, 19 ārjun-āyana-, 20 sam-pri-ya-, 21 dākṣ-i-, 22 ūrṇa-nābh-a-.

### 196. rúd=āday-aḥ

[7.2.76 rúd=ādi-bhyaḥ sārva-dhātuk-e (iṭ vaL-āde-ḥ 35)]

See under Dhp II 58-62; cf. 7.3.98ff.

### 197. rudh=āday-aḥ

[3.1.78 rudh=ādi-bhyaḥ ŚnaM]

See under Dhp VII 1-25.

### 198. re-vat-ī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.146 re-vat-ī=ādi-bhyaḥ ṭhaK]

1 re-vat-ī, 2 aśva-pāl-ī, 3 maṇi-pāl-ī, 4 dvāra-pāl-ī, 5 vṛka-vañc-in-, 6 vṛka-bandhu-, 7 vṛka-grāh-a-, 8 karṇa-grāh-a-, 9 daṇḍa-grāh-a-, 10 kukkuṭa=akṣa-, 11 (cāmara-grāh-a-).

### 199. raivat-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.131 raivat-ika=ādi-bhyaś cha-ḥ]

1 raivat-ika-, 2 svāpiś-i-, 3 kṣaima-vṛd-dh-i-, 4 gaura-grīva-  
(°-grīv-i-), 5 auda-megh-i-, 6 auda-vāp-i-, 7 baija-vāp-i-.

### 200. loma(n)=āday-aḥ

[5.2.100 <sup>1</sup>loma(n)=ādi-<sup>2</sup>pāma(n)=ādi-<sup>3</sup>piccha-ādi-bhyaḥ <sup>1</sup>śá-<sup>2</sup>ná=  
<sup>3</sup>lláC-aḥ]

1 loman-, 2 roman-, 3 babhru-, 4 hari-, 5 giri-, 6 karka-, 7 kapi-, 8  
muni-, 9 taru-.

### 201. <sup>1</sup>lohita=āday-aḥ

[3.1.13 lohita=ādi-ḌāC=bhyaḥ KyáṢ]

1 lohita-, 2 car-ita-, 3 nīla-, 4 phena-, 5 madra-, 6 har-i-ta-, 7 dāsa-, 8  
manda-.

### 202. <sup>2</sup>lohita=āday-aḥ

[4.1.18 sarva-tra <sup>1</sup>lohita=ādi-<sup>2</sup>kata=ante-bhyaḥ (striy-ām 3 Ṣpha-ḥ 17)]

See under 71: garga=āday-aḥ, 25-52.

### 203. lū=āday-aḥ

[8.2.44 lū=ādi-bhyaḥ (niṣṭhā-t-aḥ na-ḥ 42)]

See under Dhṛ IX 13-32.

### 204. vaṁśa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.50 tad=<sup>1</sup>har-a-ti-<sup>2</sup>vah-a-ti=<sup>3</sup>ā-vah-a-ti bhār-āt=vaṁśa=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 vaṁśa-, 2 kuṭa-ja-, 3 balva-ja-, 4 mūla-, 5 sthūṇā (sthūṇa-), 6  
akṣa-, 7 aśman-, 8 aśva-, 9 ślakṣna-, 10 ikṣu-, 11 khaṭvā.

## 205. vānas-pāti-āday-aḥ

[6.2.140 ubh-e vānas-pāti=ādi-ṣu yagapat (pra-kṛ-ty-ā 137)]

1 vān-as-pāti-ḥ, 2 bṛh-as-pātiḥ, 3 śacī-pāti-ḥ, 4 tánū-nápāt, 5 nārā-śāmsa-ḥ, 6 sūn-aḥ-sépha-ḥ, 7 śāṇḍā-márk-au, 8 tṛṣṇā-varutr-í, 9 lambā-viśvá-vayas-au, 10 már-mṛtyú-ḥ.

## 206. var-aṇā=āday-aḥ

[4.2.82 var-aṇā=ā-di-bhyaś ca (luP 81)]

1 var-aṇ-ā, 2 śṛṅg-ī, 3 śālmali-, 4 śuṇḍ-ī, 5 śayāṇḍ-ī, 6 parṇ-ī, 7 tāmra-parṇ-ī, 8 go-da-, 9 ā-liṅg-y-āyana-, 10 jāna-pad-ī (jāla-pad-ī), 11 jambū, 12 puṣkara-, 13 campā, 14 pampā, 15 valgu-, 16 uj-jay-in-ī (uj-jay-an-ī), 17 gayā, 18 mathurā, 19 takṣa-sīlā, 20 uras-ā, 21 go-mat-ī, 22 valabh-ī.

## 207. varāha=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +kaK]

1 varāha-, 2 palāśa-, 3 śīriṣa-, 4 pi-nad-dha-, 5 ni-bad-dha-, 6 balāha-, 7 sthū-la-, 8 vi-dag-dha-, 9 vi-jag-dha-, 10 vi-bhag-na-, 11 vi-mag-na-, 12 bāhu-, 13 khadira-, 14 śarkarā.

## 208. varg-ya=āday-aḥ

[6.2.131 varg-ya=āday-aḥ (uttara-pada=ādi-ḥ 111 udātta-ḥ 64)]

See under 116 above: 2-27.

## 209. vas-anta=āday-aḥ

[4.2.63 vas-anta=ādi-bhyaś=ṭhaK]

1 vas-ant-a-, 2 grīṣma-, 3 varṣā, 4 śarad-, 5 hemanta-, 6 śīsīra-, 7 prathama-, 8 guṇa-, 9 carama-, 10 anu-guṇa-, 11 athar-van-, 12 ātharvaṇ-a-.

## 210. vākina=āday-aḥ

[4.1.158 vākina=ādi-nām kuK ca]

1 vākina-, 2 gaudh-era-, 3 kārkaṣ-a-, 4 kāka-, 5 laṅkā, 6 #<sup>1</sup>carmi(n)=<sup>2</sup>varm-iṇ-or na-lopa-ś ca#.

## 211. vi-nay-a=āday-aḥ

[5.4.34 vi-nay-a=ādi-bhyaṣ ṭhaK]

1 vi-nay-a-, 2 sam-ay-a-, 3 #up-ā-y-āt hrasva-tvaṁ ca#; 4 sam-prati-, 5 saṁ-ga-ti-, 6 katham-cit-, 7 a-ka-smāt-, 8 sam-ā-cār-a-, 9 upa-cār-a-, 10 samaya=ā=cār-a-, 11 vy-ava-hār-a-, 12 sam-pra-dāna-, 13 sam-ut-karṣ-a-, 14 sam-ūh-a-, 15 vi-śeṣ-a-, 16 aty-ay-a-.

## 212. vi-muk-ta=āday-aḥ

[5.2.61 vi-muk-ta=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 vi-muk-ta-, 2 deva=asura-, 3 rakso'sura-, 4 upa-sad-, 5 su-varṇa-, 6 pari-sār-aka-, 7 sad-asad-, 8 vas-u-, 9 marut-, 10 patnī-vat-, 11 vasu-mat-, 12 mahīyatva-, 13 sat-vat-, 14 barha-vat-, 15 daśārṇa-, 16 daśārha-, 17 vayas-, 18 havir-dhāna-, 19 patatr-in-, 20 mahitr-ī, 21 asy-a-ha-t-ya-, 22 somā-pūṣan-, 23 idā, 24 agnā-viṣṇ-u-, 25 urvaś-ī, 26 vṛtra-han-.

## 213. vi-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i

[6.2.94 vi-spaṣ-ṭa=ādī-n-i guṇa-vac-ane-ṣu (tatpuruṣ-e 2 pra-kṛ-ty-ā 1)]

1 vi-spaṣ-ṭa-, 2 vi-citra-, 3 vi-cit-ta-, 4 vy-ak-ta-, 5 sam-pan-na-, 6 paṭ-u-, 7 paṇḍ-ita-, 8 kuśala-, 9 capala-, 10 nipuṇa-.

## 214. vṛt

[1.3.92 vṛt=bhyaḥ sya-saṇ-oh (vā 90 kar-tar-i parasmaipadam 78)]

See Dhp I 795-799. Cf. 7.2.59.

## 215. vṛṣa=āday-aḥ

[6.1.203 vṛṣ-a=ādī-nām ca (ādi-h 197 udātta-h 159)]

1 vṛṣ-a-h, 2 jān-a-h, 3 jvār-a-h, 4 grāh-a-h, 5 háy-a-h, 6 gáy-a-h, 7 náy-a-h, 8 táy-a-h, 9 táy-a-h, 10 cáy-a-h, 11 ám-a-h, 12 véd-a-h, sūd-a-h, 14 áms-a-h, 15 gúh-ā, 16 #<sup>1</sup>sám-a-<sup>2</sup>rāṇ-au saṁ-jñā-y-ām sam-ma-t-au <sup>1</sup>bhāv-a-<sup>2</sup>kar-man-oh#; 17 mán-tra-h, 18 sán-ti-h, 19 kām-a-h, 20 grām-a-h, 21 ár-ā, 22 dhár-ā, 23 kár-ā, 24 váh-a-h, 25 kálp-a-h, 26 pád-a-h. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam\*.

## 216. vetana=āday-aḥ

[4.4.12 vetana=ādi-bhyaḥ jīv-a-ti (+ṭhaK 1)]

1 vetana-, 2 vāh-ana-, 3 ardha-vāh-ana-, 4 dhanur-daṇḍa-, 5 jāl-a-, 6 veś-a-, 7 upa-veś-a-, 8 pr-eṣ-aṇa-, 9 upa-vas-ti-, 10 su-kha-, 11 śay-yā, 12 śak-ti-, 13 upa-ni-śad-, 14 upa-deś-a-, 15 sphij- (sphija-), 16 pād-a-, 17 upa-stha-, 18 upa-sthāna-, 19 ups-has-ta-.

## 217. vy-ā-ghra=āday-aḥ

[2.1.56 upa-mi-ta-m vy-ā-ghra=ādi-bhiḥ sāmānya=a-pra-yog-e]

1 vy-ā-ghra-, 2 śimha-, 3 ṛkṣa-, 4 ṛṣabha-, 5 cand-ana-, 6 vṛka-, 7 vṛṣ-a-, 8 varāha-, 9 hast-in-, 10 tar-u-, 11 kuñjara-, 12 ruru-, 13 pṛṣ-at-, 14 puṇḍarīka-, 15 palāśa-, 16 kitava-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ayam\*.

## 218. vy-uṣ-ṭa=āday-aḥ

[5.1.97 vy-uṣ-ṭa=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 vy-uṣ-ṭa-, 2 ni-tya-, 3 niṣ-kram-aṇa-, 4 pra-veś-ana-, 5 (upa-sam-kram-aṇa-), 6 tīrtha-, 7 (ā-star-aṇa-), 8 sam-grāma-, 9 sam-ghāt-a-.

## 219. vrīhi=āday-aḥ

[5.2.116 vrīhi=ādi-bhiś ca (inj-ṭhaN-au 115)]

1 vrīhi-, 2 mājā, 3 (śālā), 4 śikhā, 5 mālā, 6 mekhalā, 7 kekā, 8 aṣṭakā, 9 patākā, 10 car-man-, 11 kar-man-, 12 var-man-, 13 daṁṣ-ṭrā, 14 sam-jñā, 15 vaḍavā, 16 kumār-ī, 17 nau-, 18 vīṇā, 19 balākā, 20 yava-khada- (yava-khad-an-au\*), 21 #śīrṣ-āt=nañ-aḥ#.

## 220. śaṇḍ-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.92 śaṇḍ-ika=ādi-bhyaḥ Ñya-ḥ]

1 śaṇḍ-ika-, 2 sarva-sena-, 3 sarva-keśa-, 4 śaka-, 5 śaṭa, 6 raka-, 7 śaṅkha-, 8 bodha-.



## 221. śám=āday-aḥ

[3.2.141 śám-ity-aṣṭā-bhyaḥ GHinuN]

See under Dhp IV 92-99. Cf. 7.3.74 śám-ām aṣṭā-nām dīrgha-ḥ SyaN-i.

## 222. śarad=pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ

[5.4.107 avyay ī-bhāv-e śarad=pra-bhṛ-ti-bhyaḥ (TāC 91)]

1 śarad-, 2 vi-pāś-, 3 an-as-, 4 man-as-, 5 upā-nah-, 6 anaḍ-uh-, 7 div-, 8 hima-vat-, 9 hiruk-, 10 vid-, 11 sad-, 12 diś-, 13 dṛś-, 14 viś-, 15 catur-, 16 tyad-, 17 tad-, 18 yad-, 19 k-iy-at-, 20 #jarā-y-āḥ jar-as=ca#; 21 #<sup>1</sup>prati-<sup>2</sup>para-<sup>3</sup>sam-<sup>4</sup>anu-bhyaḥ akṣṇ-aḥ#; 22 pathin-.

## 223. <sup>1</sup>śara=āday-aḥ

[4.3.144 ni-tya-m vṛd-dha-śara=ādi-bhyaḥ (mayaT 143)]

1 śar-a-, 2 darbha-, 3 mṛd-, 4 kuṭ-ī, 5 tṛṇa-, 6 soma-, 7 balva-ja- (balba-ja-).

## 224. <sup>2</sup>śara=āday-aḥ

[6.3.120 śara=ādi-nām ca (matAU 119 dīrgha-ḥ 111)]

1 śara-, 2 vaṁśa-, 3 dhūma-, 4 ah-i-, 5 kapi-, 6 maṇi-, 7 mun-i-, 8 śuc-i-, 9 tan-u-.

## 225. śarkarā=āday-aḥ

[5.3.107 śarakarā=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 śarkarā, 2 kapāl-ikā, 3 kapāt-ikā, 4 kan-iṣṭhikā (kapi-ṣṭh-ikā), 5 puṇḍarīka-, 6 śata-patra-, 7 go-loman-, 8 loman-, 9 go-puccha-, 10 narācī, 11 na-kula-, 12 sikatā.

## 226. śākhā=āday-aḥ

[5.3.103 śākhā=ādi-bhyaḥ yàT]

1 śākhā, 2 mukha-, 3 jaghana-, 4 śṛṅga-, 5 megha-, 6 abhra-, 7 car-aṇa-, 8 skandha-, 9 skanda- (skada-), 10 uras-, 11 śīras-, 12 agra-, 13 śar-aṇa- (śāṇa-).

## 227. śārṅgarava=āday-aḥ

[4.1.73 śārṅgarava=ādi=aN-aḥ NñN]

1 śārṅgarava-, 2 kāpaṭava-, 3 gauggulava-, 4 brāhmaṇa-, 5 baida-, 6 gautama-, 7 kāmāṇḍal-eya-, 8 brāhmaṇa-kṛt-eya-, 9 (ā-ni-ce-ya-), 10 ā-ni-dhe-ya-, 11 āśok-eya-, 12 vātsy-āyana-, 13 maunj-āyana-, 14 kaikasa- (kaikas-eya-), 15 kāv-ya-, 16 śaib-ya-, 17 ehi-, 18 pary-ehi-, 19 āśma-rath-ya-, 20 auda-pā-na-, 21 a-rāla-, 22 caṇḍāla-, 23 vataṇḍa-, 24 #bhog-a-vad-gauri-mat-oḥ saṁ-jñā-yām GHA=ādi-ṣu nityaṁ hrasva=artham#; 25 #nṛ-naray-or vṛddhiś ca#.

## 228. śīva=āday-aḥ

[4.1.112 śīva=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 śīva-, 2 proṣṭha- (prauṣṭha-), 3 proṣṭh-ika-, 4 caṇḍa-, 5 jambha-, 6 bhūri-, 7 daṇḍa-, 8 kuṭhāra-, 9 kakubh-, 10 an-abhi-mlā-na-, 11 kohita-, 12 mukha-, 13 saṁ-dh-i-, 14 mun-i-, 14a kakut-stha-, 15 kahoda-, 16 kohaḍa-, 17 kahūya- (kahūṣa-), 18 kahaya-, 19 rodh-a-, 20 kapiñjala- (ku-piñjala-), 21 khañjana-, 22 vataṇḍa-, 23 tṛṇa-karṇa- (tūṇa-karṇa-), 24 kṣīra-hrada-, 25 jala-hrada-, 26 parila-, 27 (pathi-ka-), 28 piṣ-ṭa-, 29 haihaya-, 30 (pārṣikā), 31 gop-ikā, 32 kapil-ikā, 33 jaṭil-ikā, 34 badhir-ikā, 35 mañjīraka-, 36 (majīraka-), 37 vṛṣṇi-ka-, 38 khañjāra-, 39 khañjāla-, 40 karmāra-, 41 rekh-a-, 42 lekh-a-, 43 ā-lekh-ana-, 44 vi-śrav-aṇa-, 45 rav-aṇa-, 46 vart-ana=akṣa-, 47 grivākṣa-, 48 viṭapa-, 49 piṭaka-, 50 piṭāka-, 51 tṛkṣāka-, 52 nabhāka-, 53 ūrṇa-nābha-, 54 jar-at-kār-u-, 55 pṛthā, 56 ut-kṣep-a-, 57 puro-hit-ikā, 58 su-roh-it-ikā, 59 su-roh-ikā, 60 ārya-śveta-, 61 su-piṣ-ṭa-, 62 masura-karṇa- (masūra-karṇa-), 63 mayūra-karṇa-, 64 kharjura-karṇa- (kharjūra-karṇa-), 65 khadūraka-, 66 takṣan-, 67 ṛṣṭi-ṣeṇa-, 68 gaṅgā, 69 vi-pāś- (vi-pāśā-), 70 yaska-, 71 laḥ-ya-, 72 druh-ay-, 73 ayaḥ-sthūṇa-, 74 tṛṇa-, 75 karṇa- (tṛṇa-karṇa-), 76 parṇa-, 77 bhalandana-, 78 vi-rūpa=akṣa-, 79 bhūmi-, 80 ilā, 81 sa-pat-n-I, 82 #dvy=aC-aḥ=nady-aḥ#; 83 #tri-venī tri-vaṇaṁ ca#.

## 229. śuṇḍ-ika=āday-aḥ

[4.3.76 śuṇḍ-ika=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 śuṇḍ-ika-, 2 kṛkaṇa-, 3 sthaṇḍila-, 4 uda-pāna-, 5 upala-, 6 bhūmi-, 7 tṛṇa-, 8 parṇa-.

## 230. śubh-ra=āday-aḥ

[4.1.123 śubh-ra=ādi-bhyaś ca (ḍhaK 120)]

1 śubh-ra-, 2 viṣṭa-, 3 pura- (viṣṭa-pura-), 4 brahma-kṛ-ta-, 5 śālāthala-, 6 śālākā-bhrū-, 7 lekḥā-bhrū- (lekḥābhra-), 8 vi-kas-a- (vi-kas-ā-), 9 roh-iṇ-ī-, 10 ruk-miṇ-ī-, 11 dharm-iṇ-ī-, 12 diś- (diśā-), 13 śālūka-, 14 aja-vas-ti-, 15 śakandhi-, 16 vi-mā-tṛ-, 17 vidhavā-, 18 śuka-, 19 viśa-, 20 deva-tara-, 21 śakuni-, 22 śuk-ra-, 23 ug-ra-, 24 jñā-ta-la- (śāta-la-), 25 bandhakī-, 26 sṛkaṇḍu-, 27 visri-, 28 atithi-, 29 go-danta-, 30 kuśāmba-, 31 sakaṣṭu-, 32 śātā-hara-, 33 pavaṣṭurika-, 34 su-nām-an-, 35 #lakṣmaṇa-<sup>2</sup>śyāmay-or vāsiṣṭh-e#; 36 godhā-, 37 kṛkalāsa-, 38 aṇīva-, 39 pra-vāh-aṇa-, 40 bhārata- (bharata-), 41 bharama- (bhārama-), 42 mṛkaṇḍu-, 43 karpūra-, 44 itara-, 45 any-atara-, 46 ā-lī-ḍha-, 47 su-danta-, 48 su-dakṣa-, 49 su-vakṣ-as- (su-cakṣas-), 50 su-dā-man-, 51 kadru-, 52 tud-a-, 53 aka-śāya-, 54 kumār-ikā-, 55 kuṭhār-ikā-, 56 kiśor-ikā-, 57 amb-ikā-, 58 jihma=āś-in-, 59 pari-dh-i-, 60 vāyu-dat-ta-, 61 śakala-, 62 śālākā-, 63 khaḍūra-, 64 kuber-ikā-, 65 aśokā-, 66 gandha-piṅgalā-, 67 khaḍa=un-mat-tā-, 68 anu-dṛṣṭ-in- (anu-dṛṣṭi-), 69 jar-at-in-, 70 balī-vard-in-, 71 vigra-, 72 bīja-, 73 jīva-, 74 śvan-, 75 aś-man-, 76 ajira-. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 231. śauṇḍ-aḥ

[2.1.40 sapta-m-ī śauṇḍ-aḥ]

1 śauṇḍa-, 2 dhūrta-, 3 kitava-, 4 vy-āḍa-, 5 pra-vīṇa-, 6 sam-vī-ta-, 7 antara-, 8 adhi-, 9 paṭ-u- (adhi-paṭ-u-), 10 paṇḍ-ita-, 11 kuśa-la-, 12 capala-, 13 nipuṇa-.

## 232. śaunaka=āday-aḥ

[4.3.106 śaunaka=ādi-bhyaś ca chandas-i (Nīni-ḥ 106)]

1 śaunaka-, 2 vāja-san-eya-, 3 śārṅgarava-, 4 śāp-eya-, 5 śāṣp-eya-, 6 khāḍ-āyana-, 7 stambha- (skambha-), 8 skandha-, 9 deva-darś-ana-, 10 rajju-bhāra-, 11 rajju-kaṇṭha-, 12 kaṭha-sāṭha-, 13 kaśāya-, 14 tala-, 15 daṇḍa-, 16 puruṣa=aṁsaka-, 17 aśva-peja- (aśva-pe-ya-).

### 233. śramaṇā=āday-aḥ

[2.1.70 kumāra-ḥ śramaṇā=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 śram-aṇ-ā, 2 pra-vraj-it-ā, 3 kulat-ā, 4 garbh-inī, 5 tāpas-I, 6 dās-I, 7 bandh-ak-I, 8 adhy-āp-aka-, 9 abhi-rūpaka-, 10 paṭ-u-, 11 mṛd-u-, 12 paṇḍ-ita-, 13 kuśala-, 14 capala-, 15 nipuṇa-.

### 234. śreṇi-āday-aḥ

[2.1.59 śreṇi-āday-aḥ kṛ-ta=ādi-bhiḥ]

1 śreṇi-, 2 (ūka-/eka-), 3 pūga-, 4 kunduma- (mukunda-, kunda-), 5 rāśī-, 6 ni-cay-a-, 7 vi-śeṣ-a-, 8 nidhāna- (vi-dhāna-, nidhana-), 9 (para-), 10 indra-, 11 dev-a-, 12 muṇḍa-, 13 bhū-ta-, 14 śram-aṇa-, 15 vadānya-, 16 adhy-āp-aka-, 17 abhi-rūp-aka-, 18 brāhmaṇa-, 19 kṣatr-īya-, 20 vi-śiṣ-ṭa- (vi-śikha-), 21 paṭ-u-, 22 paṇḍ-ita-, 23 kuśa-la-, 24 capala-, 25 nipuṇa-.

### 235. sakhi=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +dhañ]

1 sa-kh-i-, 2 agni-datta-, 3 vāyu-dat-ta-, 4 sakhi-dat-ta-, 5 (gop-ila-/go-hi-ta-/goh-ila-), 6 bhalla-pāla- 7 (bhalla-, pāl-a-), 8 cakra-, 9 cakra-vāk-a-, 10 chagala-, 11 a-śok-a-, 12 kara-vira-, 13 vāsav-a-, 14 vīra-, 15 pūra-, 16 vajra-, 17 kuśīra-ka-, 18 sīhara-, 19 saraka- (sakara-), 20 sarasa-, 21 samara-, 22 samala-, 23 su-rasa-, 24 roh-a-, 25 tamāla-, 26 kadala-, 27 sapta-la-.

### 236. saṁ-kala=āday-aḥ

[4.2.75 saṁ-kala=ādi-bhiḥ ca (śN 71)]

1 saṁ-kal-a-, 2 puṣkala-, 3 uttama-, 4 uḍupa-, 5 ud-vep-a- (ud-vap-a-), 6 ut=puṭ-a-, 7 kumbha-, 8 ni-dhāna- (vi-dhāna-), 9 su-dakṣa-, 10 su-dat-ta-, 11 su-bhū-ta-, 12 su-pū-ta-, 13 su-ne-tra-, 14 su-maṅgala-, 15 su-piṅgala-, 16 sū-ta-, 17 sikata- (sikatā-), 18 pū-ti-ka (pū-ti-kā-, pū-ti-kī-), 19 pūlāsa-, 20 kū-lāsa-, 21 palāśa-, 22 ni-veś-a-, 23 gav-eṣa-, 24 gambhīra-, 25 itara-, 26 ān, 27 ahan-, 28 so-man-, 29 ve-man-, 30 varuṇa- (car-aṇa-), 31 bahu-la-, 32 sadyo-ja-, 33 abhi-ṣik-ta-, 34 go-bhṛt-, 35 rāja-bhṛt-, 36 bhalla-, 37 malla-, 38 māla-.

### 237. saṁ-kāśa=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +Nya]

1 saṁ-kāś-a-, 2 kapila-, 3 kaśmīra-, 4 (saṁīra-), 5 sūra-sena- (śūra-sena-), 6 saraka-, 7 sūra-, 8 #su-panth-in pantha ca#; 9 yūpa- (yūtha-), 10 aṁśa-, 11 aṅga-, 12 nāsā-, 13 pal-ita-, 14 anu-nāś-a-, 15 aś-man-, 16 kūṭa-, 17 mal-ina-, 18 daśa-, 19 kumbha-, 20 śīrṣa-, 21 vi-rata- (ciranta-), 22 samala-, 23 sīra-, 24 pañjara-, 25 mantha-, 26 nala-, 27 roman-, 28 loman-, 29 pulina-, 30 su-pari-, 31 kaṭipa-, 32 sa-karṇa-ka-, 33 vṛṣ-ṭi-, 34 tīrtha-, 35 agasti-, 36 vi-kar-a-, 37 nāsikā.

### 238. saṁ-tāp-a=āday-aḥ

[5.1.101 ta-smai pra-bhav-a-ti saṁ-tāp-a=ādi-bhyaḥ (ṭhaÑ 18)]

1 saṁ-tāp-a-, 2 saṁ-nāh-a-, 3 saṁ-grāma-, 4 saṁ-yog-a-, 5 sam-par-āy-a-, 6 (saṁ-veś-ana-), 7 sam-peṣ-a-, 8 niṣ-peṣ-a-, 9 sarg-a-, 10 ni-sarg-a-, 11 vi-sarg-a-, 12 upa-sarg-a-, 13 pra-vās-a-, 14 upa-vās-a-, 15 saṁ-ghāt-a-, 16 saṁ-veṣ-a-, 17 saṁ-vās-a-, 18 sam-mod-ana-, 19 (sak-tu-), 20 #māṁsa=odan-āt vi grh-ī-t-ād api#.

### 239. saṁ-dhi-velā=āday-aḥ

[4.3.16 <sup>1</sup>saṁ-dhi-velā=ādi=<sup>2</sup>ṛtu=<sup>3</sup>nakṣatre-bhyaḥ=áÑ]

1 saṁ-dhi-velā, 2 saṁ-dhyā, 3 amā-vāsyā, 4 trayo-daś-ī, 5 catur-daś-ī, 6 pañca-daś-ī, 7 paurṇa-mās-ī, 8 prati-pad-, 9 #saṁ-vat-sar-āt <sup>1</sup>phala-<sup>2</sup>parvaṇ-oḥ#.

### 240. sa-pat-nī=āday-aḥ

[4.1.35 ni-tyaṁ sa-pat-nī=ādi-ṣu (na-ḥ 33)]

1 sa-māna-, 2 eka-, 3 vīra-, 4 piṇḍa-, 5 śva- (śīrī-), 6 bhrā-tṛ-, 7 bhad-ra-, 8 putra-, 9 #dās-āt=chandas-i#.

### 241. sarva=ādīni

[1.1.27 sarva=ādī-n-i sarva-nāmā-n-i]

1 sarva-, 2 viśva-, 3 ubha-, 4 ubha-ya-;

Ḍatara=āday-ah (7.1.25); cf. 96 above

5 Ḍatara-, 6 Ḍatama-, 7 itara-, 8 anyatara-, 10 tvā-(tvaT-), 11 tva-,

12 nema-, 13 sama-, 14 sima-, 15 #<sup>1</sup>pūrva-<sup>2</sup>para=<sup>3</sup>avara=<sup>4</sup>dakṣiṇa=<sup>5</sup>uttara=<sup>6</sup>apara=<sup>7</sup>adharā-ṇ-i vy-ava-sthā-y-ām a-saṁ-jñā-y-ām (P. 1.1.34)#; 16 #svam a-<sup>1</sup>jñā-ti-<sup>2</sup>dhana=ākhyā-yām (P. 1.1.35)#; 17 #antaram <sup>1</sup>bahir-yoga=<sup>2</sup>upa-saṁ-vy-ānay-oḥ (P. 1.1.36)#; tyad=āday-aḥ (1.1.74; 2.72; 3.2.60; 7.2.102); cf. 111 above  
18 tyad-, 19 tad-, 20 yad-, 21 etad-, 22 adas-, 23 idam, 24 eka-; dvi=āday-aḥ (5.3.2); cf. 123 above  
25 dvi-, 26 yuṣm-ad-, 27 asm-ad-, 28 bhavatU, 29 kim.

## 242. sav-ana=āday-aḥ

[8.3.110 na ra-para-sṛpi-sṛji-sṛśi-sṛṇi-sav-ana=ādī-nām (s 55)]

1 sav-ane sav-ane, 2 sū-te sū-te, 3 some some, 4 sav-ana-mukhe sav-ana-mukhe, 5 #kisa-ḥ kiṁsa-ḥ# kiṁsam kiṁsam, 6 anu-sav-anam anu-sav-anam, 7 go-san-im go-san-i-m, 8 aśva-sanīm asva-sanīm,

Alternate List: 1 sav-ane sav-ane, 2 sav-ana-mukhe sav-ana-mukhe, 3 anusav-anam anu-sav-anam, (anu-sv-ane anu-sav-ane), 4 #saṁ-jñā-y-ām bṛhas-pati-sav-a-ḥ#; 5 śakuni-sav-anam, 6 some some, 7 sute sute (sū-te sū-te), 8 saṁ-vat-sare saṁ-vat-satre, 9 bisam bisam, 10 kisam kisam, 11 musalam musalam, 12 go-san-im, 13 aśva-samīm.

## 243. sāksāt-pra-bhṛ-tī-ni

[1.4.74 sāksāt-pra-bhṛ-tī-n-i ca (gatay-aḥ 56)]

1 sāks-āt, 2 mithyā, 3 cintā, 4 bhad-rā, 5 roc-anā (loc-anā), 6 ā-sthā, 7 amā, 8 addhā, 9 prājaryā (prājāyā), 10 prājaruhā, 11 bījaryā, 12 bīja-ruhā, 13 saṁ-sar-yā, 14 arthe, 15 lav-aṇam, 16 uṣ-ṇam, 17 śī-tam, 18 uda-kam, 19 ārdram, 20 agn-au, 21 vaś-e, 22 vi-kas-an-e, 24 pra-sah-ane (pra-has-ane), 25 pra-tap-ane, 26 prādus, 27 namas. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-ḥ ayam\*.

## 244. sidhma=āday-aḥ

[5.2.97 sidhma=ādi-bhyaś ca (1aC 96)]

1 sidhma-, 2 gaḍu-, 3 maṇi-, 4 nābhi-, 5 bīja- (jīva-), 6 (vīṇā), 7 kṛṣ-ṇa-, 8 niṣ-pāv-a-, 9 pāṁsu-, 10 pārśva-, 11 pārśu- (paraśu-), 12 hanu-, 13 sak-tu-, 14 māmśa- (māsa-), 15 #<sup>1</sup>pārśṇi-<sup>2</sup>dham-any-oḥ dīrgha-ś ca#; 16 #<sup>1</sup>vā-ta-<sup>2</sup>danta-<sup>3</sup>bala-<sup>4</sup>lalātā-nām ūN ca#; vātū-la, dantū-la-, balū-la-lalātū-la-; 17 #<sup>1</sup>jaṭā-<sup>2</sup>ghaṭā-<sup>3</sup>kaṭā-<sup>4</sup>kāl-āḥ ksep-e#; 18

parṇa-, 19 uda-ka-, 20 pra-jñā, 21 sak-thi, 22 karṇa-, 23 sneh-a-, 24 śī-ta-, 25 śyāma-, 26 piṅga-, 27 pitta-, 28 puṣka- (śuṣ-ka-), 29 pṛth-u-, 30 mṛd-u-, 31 mañju-, 32 (maṇḍa-), 33 pat-tra-, 34 caṭu-, 35 kapi-, 36 gaṇḍu- (kaṇḍu-), 37 granth-i-, 38 śrī, 39 kuśa-, 40 dhārā, 41 varṣ-man-, 42 pakṣ-man-, 43 śleṣ-man-, 44 peś-a-, 45 niṣ-pād-, 46 kuṇḍa-, 47 #<sup>1</sup>kṣud-ra-jantu=<sup>2</sup>upa-tāp-ay-oś ca#.

## 245. sindhu=āday-aḥ

[4.3.93 <sup>1</sup>sindhu-<sup>2</sup>takṣa-sīlā=ādi-bhyaḥ=<sup>1</sup>áN<sup>2</sup>aÑ-au]

1 sindhu-, 2 varṇu-, 3 madhu-mat-, 4 kamboja-, 5 sālva-, 6 kaśmīra-, 7 gandhāra-, 8 kiṣkindhā, 9 urasā (urasa-), 10 darada- (darad-), 11 gand-ika (gabdika).

## 246. <sup>1</sup>sukha=ādī-n-i

[3.1.18 sukha=ādi-bhyaḥ kar-tṛ-ved-anā-y-ām]

1 su-kha-, 2 duḥ-kha-, 3 tṛp-ta-, 4 kṛcchra-, 5 asra-, 6 āsra-, 7 aḥika-, 8 prat-ī-pa-, 9 karuṇa-, 10 kṛpaṇa-, 11 so-dha-. Cf. 6.2.170.

## 247. <sup>2</sup>sukha=ādī-n-i

[5.2.131 sukha=ādi-bhyaś ca (ini-ḥ 128)]

1 su-kha-, 2 duḥ-kha-, 3 tṛp-ta- (tṛp-ra-), 4 kṛcchra-, 5 asra- (āśra-), 6 āsra- (asra-), 7 aḥika-, 8 karuṇa-, 9 so-dha-, 10 prat-ī-pa-, 11 śīla-, 12 hala-, 13 #mālā kṣep-e#; 14 kṛpaṇa-, 15 pra-ṇāy-a- (pra-ṇay-a-), 16 dala-, 17 kakṣa-.

## 248. sutaṁ-gam-a=āday-aḥ

[4.2.80 +iÑ]

1 su-ta-ṁ-gam-a-, 2 muni-cit-ta-, 3 vi-pra-cit-ta-, 4 mahā-cit-ta-, 5 mahā-putra-, 6 svan-a-, 7 śvet-a-, 8 gaḍika- (khaḍika-), 9 śuk-ra-, 10 vigra-, 11 bīja-vāp-in-, 12 arjuna-, 13 śvan-, 14 ajira-, 15 jīv-a-, 16 khaṇḍ-i-ta-, 17 karṇa-, 18 vi-grah-a-.

## 249. su-vāstu=āday-aḥ

[4.2.77 su-vāstu=ādi-bhyaḥ=áN]

1 su-vāstu-, 2 varṇu-, 3 bhaṇḍ-u-, 4 khaṇḍ-u-, 5 sevālin-, 6 karpūr-in-, 7 śikhaṇḍ-in-, 8 garta-, 9 karkaśa-, 10 śakaṭi-karṇa-, 11 kṛṣṇa-karṇa-, 12 karka-, 13 karkandhu-mat-ī, 14 goha-, 15 ahi-saktha-.

## 250. su-śāma(n)āday-aḥ

[8.3.98 su-śāma(n)=ādi-ṣu ca (s-aḥ 56 mūrdhanya-h 55)]

1 su-śāmā, 2 niḥ-śāmā, 3 duḥ-śāmā, 4 su-śedh-a-h, 5 ni-śedh-a-h (niḥ-śedh-a-h), 6 duḥ-śedh-a-h, 7 su-śam-dhi-h, 8 niḥ-śam-dh-i-h (ni-śam-dh-i-h), 9 duḥ-śam-dh-i-h, 10 su-ṣṭhu- (su-ṣṭu-), 11 du-ṣṭhu- (du-ṣṭu-), 12 #gauri-śaktha-h sam-jñā-y-ām#; 13 prati-ṣṇikā, 14 jalā-śāham, 15 nau-śec-anam (°-śev-anam), 16 dundubhi-śev-anam (°-śec-anam), 17 #eTi sam-jñā-y-ām a-g-āt# (P. 8.3.99): hari-śeṇa-h; 18 #nakṣatr-āt=vā# (P. 8.3.100): rohiṇi-śeṇa-h. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam\*.

## 251. sthū-la=āday-aḥ

[5.4.3 sthū-la=ādi-bhyaḥ pra-kāra-vac-an-e kaN]

1 sthū-la-, 2 aṇu-, 3 māśa-, 4 iṣu-, 5 #kṛṣ-ṇa tile-ṣu#; 6 #yav-a vr̥thi-ṣu#; 7 #<sup>1</sup>ikṣu-<sup>2</sup>tila-<sup>3</sup>pād-ya-<sup>4</sup>kāla=<sup>5</sup>ava-dāt-āḥ surā-y-ām#; 8 #go-mūtra ācchād-an-e#; 9 #surā ah-au#; 10 #jīr-ṇa śāli-ṣu#; 11 #<sup>1</sup>pac-a-<sup>2</sup>mūl-e sam-as-ta-vy-as-t-e#; 12 kumārī-putra-, 13 kumārī-śvaśura-.

## 252. snā-tvī=āday-aḥ

[7.1.49 snā-tvī=āday-aś ca]

1 snā-tvī, 2 pī-tvī. \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇa-h ayam\*.

## 253. svápA=āday-aḥ

[6.1.188 svápA-hims-ām aC-i an-iT-i]

See Dhṛ II 59-61.



## [1.1.37 svar-ādi-ni-pāt-am avyayam]

1 svár-, 2 antár-, 3 prátár- (anta=udātt-āḥ), 4 púnar-, 5 sánutar-, 6 úcc-ais-, 7 níc-ais-, 8 sán-ais-, 9 ŋdhak, 10 ŋte, 11 yúgapat-, 12 árāt, 13 (ántik-āt-), 14 pŋthak (ādy-udātt-āḥ), 15 hyás-, 16 svás-, 17 div-ā, 18 rātr-aú, 19 sáyám, 20 cirám, 21 manák, 22 ṛśát, 23 śásvát, 24 jośám, 25 tūsŋm, 26 bahís-, 27 adh-ás- (avás-), 28 samayā, 29 nikaśá, 30 svayám, 31 mṛśá, 32 naktám, 33 náÑ, 34 het-aú, 35 hé, 36 haí, 37 iddhá, 38 addhá, 39 sāmí (anta=udātt-āḥ), 40 vát, 41 báta-, 42 sánat-, 43 sánāt-, 44 tīras- (ādy-udatt-āḥ), 45 antarā (anta=udātta ḥ); 46 (ántar-eṇa), 47 mák, 48 jyók, 49 yók, 50 nák, 51 kám, 52 sám, 53 sánā, 54 sáhas-ā, 55 srád-dhā, 56 álam, 57 svá-dhā, 58 váṣaṭ, 59 ví-nā, 60 nā-nā, 61 svásti, 62 ányad-, 63 ás-ti, 64 úpa=aṁsu-, 65 kṣámā, 66 víhāyas-ā, 67 dóśā, 68 súdhā, 69 díṣ-ty-ā, 70 vŋthā, 71 mīthyā, 72 #<sup>1</sup>Ktvā-<sup>2</sup>tosuN-<sup>3</sup>kasuN-ah# (P. 1.1.40); 73 #<sup>1</sup>kṛt=<sup>2</sup>ma-kāra-<sup>3</sup>saṁ-dhi=akṣara=anta-ḥ avyayī-bhāva-s ca# (cf. 1.1.39,41); 74 púrā, 75 mītho, 76 mīth-as-, 77 prāyas-, 78 múhus-, 79 prá-vāh-ukam, 80 (prá-vāh-ikā), 81 árya-halam, 82 ábhīkṣṇam, 83 sákam, 84 sárdham, 85 śatram, 86 sámam, 87 nám-as-, 88 híruk, 89 #tasiL=āday-as taddhit-āḥ edhāC-pary-ant-āḥ# (cf. P. 5.3.7-46); 89a #<sup>1</sup>śas-<sup>2</sup>tas-i-, kṛtvasuC, suC <sup>1</sup>aC-<sup>2</sup>thaL-au Cvi=arth-ās ca#; 90 átha, 91 ám, 92 ām, 93 prátām, 94 (prá-tān), 95 práśān; \*ā-kṛ-ti-gaṇ-aḥ ayam\*; t-ena any-e api: tathā-hi: 96 mánÑ, 97 śrám, 98 káman, 99 (prá-kāman), 100 bhūyas-, 101 páram, 102 sākṣāt, 103 sáci, 104 sátyam, 105 mañkṣu, 106 sám-vat-, 107 ávaśyam, 108 sápad-i, 109 prádus, 110 ávis-, 111 áníśam, 112 nítym, 113 nítýadā-, 114 sádā, 115 ájasram, 116 sám-ta-tam, 117 úśā, 118 óm, 119 bhúr-, 120 bhúvar-, 121 jhát-iti, 122 táras-ā, 123 sú-ṣṭhu, 124 kú, 125 āñjas-ā, 126 á, 127 mīthu-, 128 víthak, 129 bhájak, 130 ánv-ak, 131 cír-āya, 132 círa-m, 133 círa-rātr-āya, 134 círa-sya, 135 cír-eṇa, 136 cír-āt, 137 ás-tam, 138 ánuṣak, 139 ánuṣak, 140 ánu-ṣaṭ, 141 ámnas-, 142 ámnar-, 143 sthān-e, 144 váram, 145 dúṣṭhu, 146 bál-āt, 147 sú, 148 árvāk, 149 súd-i-, 150 vād-i ity-ādi. tasiL-āday-aḥ prāk pásāP-aḥ; śas-pra-bhṛ-tay-aḥ prāk samāsa=ante-bhyah; ma=anta-ḥ kṛtvas=artha-ḥ; <sup>1</sup>tasi-<sup>2</sup>vat-ī, nā-naÑ-au iti.

## 255. svasṛ=āday-aḥ

[4.1.10 na ṣaṭ=svasṛ=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 svasṛ-, 2 duhitṛ-, 3 nanāndṛ-, 4 yātr-, 5 mātṛ- 6 tisṛ-, 7 catasṛ-.

## 256. svāgata=ādī-n-i

[7.3.7 svāgata=ādī-nām ca]

1 sv-ā-ga-ta-, 2 sv-adhvara-, 3 sv-aṅga-, 4 vy-aṅga-, 5 vy-aḍa-, 6 vy-ava-hār-a-, 7 sva-pati-.

## 257. sU=āday-aḥ

[1.4.17 sU=ādi-ṣu=a-sarva-nāma-sthān-e]

All affixes beginning with sU (4.1.2) and ending with kaP (5.3.70).

## 258. su=āday-aḥ

[3.1.73 su=adi-bhyaḥ Śnu-ḥ]

See under Dhp V 1-34.

## 259. harita=āday-aḥ

[4.1.100 hārita=ādibyaḥ=aÑ-aḥ]

See under 164: bid=āday-aḥ, 30-55.

## 260. harītakī=āday-aḥ

[4.3.167 harītakī=ādi-bhyaś ca (luP 166)]

1 harītakī, 2 kośātakī, 3 nakha-raj-anī, 4 śaṣkaṇḍī, 5 dādī, 6 doḍī, 7 śveta-pākī, 8 arjuna-pākī, 9 drākṣā, 10 kālā, 11 dhvākṣā (dhvāṅkṣā), 12 gabhikā, 13 kaṇṭakārikā, 14 pippalī, 15 cimpā (ciñcā), 16 śephālikā.

## 261. hasti(n)=āday-aḥ

[5.4.138 pāda-sya lopa-ḥ=a-hasti(n)=ādi-bhyaḥ]

1 hast-in-, 2 (kuddāla-), 3 (aśva-), 4 (kaśika), 5 (kuruta-), 6 kaṭola-, 7 kaṭolaka-, 8 gaṇḍola-, 9 gaṇḍolaka-, 10 kaṇḍola-, 11 kaṇḍolaka-, 12 aja-, 13 kapota-, 14 jāla-, 15 gaṇḍa-, 16 mahelā (mahilā), 17 dāsī, 18 gaṇ-ikā, 19 kusūla-.

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